

THE
MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

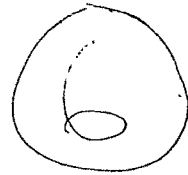
(Vol. VI.) Numbers 7 to 12.

July to December, 1909)

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
210-3-1 Cornwallis Street
CALCUTTA.

Price of this Volume: Rs. 4 Inland; Foreign 7s.; postage extra.
Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 6; Foreign 12s.

mmp 569



INDEX TO VOL. VI.

	Page.		Page.
AGITATION OF INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN ENGLAND—THE—"An Englishman"	576	GODS OF KULU—THE—Homersham Cox	222
AGRICULTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA—Dvijadas Datta	467	GARRISON, THE LIBERATOR—MARY WOODWELL CARTER	521
ANCIENT DIGNITY OF AN INDIAN FARMER'S LIFE—THE—Prof. Dvijadas Datta, late of the Government Engineering College, Shibpur ...	130	HAVELL ON INDIAN SCULPTURE—The Sister Nivedita	487
ANCIENT SEA-BORNE TRADE OF INDIA—The—Radha Kumud Mukerji ...	469	HIS RELEASE (a story)—Prabhat Kumar Mukerji	33
ANALOGUES OF AURANGZIB (<i>Translated from Persian MSS.</i>)—Jadunath Sarkar ... 55, 120, 201, 311, 421,	515	HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY	348
ARA INDIA GHOSH : A STUDY—Jitendra Chatterji	476	HOW SERICULTURE IS ENCOURAGED IN JAPAN—M. N. De	330
BLOOD SIPPING—Nirupam Chandra Ghosh Phakurta	141	HYGINE OF STUDENT LIFE—I. M. Mallik	75
"BELOVED IT IS I" (Poem)—B. K. Das	26	HOW THE WORLD IS FIGHTING TO EXTERMINATE THE WHITE PLAGUE—SAINT NIHAL SINGH	531
BEGAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE—THE CALIPH ABDURRAHMAN V AND HIS VIZIER, IBN HAZM THE POET—The—Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, Ph. D.	463	HAVELL ON INDIAN PAINTING—SISTER NIVEDITA	582
COMMENTS AND CRITICISM—"Pol", Hira Lal Chatterji, Chuni Lal Mukerji, Jadunath Sarkar, Jnanendra Nath Basu, Hirallal Halidar and Jitendralal Banerjee ... 168, 294, 394, 491,	585	INDIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION—AN—Charu Chandra Chatterji ...	342
DAWN—THE (Poem)—Rev. C. F. Andrews, L.A.	27	INDIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING—Sister Nivedita	365
DEPRESSED CLASSE—THE—Lala Lajpat Rai	I	INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY—THE—A LESSON FOR INDIA—P. C. Ray, D. Sc., Ph. D.	127
EQUAL RIGHTS—Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, B.A.	151	INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY—THE : AND ANILINE DYES—Ananda K. Coomaraswamy ...	275
FAMINE OF 1908 IN INDIA AND THE WORK DONE BY NON-OFFICIAL AGENCIES—THE—Gopal Krishna Devadhar...	250	IDEAL OF AN EXHIBITION—THE—DAKSHINA R. GHOSE, B.A.	564
FATAL GARLAND—THE—Srimati Svarnakumari Devi ... II, 122, 212	256	INDIA AND THE FAITH OF THE PRESENT AGE—CHUNI LAL MUKERJI	509
FORWARD OR BACKWARD—Prasad Ghose	248	JOHN DALTON, JACOB BERZELIUS AND THE ATOMIC THEORY—Dr. P. C. Ray and Satis Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B. Sc.	447
FAMINE PREVENTION—DVIJADAS DATTA	338	LAST MEETING—THE (a short story)—Hemendra Prasad Ghose	234
CONFINEMENT IN JAIL EXPERIENCES—THE—391, 453	453	PORT RILSON—An Indian who knew him	164
CONFINEMENT IN SECOND JAIL EXPERIENCE—M.	553	MAN OF LAW—THE (An essay in the manner of Elia)—"Elia" Junior ...	209
COUNCIL MINISTRY IN NORTHERN INDIA—THE—M. N.	45	MEDICAL ADMINISTRATION REFORM ...	6
		MEDICAL, SINHALESE ART—Sister Nivedita	64
		MESSAGE AMERICA GAVE ME FOR INDIA—A Saint Nihal Singh	373

	Page.		Page.
MESSAGE OF THE EAST—THE, III.—Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy ...	160	Africa, p. 183; Maritime Trade of Bengal, p. 183; Indian self-rule and a narrow view of English interests, pp. 184—186; Mr. Gokhale and the Civilised World, p. 186; Mr. Gokhale and Indian students in England, pp. 186—187; Mr. Gokhale on Ideas of Independence, pp. 187—193; The murder of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie, pp. 193—194; Dying and living for one's country, p. 194; Unrest among Indian students in England, p. 195; Official threats, pp. 195—197; Our Frontispiece, pp. 197—198; An Indian Wrangler, p. 198; Buddha's Relics, p. 198; Roman Citizenship, pp. 198—199; Passive Resistance, p. 199; Co-operation and unrest, pp. 199—200; Education in the Deccan in the Pre-British Period, p. 296; Alexander and the conquered races, pp. 296—297; The attempt to strangle the Boycott movement, p. 297; Putting down Education, pp. 297—298; The Dance of Shiva, pp. 298—299; Mr. H. S. L. Polak, pp. 299—300; Grievances of Indians in South Africa, p. 300; Indians in Mauritius, p. 300; The paintings of Nanda Lal Bose, pp. 300—302; Complete independence won without fighting, p. 302; Historical Evidence, pp. 302—304; The tag wagging the dog, p. 304; Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in England, pp. 304—305; The "Swaraj" Sedition Case, p. 305; The Alipore Bomb Case Appeal, pp. 305—306; The Gwalior anathema, p. 306; The Bombay School Circular, p. 306; The 7th of August Celebration in Calcutta, p. 306; Mallik's Calculator, p. 307; "The Pioneer" on Indian pictures, p. 307; Public Health in Bengal, p. 307; Disappointed students, p. 308; Free Education in Native States, p. 308; Buddha's relics, p. 308; Sir Henry Cotton on the Deportations, p. 308; The Calcutta Convention of religions, p. 308; Our famine photographs, pp. 308—309; Alleged anarchism among Indian Students at home and abroad, pp. 400—401; An Advisory Board for Anglo-Indian Youths, pp. 401—402; Is the Boycott of foreign goods justifiable? pp. 402—403; The Indian Services Examinations and the Bengalees, p. 403; "Longing for the Beloved," pp. 403—404; The next Congress, pp. 404—405; The Deportations, p. 405; The Discovery of the North Pole, p. 405; Pictures of Kol tribe, pp. 405—406; Madan Lal Dhingra's Dead Body, p. 406; The Rammohan Ray Anni-	
MODERN EDUCATION OF THE HINDU WOMAN—Mrs. J. C. Bose ...	160		
MOTHER OF DREAMS—THE (Poem)—Aurobindo Ghose ...	64		
MODEL REFORM SCHOOL—A: How IT WORKS—Saint Nihal Singh ...	265		
MOURBHANJ—Abinash Chandra CHATTERJI ...	389		
MY MOTHERLAND (song)—B. C. Mazumdar ...	67		
NOTABLE MISSIONARY BOOK—A ...	49		
NOTES—Russian 'Pogroms' or Massacres, pp. 78—80; Bombs and the Police, p. 80; Manu, p. 81; Different penal laws, p. 82; Great Britain unfit for self-government, p. 82; Anglo-Indians and Medical Reform, p. 82; Mrs. Annie Besant on Babu Aurobindo Ghose, p. 83; Is Mrs. Besant an emissary of Government? pp. 83—84; Anti-Sedition measures in "Native" States, p. 84; Individual and Collective morality and honour, p. 84; The Vision of a Knight, p. 85; Nadir Shah ordering a general massacre, p. 85; Importance of the Progressive Policy in Turkey, p. 86; Insinuations against Mr. Gokhale, p. 86; "Swaraj," p. 86; Political Parties in India, pp. 86—87; British rule and the growth of self-governing power, p. 87; The Army starving the schools, pp. 87—88; Education in British and Pre-British India, pp. 87—88; High prices and dacoities, p. 88; A History of Hindu Chemistry, p. 88; Police misrule and the High Courts, pp. 88—89; Undertrial Prisoners, p. 89; When is a prison not a prison? p. 89; The Deportations in Parliament, pp. 89—90; The great war in Nasik, p. 90; "National Volunteers" making roads, p. 90; The Indian reverence for Motherhood, p. 90; "A War Budget," p. 91; "Divine Messages," p. 91; Mr. Keir Hardie's "India," p. 91; "The Times" and Bengali Valour, pp. 91—92; Lost Sons of the Motherland, p. 179; Persia, pp. 179—180; The Indian Medical Service, p. 180; India a field for British educated labour, pp. 180—181; Drain of India's resources, p. 181; The possession of India and growth of Imperialism in England, pp. 181—182; Station Hospitals for Native Troops, p. 182; Medical Reform Scheme and our Medical Colleges, pp. 182—183; The Europeans in			

INDEX

v

Page.	Page.
vesary, p. 406; The late Mr. Lalmohan Goswami, p. 406; Our next number, p. 406; Will the Anglo-Indians help us in social and religious reform, p. 497; Self-Government in India, pp. 497-498; The Military Occupation of India, p. 498; Christian philanthropy and Indian Factory Acts, pp. 498-499; Federation Day, p. 499; England's last shilling, pp. 499-500; Volunteering in India, pp. 500-501; A cure for the present unrest, p. 501; Self-rule in French Algeria, p. 501; Destruction of Indian Cotton Industries, pp. 501-502; Does foreign trade benefit India? pp. 502-503; A Christian Missionary's Estimate of the Bengalees, pp. 503-504; The ending of the Covenanted and Imperial Services, pp. 504-505; "Good intentions," p. 505; Condition of the people of Mysore under their own rulers, p. 505; Iron industry in India more than a century ago, p. 505; A new definition of the term "Fanatic," p. 506; An Englishman on Christian missionaries and their Mission, pp. 506-507; The rise of Germany, p. 507; The Deportees and the 5th October, pp. 507-508; The Malaria conference, p. 508; The Transvaal Indians, p. 508; Students and Politics, pp. 508-509; Another "Samiti" crushed, p. 509; The Congress Presidentship, p. 509; The War Between Morocco and Spain, pp. 509-510; Frontier Outrages, p. 510; Students and Finger-prints, p. 510; A Swadeshi Professor resigns, p. 510; Our Holiday Message, p. 510; Relative and Absolute Peace, p. 596; The rights of an Englishman and of others, p. 597; Vegetarianism and national strength, p. 597; Inland Navigation in the West and in India, p. 597; Some Home-coming students, p. 598; Theosophy and Hinduism, p. 599; Prince Hirobumi Ito, p. 600; Colebrooke on Warren Hastings, p. 602; The Indian Deportees, p. 602; The Transvaal Indians, p. 603; Universal elementary education, p. 604; "The Leader", p. 604; The Reform Scheme, p. 604; Our frontpiece, p. 606; Mr. Tagore's Omar Khayyam Picture, p. 606; The Lords and Commons, p. 606; Export of food stuffs, p. 606.	ORIGIN OF THE KOL TRIBES AND SOURCES OF THEIR ANCIENT HISTORY, THE—Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L. ... 320
INDEX OF SWADESHI ARTICLES ... 309	PROGRESS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE 19TH CENTURY—THE—J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A. ... 511
INDICATION OF THE DEPORT—AN—Surendranath Baner— ... 220	PLACE OF INDIA IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS—J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A. ... 540
	PLEA FOR AN INDIAN JUVENILE COURT—A—II—Saint Nihal Singh ... 16
	PLEA FOR A SANE SYSTEM OF FEMALE EDUCATION—A—A Sikh traveller in America ... 30
	PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS FOR INDIA—"Chandra Gupta" ... 278
	PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION IN INDIA, 1813-1833 ... 412
	PROFITS OF ESTABLISHING THE TABLE-BLOWING INDUSTRY IN INDIA—B. M. Mukerjee, B.A. ... 146
	PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIALISM AND AGRICULTURE ... 407
	REVIVAL OF THE CANE SUGAR INDUSTRY AND ITS PROSPECTS IN INDIA—THE—K. C. Banerji ... 328
	REVIEW OF THE MODERN WORLD—A : C. F. Andrews... 458, 517
	REVIEWS OF BOOKS—Jadunath Sarkar, Kshitish Chandra Singh, M.A., B. C. Mazumdar, Dhirendranath Chaudhuri, M.A., Chuni Lal Mukerji, R. C. Bonnerjee, Mahes Chandra Ghosh, Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, Krisnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, Hira Lal Chatterji, Charu Bandyopadhyay, &c. 92, 169, 288, 396, 493, 588
	RIDDLE SOLVED—THE—(FROM THE BENGALI OF RAVINDRA NATH TAGORE,) TRANSLATED BY PRABHAT KUMAR MUKERJI ... 549
	SOLAR HEAT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR FIRE ... 545
	SHIPS AND SHIP-BUILDING IN ANCIENT INDIA—RADHA KUMUD MUKERJEE ... 548
	SHIPPING AND SHIP-BUILDING IN ANCIENT INDIA—Radha Kumud Mukerji, Premchand Raychand Scholar ... 381
	SIR CHARLES MALLET—P. V. Mawjee, J.L., M.R.A.S. ... 68, 108
	SOCIAL CONQUEST OF THE HINDU RACE—THE—Har Dayal ... 239
	SOME PAGES FROM THE DIARY OF AN INDIAN STUDENT—S. Khuda Buksh, Barrister-at-Law ... 135

	Page.		Page
SURENDRANATH BANERJEA AND HIS ENGLISH EXPERIENCES—Jitendralal Banerjee	280	VAJRA AS A NATIONAL FLAG—THE—R. S.	443
SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENT—THE	115	✓ VALUE OF TRADITION IN ART—THE—Ordhendra Coomar Gango-padhyay	
SWIFT RETRIBUTION (A short story)—Prabhāt Kumar Mukerji	333	"WELFARE WORK"; WHAT IT IS AND WHY WE SHOULD ADOPT IT IN INDIA—Saint Nihal Singh	417
TRIUMPH OF THE INDIANS IN CANADA—THE—Saint Nihal Singh	99	WEST AFRICAN TRADER—THE—Cap-tain SHAW	27
UNIVERSITY TRAINING IN JOURNALISM—A—Sudhindra Bose	377		

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page.		Page.
A. K. COOMARSWAMY	64	MUSICAL PROCESSION—A.	85
ANXIOUS FOR THE BELOVED—By Mola-ram (A. D. 1760—1833)	311	MOTHER AND CHILD BEFORE BUDDHA	583
ARAVINDA GHOSH	487	NADIR SHAH ORDERING A GENERAL MASSACRE—By Hakim Muhamraad Khan	I
BENGAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE—THE	155, 156, 157, 158, 159	NATIONAL FLAG—A	407
B. N. SEAL (Principal)	174	NEW SHAH OF PERSIA—THE	179
BHĪMA, — two heads of	489	PARLOUR OF THE DETENTION SCHOOL	26
BHUPENDRANATH BASU—Mr.	306	PATCHEAPPAH MUDALIAR	416
BEPIN CHANDRA PAL—Mr.	305	P. C. RAY (Prof.)	175
BUDDHA PREACHING	366	PLOTTING MISCHIEF	25
BHANUTAP—THE	546	POONA DURBAR—THE—of 1790	74
C. R. DAS—Mr.	305	PRAJNAPARAMITA (From Java)	490
COTTAGE RESIDENTS	266	PORTRAIT OF SADI—A—	585
DANCE OF SIVA—THE—By Nanda Lal Bose	201	RELIEF AT BOROBUDUR (representing a ship and its crew)	366
DHYANI BUDDHA	365	SATTAR KHAN, —The Persian National-ist Leader	180
DURGA SLAYING MAHISHA	488	SCULPTURES FROM THE SANCHI STUPA	386
E. B. HAVELL	367	SIKH TEMPLE—THE—Vancouver, Bri-tish COLUMBIA	102
FAMINE PICTURES	252	SIR CH. MALET	73
GANGADHAR SHASTRI	415	STATUE OF MANU	81
GAUTAMA, THE EARTHLY BUDDHA—Reproduced from Mr. Havell's Book	368	SURENDRANATH BANERJEA—BABU	284
H. S. L. POLAK—Mr.	299	SCULPTURE OF A ROYAL BARGE, TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH	584
"I AM DE BOSS, SEE"	25	TARA (From Tibet)	490
ILLUSTRATION FOR THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM BY ABANINDRO NATH TAGORE	584	PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH, FAMILY AND SOME TYPICAL IMMIGRANTS	101
IOWA INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL—THE—	268	PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH AND FAMILY THE FIRST BOY SENT TO THE DETENTION SCHOOL	103
JACOB BERZELIUS	452	TYPICAL NEWSIE (Newspaper boy)	
JOHN DALTON	452	VISION OF THE KNIGHT—THE—Raphael	
KAIKEYI AND MANTHARA—By M. V. Dhurandhar	99	WM LLOYD GARRISON	
MARQUIS OF RIPON	165		
MUNDAS	322 (i—vi)		
MUNDA BRIDEGROOM AND BRIDE RETURN-ING HOME AFTER MARRIAGE	510		

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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NADIR SHAH ORDERING A GENERAL MASSACRE.
By Hakim Muhammad Khan.

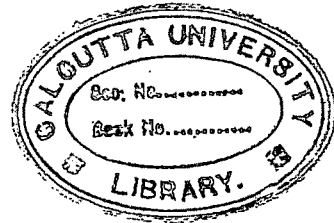
Three colour blocks by U. Ray.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VI
No. 1

JULY, 1909



WHOLE
No. 31

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

I.

THERE can be no denying the fact that the rigidity of the Hindu caste system is the bane of Hindu society. It is a great barrier in the way of the social and national progress of the Hindus. It confronts them at every step and slackens the speed with which, otherwise, the nation would climb up to the heights of national solidarity. The condition of the "low" castes, sometimes described as "untouchables", at other times as the "depressed classes," is nothing short of disgraceful. It is a disgrace to our humanity, our sense of justice, and our feeling of social affinity. It is useless to hope for any solidarity so long as the depressed classes continue to be so low in the social scale as they are. The intellectual and moral status of the community as a whole cannot be appreciably raised without the co-operation of *all* the classes forming the community. So long, then, as there are *classes* amongst us who are untouchable by the so-called superior classes, because of their having been born of certain parents, the moral and intellectual elevation of the community as a whole can only proceed by slow, very slow, degrees. The condition of the depressed classes is a standing blot on our social organisation, and we must remove that blot if we are really desirous of securing the efficiency of our social organism. All the parts of a whole must be raised, not necessarily to the same level but to a level from which they can, by their individual efforts, talents and achievements, rise to the

highest possible position within the reach of the members of the social organism.

The present arrangement is a cruel and unjust arrangement. Besides, it is both economically and politically unsound. A community which allows so much valuable human material to rot in a state of utter depression and helplessness, cannot be said to be economically wise. As to the political danger involved by the continuance of these classes in their present condition, one need only look at the arguments advanced by our friends of the Muslim League in support of their contention for a larger representation on the Legislative Councils than they are entitled to by virtue of their numerical strength. Quite ignoring the fact that they are as much affected by these classes as the Hindus, they make it a point to say that in counting the Hindus for the purposes of representation the untouchables enumerated with them should be excluded. Whatever may be the value of this argument for the purpose for which it is used, there can be no doubt that the existence of these classes in their present deplorable condition is a menace to the power and influence of the Hindu community. The line of argument adopted by our Muslim friends and also by some missionary critics of the Reform Scheme, ought to open the eyes of the Hindus to the absolute necessity and urgency of raising the social status of their fellow-religionists called and known as the members of the depressed classes. Thus from every point of view, whether that of hu-

thoroughly established the unity and common footing of all the members of the Hindu society. All castes, from Brahmana to Chandala, are shown to be directly or indirectly connected with the Supreme Being and the gradations of honor maintained among the members of different castes are also duly maintained. * * * * The Vratya people, having performed the *Vratya*-Stoma could freely mix with members of the four pure and original castes on terms of equality."

In an earlier part of the paper the writer explains that the term 'Vrátyas' include

"All people—whether natives of India or foreigners—who were not within the pale of Brahmanic Civilization." The fallen members of the 3 high castes were also called "Vratya." In the later Shastras the term 'Vratya' also signified "those members of the 1st three castes who would not observe the religious rites enjoined on them by the Shastras, specially those who failed to invest themselves with the sacred thread at the proper time and had to be degraded from their community."

According to Manu 'Vrátya' is defined to be a Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaishya who has lost caste through non-observance of Shastric rites. Manu takes special pains to fix the caste status of the offspring of mixed marriages, viz., marriage of high-caste men and low-caste women, or of high-caste women and low-caste men or marriages of Aryan men with non-Aryan women, etc., which conclusively establishes the prevalence of these marriages at the time of the compilation of the present *Manu-Sanhita*. Pandit S. C. Vidyabhusana has quoted chapter and verse in support of the above conclusions. I am disposed to think that other authorities also can be added to those cited by the learned Pandit. Thus it can be safely said that there is plenty of Shastric authority to justify the following propositions:—

(a) That the Aryas, the forefathers of the present Hindus, used to admit foreigners into the pale of their society on the performance of certain rites and they freely intermarried and interdined with them according to the social position assigned to them.

(b) That intermarriage and interdining was not necessarily confined to each caste.

(c) That persons degraded or outcasted were readmitted into their original castes on the performance of certain rites which were originally very simple but which grew in complication and rigidity, with the growth of rigidity in the caste system.

A vast majority of those who now form the depressed classes are "Vrátyas" in the sense that their ancestors lost their original

caste status by failure to perform religious rites and by taking to occupations which were not approved by their caste-people. Some of them must be the offspring of mixed marriages between high-caste women and low-caste men, others there may be, foreign "Vrátyas", whose ancestors were originally admitted into the pale of Hinduism by performance of certain rites, who lost the position thus gained by subsequent lapses to their original habits and manners. One thing however is clear that these classes are still Hindus and wish to remain Hindu. To me that seems enough for all practical purposes. Apart from considerations of humanity and philanthropy it is the duty of *Hindus as such* to give them full recognition and also opportunities for improving their social lot. I may safely presume that the question has now advanced beyond the stage of theoretical speculation or theological discussion.

In educated circles there seems to be fairly practical unanimity as to the inherent injustice and monstrosity of the existing system; nay, even further, there seems to be an agreement as to the desirability of taking steps to elevate the moral, material and social condition of the classes that have been most affected by the prevailing rigidity of the caste-system. What stands in the way of progress in this direction, however, is the prejudice of the illiterate and the apathy of the educated classes. The former are wanting in that broad outlook on human affairs without which the consciousness of a sense of corporate social responsibility is slow to awaken, the latter lack in that backbone without which it is impossible to bring about changes which look radical but the absence of which blocks the avenues that lead to national consciousness and national solidarity.

For the latter purpose what is required is fairness and humanity at least, if not perfect equality in the relation of the different units that compose the social organism.

At the present moment the greatest strength of the Hindus consists in their number. It is true that intellectually and educationally, in trade and commerce, in brain and body, in mind and muscles, in the arts of peace and war, they are second to none. In their potentialities too they are

inferior to none. But in their numerical strength lies that power which is not shared by any other community in his country. This numerical strength however may easily be converted into the chief source of their weakness if not properly organised for national purposes. At first sight the Hindus look a heterogeneous mass of untidy humanity without any ties to bind them to one another. Their lack of homogeneity is their curse. To an outsider they seem to agree in nothing. Caste and intercaste jealousies block the way to progress. The energies which should be spent in bringing about solidarity are being spent in rearing up individuality in the different social units which make up the community. The Brahman, the Khatri, the Banya, the Kayastha, the Rajput, the Jat; among Brahmans the Gaud, the Sanadhya, the Nagar, the Kanaujia; &c., &c., are all dominated by separatist tendencies. Their collective ambition moves in the circumscribed circle of their own little group, which gives a sectional or rather only a sub-sectional color to their patriotism or nationalism, but what is even worse is their attitude towards the lower classes and the latter's attempt to retaliate. The former's denial of equal or any opportunities of worship to the latter in their temples or shrines is a standing disgrace to the good name of Hinduism. The so-much-boasted-of tolerance of the Hindus disappears, the moment that tolerance is demanded by the classes lower in the social scale. The high-caste Hindus of the present day, men who have received their education under western ideals are often heard to speak with pride of the spirit of toleration possessed and shown by Hinduism towards other religions and other communities, but a critic may very well say that this toleration is the offspring of fear or greed. You dare not be uncivil or unkind to Mohammadans or Christians because they can make matters unpleasant for you. but you are insolent towards your own people, whom you think you can defy without any fear of retaliation. The consequences are plain and can be seen even running. The Hindus are going down in numbers. Your insolence towards the lower classes of Hindus is being repaid by the latter turning their back on you. Mohammadanism and Christianity are extending their arms to embrace them and

indications are not wanting of the readiness of the lower classes of Hindus to accept the hospitality of non-Hindu religious and social systems. Why, the reason is obvious. As a Hindu you won't touch him; you would not let him sit on the same carpet with you, you would not offer him water in your cups, you would not accept water or food touched by him; you would not let him enter your temples, in fact you would not treat him like a human being. The moment, however, he becomes a Mohammadan or a Christian, without even giving up his ancestral occupation, you are all smiles to him, you welcome him to your homes and have no objection at times to offer him drink and food in your utensils, etc. It is a deep-rooted sentiment that has so far prevented the depressed classes of Hindus from deserting Hinduism *en masse*. Sentiments are, however, melting away before the matter-of-fact civilization of the West. The time does not seem to be very distant when sentiment will cease to control the desire of the depressed classes to better their social position, if it cannot be had otherwise than by a change of faith. There are circumstances and causes in the environments of these classes which are working with effect to bring about that consummation and if the Hindus want to avoid that catastrophe, it is time that they subordinated their caste pride to the exigencies of the situation and took time by the forelock.

III.

Commenting on the figures of the Census of 1901, giving the respective strength of the three principal religions of India, Sir H. Risley remarks:—

During the ten years preceding the census of 1901, the Muhammadans increased by 9 per cent., and the Christians by nearly 28 per cent. * * * * * Hinduism is the dominant religion of India; in all its developments it is intimately associated with caste, and the two sets of factors, the social and the religious, can hardly be considered apart. The two rival creeds, Christianity and Islam—for Buddhism may be left out of account—avowedly reject the principle of caste, and have been affected by its influence solely through their contact with Hinduism. So long as Hinduism shows no decline from its present strength, caste will preserve its ancient reign, and nothing short of a great accession of strength to either Islam or Christianity can materially modify the social and religious future of India. Are there any signs of a tendency in this direction? Can the figures of the last census be regarded as in any sense the forerunners of an Islamic or Christian revival which will threaten the citadel of Hinduism? or will Hindu-

ism hold its own in the future as it has done through the long ages of the past?

The statistics of the last census show that during a decade of famine the Muhammadans in India increased by 9 per cent., while the population as a whole rose by only 3 per cent. No doubt these proportions were affected by the fact that the famines were most severe in those parts of the country where the Muhammadans are relatively least numerous, but in the fertile and wealthy region of Eastern Bengal, which has never been touched by real famine, though people on small fixed incomes suffer from high prices, their rate of increase was 12·3 per cent. or nearly double that of the Hindus. The figures illustrating the proportion of children tell a similar tale, and indicate that in that part of India the Muhammadans are not only more enterprising and therefore better off than their Hindu neighbours, but also more prolific and more careful of their offspring."

Sir H. Risley then explains the reasons for these conditions, with some of which we are not directly concerned just now. One of the causes contributing to the increase in the number of Muhammadans is said to be conversion to Islam, about which he remarks :—

"Conversions from Hinduism to Islam must also contribute in some degree to the relatively more rapid growth of the Muhammadan population. Here no appeal to statistics is possible, but a number of specific instances of such changes of religion were extracted by Mr. Gait, G. I. E., from the reports of Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen in 24 Districts and published as Appendix II. to the Bengal Census Report of 1901. The motives assigned in various cases—names and particulars are usually given—may be grouped somewhat as follows :—

(1) Genuine religious conviction of the purity and simplicity of Islam, derived from study of the Muhammadan scriptures or from the preaching of the Maulvies who go round the villages. * * *

(2) The growing desire on the part of lower Hindu castes to improve their social position leads individuals among them to embrace a creed which seems to offer them a fair chance in life. Malis, Kahars, Gowalas, Napits, Kans, Baildars and other castes of similar status furnish numerous illustrations of this tendency.

* * * * *

(4) Causes connected with taboos on food and drink and with various caste misdemeanors have also to be taken into account. Hindus in sickness and distress are tended by Muhammadans and take food and water from their hands; the caste excommunicates them and they join the ranks of a more merciful faith.

It is needless to observe that none of these causes, nor all of them taken together, exercise an influence wide and potent enough to bring about a great Islamic revival in India. The day of conversions *en masse* has passed, and there are no signs of its return. Nevertheless certain tendencies are discernible which may add materially to the number of individual conversions. On the one hand, the Muhammadans may raise their standard of education, they may organize and consolidate their influence, they may establish

their claim to larger representation in the Legislative Councils and in Government service, and they may thus come to play in Indian public life a part more worthy of the history and traditions of their faith. On the other hand, the spread of English education among the middle and lower ranks of the Hindus may lead to a revolt against the intolerance of the higher castes, and in particular against their virtual monopoly of place and power.

In Southern India whole castes have been known to become Muhammadans because the Brahmans would not allow them to enter Hindu temples and compelled them to worship outside. It is conceivable that other castes in other parts of India will some day realize that for the low-born Hindu the shortest road to success in life, whether at the bar or at the public service, may lie through the portals of Islam.

Faithful to its earliest traditions, Christianity in India has from the first devoted itself to the poor and lowly, and its most conspicuous successes have been attained among the Animists and the depressed castes of Hinduism. To the Animist haunted by a crowd of greedy and malevolent demons ever thirsting for blood, like the ghosts that flocked round Ulysses, Christianity opens a new world of love and hope. To the Pariah, the Mahar, the Dher and a host of other helots, it promises release from the most searching and relentless form of social tyranny—the tyranny of caste; it offers them independence, self-respect, education, advancement, a new life in an organised and progressive society. 'These people,' says Mr. Francis, writing of the Pariahs of the South, 'have little to lose by forsaking the creed of their forefathers. As long as they remain Hindus they are daily and hourly made to feel that they are of commoner clay than their neighbours. Any attempts which they may make to educate themselves or their children are actively discouraged by the classes above them; caste-restrictions prevent them from quitting the toilsome, uncertain and undignified means of subsistence to which custom has condemned them, and taking to a handicraft or a trade: they are snubbed and repressed on all public occasions; are refused admission even to the temples of their gods and can hope for no more helpful partner of their joys and sorrows than the unkempt and unhandy maiden of the paracheri with her very primitive notions of comfort and cleanliness. But once a youth from among these people becomes Christian his whole horizon changes. He is as carefully educated as if he was a Brahman; he is put in the way of learning a trade or obtaining an appointment as a clerk; he is treated with kindness and even familiarity by missionaries who belong to the ruling race[?]; he takes an equal part with his elders and betters in the services of the church; and in due time he can choose from among the neat-handed girls of the Mission a wife skilled in domestic matters and even endowed with some little learning. Now-a-days active persecution of converts to Christianity is rare. So those who hearken to its teaching have no martyr's crown to wear, and sheltered, as they often are, in a compound round the missionary's bungalow, it matters little to its adherents if their neighbours look askance upon them. The remarkable growth in the numbers of the native Christians thus largely proceeds from the natural and laudable discontent with their lot which possesses the lower classes of the Hindus, and so well do the converts,

as a class, use their opportunities that the community is earning for itself a constantly improving position in the public estimation."

I have put some of the passages in the above quotation in italics with a view to draw the special attention of the reader to the same. Making a sufficient allowance for the Padre's anxiety to paint thick—Hinduism black and the chances afforded by conversion to Christianity bright—there remains enough to put the thoughtful Hindu to shame. We do not mind those cases of apostasy from Hinduism where the change of religion results from a change of religious convictions, but we have every reason to be ashamed of those conversions that are the direct result of our insolence and inhumanities towards the so-called lower classes. It is high time that our indifference to the lot of the depressed classes ceased and we gave them a new start in social life.

These quotations should leave no doubt

in the mind of any Hindu as to the urgency and importance of the question of improving the lot of the depressed classes and of raising their social status. I am of opinion that the matter should be taken in hand in each province by influential Provincial Committees composed of men of provincial reputation. Depressed classes missions for smaller areas should be organised under the guidance and control of these committees and the work pushed through with earnestness and zeal. The sympathies of young men should be enlisted, from whom eventually some may be inclined to make it their life work. The subject has an important bearing on famine relief and the development of home industries, from which point of view I intend to discuss it in another article:

LAJPAT RAI.

[Note. The first section of this article originally appeared in the *Panjabee*.]

MEDICAL ADMINISTRATION REFORM

IT was high time that something was done for reforming the Medical Administration of India. For nearly half a century or more public opinion—such as exists in India—has strongly demanded the amelioration of the lot of Indians employed in the Subordinate Medical Services. As long as the competitive examination for entering the Indian Medical Service was fair, Indians did not ask for any favour, but such of them as could afford to do so, went to England and competed for the service. Their success was such that the late Surgeon-Major Gopal Chandra Roy, M.D., F.R.C.S., addressing the Hunterian Medical Society of London as far back as 1870 said :—

"In not one instance where the native holders of them [i.e., the degrees in Medicine of the Indian Universities] had come to England to undergo the Competitive Examinations for the Indian Medical Service had there been a failure." (*The British Medical Journal*, August 6th, 1870, p. 156. The italics are ours).

In every competitive examination for the service, the success of Indians was remarkable. In that held in February, 1881, it was said that twenty-two Indians were successful in

the examination and it was therefore proposed to abolish the Indian Medical Service altogether! *The British Medical Journal*, which is the organ of the *British Medical Association*, wrote in its issue of the 23rd July, 1881, a leading article which is reproduced below *in extenso* :—

"For more years than we now care to reckon, it was the ill-fortune of the Medical Department of the Army to be always in the crucible. * * * It is now the turn of the sister service of India to go into the melting pot. Every mail brings us rumours of the coming changes. One of the last is now before us. 'The Supreme Council,' we are told, 'is now considering a proposal for supplying the I. M. S., by allotting a certain number of nominations to the principal medical schools, instead of the present system of open competition. It is believed that this idea is approved by several members of the Council.' The reason given for this proposed change is curious. We are told that the last competitions produced 7 natives to 2 European admissions; and it is thought that the *status* of the recent appointees will be found to interfere with the scheme for the unification of the British and Indian Medical Services. * * *"

"We are quite alive to the danger of swamping the service by the too free admission of natives of India to its ranks. But this danger can be met without the foolish remedy we are now discussing. It is a fact, that a not inconsiderable number of men of inferior social *status* have entered the service from

the children of the Indian soil who have priority of claim to every post in the Service.

The Indian Medical Service is principally a military one. The services of its members are lent to the civil administration subject always to recall to the military service when required. The Medical officers have to serve for at least two years with the colors before they are considered eligible for transfer to the civil department. They have to serve not with any British but with native regiments. The rank and file of every native regiment consist of Indians but they are officered by about a dozen or more Britishers. In peace time there is not much to do for the regimental medical officer. So it seems to us that India has to pay unnecessarily a large sum for the maintenance of the present system of military department of the Indian Medical service. The happiness of the Indian sepoys would be promoted if they were treated for their ailments by pure-blooded Indian medical men. Graduates of Indian Universities should be given commissions as medical officers of Indian regiments to treat sepoys. Of course, British officers, and especially their womenfolk, who are necessarily very narrow-minded and who if the testimony of competent Anglo-Indian critics—both men and women—is to be believed—are the cause of the racial feeling that prevails against Indians in Anglo-Indian society, do not like to be treated by "men of color"—no matter whatever their professional qualifications or efficiency may be. This is a fact which must be looked straight in the face.

Under the reorganization scheme of Lord Kitchner, native regiments are not kept in any station where there are no British troops as well. It should be remembered that there exists a different medical service under the designation of the Royal Army Medical Corps for the British soldiers. One of these medical officers can be detailed, when necessary, for the treatment of British officers and their families attached to native regiments.

Then again there should be the Station Hospital System for the Indian as it is for the British soldiers.

But what about the services of the medical officers during war? Why, the pure-blooded

Indian medical graduates as commissioned officers will perform their duties satisfactorily when placed in charge of General, Base and Field Hospitals. They can be always had in sufficient numbers from the medical colleges of this country and so there need be no reserve of highly paid British medical men in the Indian Medical Service, whose duties can be very economically and efficiently performed by Indians.

So far about the military medical administration of India.

Regarding the civil medical administration, there can be no question that at least 75 per cent., if not more, of all the Civil Surgeoncies in the different provinces should be allotted to the medical graduates of this country. By their education and training they are fitted to hold these posts with credit to themselves and benefit to their countrymen.

Then there are the Agency Surgeoncies which are mines of gold to their holders. These too should be recruited from the ranks of Indian medical graduates and successful medical practitioners.

If Indian medical men perform the duties of examiners to the medical faculties of Indian Universities with credit, there is no reason to believe that as professors of Medical Colleges they will fail to discharge their duties satisfactorily.

If all these reforms are carried out, there will be a great economy to the State. A portion of the money thus saved may be very properly devoted to the advance of medical science and art and establishing more medical institutions where there exist none at present.

The late well-known Irish historian Mr. Lecky hit the nail right on the head when he wrote:—

"Hardly any other of the great branches of human knowledge is at present so backward, tentative, and empirical as medicine, and there is not much doubt that the law of supply and demand is a main cause of the defect. Almost all the finer intellects which are devoted to this subject are turned away from independent investigations to the lucrative paths of professional practice; their time is engrossed with cases most of which could be treated quite as well by men of inferior capacity, and they do little or nothing to enlarge the bounds of our knowledge. (History of England, Vol. II, p. 77)."

If that is true of the rich countries of Europe, how much truer it must be of India, which being a poor country, Indian medical

men as a rule do not earn enough to make the two ends meet. But plain living and high thinking has been the motto of all cultured Indians, since time immemorial. If Indian medical graduates of promise are given such stipends as will make them independent of earning their livelihood by severe struggle as practitioners, it is not unlikely that they will by their researches promote the advance of the science and art of

medicine and especially of tropical medicine.

But if the "attractiveness" of the Indian Medical Service to Britishers is to be preserved, then there should be simultaneous examinations held in England and India for all the appointments in the Indian Medical Service, and at least two pure-blooded Indians should be appointed to the Board of Examiners for the Service.

THE MESSAGE OF THE EAST

III.

AND what, meanwhile, of India herself? Is it well with the bearer of the message? By no means, indeed. A century of 'progress' has brought India to the stage where almost everything of beauty and romance belongs to her past. This past survives in, and still dominates the present, so that the change is not apparent to a very superficial observer. But it is certain that nothing of beauty or romance is the direct product of the present, nor is there any immediate prospect of changes in life, education and ideals to make it otherwise.

The true message of the West has been misunderstood. That message is, that a comprehension and subordination of the concrete are necessary for the ultimate security of the ideal life. But to all the finer forces in Western civilisation, tending to the ultimate evolution of an ideal life, India has remained largely blind. She has treated the concrete and material achievement as an end in itself, and endeavoured rather to imitate results than to assimilate methods. Indians would learn just so much science as should enable them to compete in commerce with the West; just so much 'art' as to supply the material for popular oleographs and picture postcards, and the requirements of the quint trade; just so much music as to play on the harmonium or listen to a gramophone; just so much architecture as to build a suburban villa (with the aid of imported cast iron beams). It has become a question rather of what

to get than what to give. Not unnaturally, we get but the husks of Western culture. We have not added the best of the West to the best of the East. Perhaps such an addition would be impossible, in so far as virtues may be mutually exclusive. Much rather, however, we have loosed our hold on the best of the East and grasped little more than the worst of the West. And what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

Apparently without a pang, the present generation witnesses the disappearance of all that went to make the dignity, the grace, and the mystery of Indian life. Above all, there has been the loss of rhythm and discipline which is inevitably reflected in art.

Art is the expression of controlled emotion. Naturally if emotion is uncontrolled or false, art also will be undisciplined and insincere.

The most disconcerting symptom of the present time is the apparent unconsciousness of evil. Modern Indians are quite satisfied with an outward life that is unlovely, unrhythmic and undisciplined. They are not even aware that there is anything greatly amiss, hardly prepared to admit, perhaps, that there is serious harm in replacing the luxurious simplicity of Indian culture by an indiscriminating caricature of European life—gramophones and tenth-rate bands, bastard architecture and in-artistic manufactures.

It is a fatal error; for, as Plato so clearly saw, there is in all these things *propriety*

and *unpropriety*, and the "ill, undisciplined, illiberal, indecent" manner (words exactly applicable to modern Indian fine and decorative 'art') must be restrained—"lest our guardians,* *being educated in the midst of ill representations*, as in an ill pasture, where by everyday plucking and eating a deal of different things, *by little and little they contract imperceptibly some mighty evil in their soul.*"

How different is the course of modern art development in India and in Europe! We have seen that realism in Europe, in part at least, represents a necessary transition stage in a reaction from artificiality to truth. India has not striven for realism under the same internal and living stimulus, but from a desire to imitate the brilliant and captivating results of this concrete achievement. At the same time, the Indian school of art student misses its essential virtue, the patient and faithful training, the long years of devoted study, which even the most realistic and materialistic Western art demands. The essence of vulgarity, says Ruskin, consists in imitating the manners of others without comprehending the effect really produced. This is the explanation of the vulgarity of modern Indian 'art.' Of all Indian art dominated by European influence, there is practically none that can hold its own with its prototype.

At the same time accepting theoretically this modern and quite false standard of criticism—the standard of mere anatomical correctness, which would accept the work of any academy student and reject the early Italian painting and the Gothic woodcut—accepting this, the educated Indian mind today has grown blind to the serenity, the rhythm and tenderness, the vitality and above all the truths of Indian painting and sculpture.

There is no more searching test of the vitality of a people than the revelation in art—plastic, literary, musical—of their inward being. A national art is a self-revelation where no concealment is possible. If

then this art be mean, illiberal, undisciplined, and in the truest sense indecent, that is unfitting, inharmonious, it does assuredly indicate some mighty evil in the body politic. That evil is, that Indians are destroying their civilisation as a compliment to England. By this vulgarisation of art, music, drama and life, a more serious injury is done to the national life, than any external political or economic force can effect. The secret of our weakness is, that we do not love India—we love only a reflection of suburban England which we hope to establish here. Let us, however for once face this fact, that an India thus politically free, but subdued by Europe in her inmost soul, is not worth striving for.

Therefore I say, awake while there is time. Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? And even if you persist in believing that everything European is fair and everything Indian barbarous, yet remember that the highest ideal of nationality is service. You will be judged, not by what you successfully assimilate, but by what you contribute to the culture and civilisation of humanity. Not merely is it impossible for you to reproduce (you can only caricature) the outward forms of Western civilisation, but it is a mistaken aim. In the lofty words of Sri Krishna—"Better is one's own duty, though insignificant, than the duty of another, even though performed with brilliance."

The West will not fail to unearth and sooner or later assimilate the message of the East. But how different the power of that message, delivered by the teachers of a living people whose own inspiration it still is; and its power if merely found to be implicit in their ancient culture, and not realised in their actual lives. How great is the responsibility of those who are the hereditary guardians of this message. Theirs is the choice between intellectual and spiritual slavery, and intellectual and spiritual service. One choice is death, the other life.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

* The 'guardians' of Plato's ideal community represented an aristocracy of intellect and discipline corresponding to the Brahmins and Kshatriyas of Indian culture, and the 'Samurai' of Mr. Wells's 'Utopia.'

THE FATAL GARLAND

BY SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHAPTER XIV.

SHOKTI did not wait for a reply, she left the room. At the back of the building, partitioned off by a broken brick wall, was the sanctuary that held the image of Kali, the dread goddess. Walking through the garden path alone, she reached the door which was not bolted from within and yielded to her touch. It was the dead of night, the moon had set ere this, and the starlit sky above sent a faint glimmer through the door, and gave just light enough to make the darkness visible. Gruesome terrors seemed to slumber here and now roused into action.

And Shokti stood with eyes transfixed before the starlit, awful face of Kali. The red tongue of the image seemed to writhe for vengeance. The weird wreath of skulls around her neck appeared to dance and mock, their dead mouths laughing and the hollow sockets of their eyes alive with hate and wrath and all the low propensities of nature. The heads stared at her dripping with gore. And now it seemed that they took skeleton forms and dropped from Kali's neck and danced around her shrieking, "Vengeance, vengeance," while anon she heard the goddess call for blood.

The maiden stood like one possessed, half stupified, unconscious, the echo of these words ran through her soul, she knew no more the world in which she lived, but only knew the force that moved her heart and madly she called out, "Revenge, revenge, I want revenge."

And scarcely had her voice melted away, scarcely the gruesome silence reappeared, when lo, another voice was ringing through the ghostly stillness. Her heart stood still, she dared not move, but listened.

"Then be it so. Your wish shall be fulfilled. Be you the instrument to bring the destruction on him."

With trembling lips and eyes dilated stood Shokti, cold fright sent shudders through her frame, but she saw naught save the grim image motionless, inert. Yet as she stared she thought the red tongue quivered, and the dreadful eyes glowed flames as if to shatter her last doubts. The strong girl crushed the fear back to her heart and cried, "Oh goddess, I desire revenge, but not his blood, nor yet his death. All that I loved on earth has now been taken. I have but one desire remaining. I want his love; grant me this boon, that he be mine."

Again the same strange voice replied, "He will never be yours,—never, never."

And now the hot blood coursed like fire through her veins, the Rajpoot warrior soul of her strong race broke forth, and Shokti spoke again, and as she spoke there was not fear, but bold defiance ringing through her voice. "Who art thou? Speak, for this is not the goddess' voice."

From behind the image came a man. Her eyes were now accustomed to the partial darkness, and she scanned him closely. He was a devotee of Kali of the Kapali* sect. His garment was of reddish hue, his hair was wreathed with crimson hibiscus, red sandal marks were bright upon his brow and round his neck that fearful garland of human skulls. But Shokti feared him not, she gazed at him awhile and then she spoke. "Who art thou?" she repeated.

"I am the servant of the goddess and have come hither at her bidding. I have a message to deliver, and I speak at her command. I see a black cloud hovering to obscure the bright sky of your destiny. A demon casts a shadow on the bright moon of your future. Unless you are delivered from his grasp, your fate bodes ill. If you desire your own wellbeing, if but a spark of

* A fearful sect who propitiated Kali with terrible deeds. It is now nearly extinct.

Kali's spirit moves your soul, then worship now the goddess with fixed purpose, pray her for the destruction of the man to whom your heart clings foolishly. But if you wish but to obtain his favour, the favour of a man who broke your heart, lacerated the woman's tenderer impulse and left her bleeding on the ground, then go your way. Insult not the great goddess by pouring foolish prayers out to her, then wend your way to him, fall at his feet and plead, and if he gives not love, accept then his contempt. He may not take you as his wife, but you may be his—"

"Stop, say no more." The girl's pride shone from her lofty brow, she thought of the day's insult, and it stung her deeply, "Who are you, — a Sanyasi * or a demon? I do not want him now, my heart revolts against the thought."

"And if you did, you would not get him. He will never be yours, he will never take you for his lawful wife. Now answer me, what will you be, the slave of the destroyer of your soul—"

"Oh will you be my Queen?" This was another voice, it sounded low and gentle, and from behind the image stepped a youth. The night had meanwhile passed, the early dawn was breaking, and by the first grey light Shokti now recognised the Sultan's son, Gaias-ud-din. The prince approached and took her hand in his.

"Now tell me, beautiful one, will you become the Queen of all Bengal? My kingdom and my wealth are vain without you."

She was abashed, she hesitated. She stood upon a cross-road; on one side love, honour, power beckoned, while on the other, scorn, degradation, insult grimly stood. One man was ready to give all for her, the other for whom she would gladly give her life, was gone from her for ever, beyond hope. She felt like the young deer chased to the sea by hunters. Her woman's heart rebelled, and yet pale lips replied, "Jahanpanat†, I will be yours.

And then the Prince took from his neck a diamond chain, placed it on her white throat and smiled. But lo, the maiden's dauntless heart grew weak, her face turned deadly white, and her closed lips quivered like the wind-blown petals of a lily.

* A male devotee.

† Protector of the world.

CHAPTER XV.

The priestess noticed not that Shokti left her, but still pursuing the course of her thought, continued. "The suppression of sin by sin, the accomplishment of right by wrong is not the teaching of the gods. The burden of sin is but increased thereby, and evil cannot be diminished by evil, this is pure Shastric teaching." Then she became aware that she was alone and relapsed into silence. But her thoughts were anxious. The door of the room was open, and a gust of wind extinguished the flame of the little oil-lamp. She looked out through the open door, and she saw the starlit sky stretching its mighty canopy above. She looked northward, and back of yonder trees the Seven Sages (the northern constellation) shone in proud splendour, the pale light of the Polar Star, ever fixed in its old place, pointing the way. And the *Yogini* gazed and marvelled. God's mighty handiwork revealed itself like a great volume of mysterious lore. And her religious soul, by meditation trained, read many a wondrous message in those stars and felt itself up-lifted to the gods.

"Oh God of gods", she spoke, "Lord of the Universe, with meek and reverent heart let me behold thy mighty work. How weak we are, who tread this dust-clad star! Have we then no control over our deeds, our passions and our fate? Are we like wind-tossed reeds, mere puppets in thy hand, to come and go like weary pilgrims, to act or cease to act, to cry or to be still according to Thy will? Good and evil, joy and sorrow, fortune and poverty, have they all but one end, one aim,—the preservation of Thy creation through diversity? And if they have no purpose but this one, then why oh Lord, hast Thou created, why the deed and the doer? Then why such punishments and such rewards that seem all so disproportionate to man's weak will and for the deeds he does, whether they be good or evil? Our actions are like the expanding air. We may not mean them to be this or that, but once set in motion they expand, they grow on us and often overpower us; we never know where what we do may end. A father's sins fall on his children; then for the sin of one must others suffer? Why must this innocent girl

suffer for the sin I did? Is this Thy will, or is it my own blindness that fails to see Thy purpose behind it? Perhaps by this she works out her own destiny; perhaps the chain that binds her to me was wrought by fate itself, that she be purified of deeds done in the past."

Now her thoughts ceased, she closed her eyes and sat absorbed in abstract meditation. The light of a thousand stars flooded her soul, and in that light the profound mystery of God's creation was revealed. A peaceful joy filled her sad heart, and now again she spoke.

"Oh God, I see, I feel the truth. In Thy creation naught is purposeless. From great intelligences to the atom, all has its aim, its purpose, all its own sphere of action. There is nothing either great or small before Thee. Thou art in the slightest grain of dust and in the worlds that roll through space. The spark that dwells within the dust grows and expands as ages pass, until a higher form of life is reached. Unto the utmost ends of all that is, Thy being rules. All existence is by progress moved, and the end of being is the blending into the Universal Consciousness. From the small atom to the spiritual soul, all moves and whirls around restlessly in the great *Sansara* wheel towards its eternal goal. Through many births we pass and many deaths, thus through a thousand lives to find our peace, to work our own salvation and the purpose of the world. And in this voyage over the sea of being, sin and piety, passion and renunciation, joy and sorrow—all do their work to lead the barge into the distant harbour. Ah, thousandfold Thy ways, oh great Creator, to lead Thy pilgrims over the sea of life, but each individual is chooser of the vessel by which he braves the wave. Our sight is limited, we see but a small range, therefore our fear of storm and danger. But the Eternal Consciousness is pilot at each helm, and he who once knows Thee is safe. Thou causest righteousness to spring from sin, renunciation from desire. But as the sunlight peeps through threatening clouds, so shines Thy mercy through the thunderbolts of fate. Thy glory is unmeasurable, Thy power endless. Only he to whom Thou givest understanding can conceive Thee dimly. Oh Lord, why hast Thou

kept me in this world? Since Thou hast blest this life of mine with mercy from Thy hand, tell me oh Lord of Hosts, what task of mine remains still incomplete?"

The *Yogini's* meditation was interrupted. She heard the sound of horse's hoofs, and the gray morning-light revealed the figure of a turbaned Mussulman on horseback near the door.

"Salutation unto you, mother," said the rider. "Will you come outside? I have come to announce to you the favour of the *Badshah*.*" The *Mataji*† went to the door and at a distance saw beneath a tree a richly decorated palanquin, near which stood officers and servants. She was surprised to see all this and asked the rider at the threshold for an explanation. "Why is that palanquin there?" she said.

"To take our *Begum*,‡" said the Mussalman. "Our lord, the *Sultan*, desires to marry the beautiful maiden that resides with you. Be good enough to bring her here."

The priestess' usual calm deserted her, and angrily she said, "Does not the *Badshah* know she is a Hindu? There can be no union between her and him."

"A Mussalman may wed a Hindu maiden," replied the rider, "our faith is noble. The Prophet's religion is the religion of the world. Unto the Moslem faith all may be won."

"But why should she abandon her own faith?"

The man laughed and replied, "No woman ever was so foolish as not to give her creed to wed the *Sultan*. All I ask is that you will bring the maiden here. The rest will be arranged in time."

"That cannot be," was the *Yogini's* firm reply, "her father left her in my charge, I yield the girl to no one."

"You disobey the *Badshah's* orders? If you refuse to give the girl, I shall enter the temple."

"It is a ruler's duty to protect his subjects, not to tyrannize. I shall refuse to give her up. Go, tell your *Badshah* that."

"If you value your own welfare, give up the girl, or I arrest you as a rebel," and with these words the officer alighted. The

* Emperor.

† Holy Mother.

‡ Queen.

priestess fled and darted towards the room where Kali's image stood.

As she approached, Shokti came from the shrine, and with her was a youth who clasped her hand in his. The *Sanyasini* could not trust her eyes, she stood stupified. "Shokti, who is this man?" she firmly asked.

"The Crown-prince, Gaias-ud-din, my husband."

Amazement overpowered her, she stood rooted to the spot. Meanwhile the Prince and Shokti went towards the woods and disappeared.

* * * *

The sun was rising. The priestess stood with head erect and gazed upon the fiery orb of light which slowly rose upon the eastern sky. Once more her soul spoke forth, "Oh Lord of Hosts, I comprehend the purpose of my life. I am to free my country from this yoke of despotism and oppression. Nor is it mine alone, this task. She too is chosen as thy instrument, this girl. Thou callest both, oh Will Divine, one by desire, the other by renunciation. Oh Thou Eternal, Thou art the Creator, the creation Thou; Thou art knowledge, Thou illusion; Thou art the stimulator and the repressor. Thou art Karma, Thou its fruit. Enlighten my mind, oh All-powerful One with Thy wisdom, give me strength to fulfil Thy design. Om!"

CHAPTER XVI.

It was spring. The young year made the woods resound with song; fanned by soft breezes swayed the branches, and the fragrance of the mango-buds filled the soft air. Today the woods were still more merry, for maidens were assembled here to celebrate the year's first festival. Young, beautiful and gay, themselves the flowers of the spring of life, they made the woodland ring with laughter. They were the ladies of the Court of Dinajpore, who had accompanied the Prince to Pandua for the tournament, the Maharaja having his own residence at the Capital.

Our India is the land of legends, each tree has its own tale. The fragrance of the mango-blossom is one of the seven arrows of the Hindu Cupid, and under the Kadam-

ba's cooling branches Krishna wooed Radhika. The Asoka tree cannot bring forth its bloom unless touched by a maiden's feet. But alas for you, poor Asoka tree, you have in this unromantic age to produce your blossoms unaided. In this festival you were left untouched, the legend notwithstanding. Young life wants its own merri-ment, and the guava tree was more inviting. Its young branches quivered with delight under a pair of dainty crimson-tinted feet, for a frolicsome girl had mounted it and dexterously climbed from branch to branch. A number of her companions stood around the tree, some straining their necks and gazing at her in admiration, while others, incited to bravery by her daring, tried to follow in her footsteps. But they seemed to lack her ability for climbing, for every attempt proved a failure, and they found themselves back on the lap of mother earth before they knew it, to the great merriment of the onlookers. But there were those amongst them whose strict sense of decorum made them feel shocked at this tomboy's unbecoming behaviour, and they did not hesitate to express their disapproval. They exhorted the bold climber to come down in tones mixed with reproach and gentle entreaty. But the adventuress only received new impetus therefrom and aspired to more and bolder deeds of heroism. She laughed and shook down a shower of fruit upon their heads.

From another tree a rain of plums fell down to earth. Its boughs were low, and one of the cheerful crowd shook it while standing. The plum-tree was not blessed with the touch of maiden's feet, a pair of tender hands sufficed to make it yield its treasure, which fell in profusion unending, like *Draupadi's rice. Nor was the scattered spoil left long on the ground, pretty hands gathered it with eagerness while merry voices rang.

To some, however, this pastime seemed unromantic. They were those, who in the bloom of young womanhood, were still in their years of courtship, which in India begins after marriage. They gathered flowers to be woven into wreaths and taken home for one whom even in this hour of merry-

* A story in the Mahabharat. Krishna blessed Draupadi and granted her prayer and after that her rice vessel was never empty.

making they could not banish from their thoughts. Still others were tempted by neither fruit nor flowers. They were moved perhaps by the thoughts of the prey they had left at home, enslaved by the beauty of their black eyes and caught in the meshes of their youthful charms, and following their natural propensity sat down by the lake and baited fish.

Two girls were seated apart on a stone slab in the mango-grove. They wove their flowers into ornaments and whispered softly, telling each other of those tender secrets that stir the heart in youth. Suddenly from the distance came the sound of a sweet voice, which made the mango-grove vibrate with song. It was Rangini who sang, a girl in the bloom of youth. She was married to the Court poet, a sentimental old man more than twice her age, who claimed to be ever young at heart and poured out his love for his young wife in foolish, jovial verse. It was one of these silly little love-songs that she was gaily singing as she came along.

This interrupted the weaving of flowers, the girls looked up eagerly, and one exclaimed, "There comes that dear, old, stupid Rangini." And then she came in sight, Rangini Sundari, still singing she approached the mango-grove.

"Go along", laughed Kusum who was one of the two seated under the mango trees, "we don't want to hear your old husband's love songs."

Rangini coming closer answered gaily back, "Very well, my dear, then you be my young husband." Then she caressed Kusum's face and continued her song,

"Oh moonfaced maiden hear my tale,
I am like clay in your white hands.
Leave me, and oh, my lips turn pale,
You are my wealth, you are my lands,
My silk and shawls. And night and day
My heart pines for you. Oft I fear
Some one may snatch my love away,
What shall I do when you'r not near?
You are my pudding, you my rice,
My cloak, my cooling drink, my grain,
My betel leaf, sweet-meat and spice,
And my umbrella in the rain.
You are the Veda's ancient lore
You my religious rite.
The dawn that comes the day before,
My sacrifice, my light.
You keep me bound where'er I go,
You chastise evil with your broom.
Your smile rids me of all my woe,
You are my bliss, you are my doom."

"Your old husband knows how to make love certainly," laughed Kamini, the other one of the two, who listened to Rangini's song.

"Better than your young husband. I have never heard a single witty word from his lips. If I had such a husband, I would renounce the world and go into exile."

"Kamini's husband is very sly," said Kusum, "he does all his love-making on the quiet. Do sing something else."

"Would you like to hear the answer to that song?" asked Rangini. "As soon as he sang it, I gave him tit for tat."

"Oh, then you have become a poet as well as your husband" exclaimed Kamini.

"As you please, my lady," retorted Rangini quickly, and now she sang again, this time a song of her own manufacture.

"Oh my dear life!

You are my household care,
My cooking pot, my paring knife,
Millstone and earthen-ware.
My curry-stone and frying pan,
My ornaments and jewelled fan,
My ladle, fork and kitchen broom,
My money bag and weaving-loom.
You are my Krishna's flute and song,
And your wife's quarrel all day long."

Now Nirupama came quietly upon them and called out as she came,

"Rangini does sing beautifully." Seeing her, the girls rose to their feet and saluted her.

"Her music sounds like Krishna's flute," added Kamini.

"You must sing this song to the Rajkumar today," exclaimed Nirupama. Ganesh Dev was now Raja, but Nirupama called him Rajkumar still through force of habit.

"No, dear, why should I sing?" said Rangini, "you ought to welcome him with song today. It is for you to give him this reward as winner of tournament."

Nirupama smiled, her young heart filled with joy and pride, and shyly she replied, "You girls must welcome him with song, and I will garland him with flowers."

"Let us wreath you first," called out Kusum, "then you may take the garland from your neck and wreath your husband." And then they decked the Princess with flowers, while Kusum and Kamini sang the words of Krishna, the great mythological lover.

"Ah thou my soul, friend of my heart,
Without thee life is sad and cold."

To which Nirupama, impersonating Radhika, replied,

"Sweet are thy words, mellow thy art,
My cunning Krishna. Ah behold
Fair Chandrabali's laughing eyes,
While the sad Radha weeps and sighs."

Kusum and Kamini replying,

"Ah speak not thus, thy own heart knows,
My Radha, that thy fears are vain.
Behold my heart, like ocean flows
My love. Why cause such bitter pain?
Ah, that thy lotus feet might be
Two vessels on these silver waves
Of love, which draws my soul to thee,
My heart had found all that it craves."

When the song was finished Nirupama suddenly said,

"This garland will not do. I must make one myself and give it to him. There are flowers in abundance, let me string them into a wreath." And seating herself on the slab she began to weave her garland. A shadow crossed her fair young face, the memory of a day long passed flashed over her mind. She thought of the day when Ganesh Dev took the garland she had woven and placed it on the neck of Shokti. She looked around as if she felt her near, but seeing Shokti not, sighed happily relieved and went on with her task. Then from the distance came the mellow sound of flute-notes. The maidens listened.

"Hark", said Kamini, "it is the same old tune. It brings the days of childhood back, I have not heard it since. Do you remem-

ber, *Bourani, the happy days at Dinajpore, do you recall the time when in the garden by lake Mohipal, we once played "Raja and Rani?"

Did she remember? Ah, poor Nirupama! She remembered all too well, and to this day the thought of it darkened her happiness. She did not raise her eyes while her friend spoke, but softly sighing said, "How is it that the Rajkumar has not yet come? The tournament is over by this time. Can it be he who plays the flute?"

Yes, it was the Rajkumar who played the flute. For while the maidens frolicked in the woods, weaving their wreaths to welcome him, Ganesh Dev sat with Shokti hand in hand by the shore of the river some distance from the merry throng. It was the tune he played on Shokti's flute they heard wafted softly through the air, while Nirupama waited his return. Ah, poor child, how could he come to you? He has this hour found Shoktimoi, his young life's queen. He knows not Nirupama now, his soul is wrapped in her, whose face smiles on him, his youth's companion and his boyhood's dream. He is once more the boy Ganesh Dev on that bright summer day, when by lake Mohipal he chose his Queen, the maiden of his heart,—naught else he knows. Alas, poor Nirupama, did the winds waft you a message of the scene by yonder shore?

(To be continued.)

* Prince's bride

A PLEA FOR AN INDIAN JUVENILE COURT

II.

THE MACHINERY OF THE CHILDREN'S COURT IN MOTION.

HOW do the principles outlined in the preceding paper work in the matter-of-fact, every-day world? If they work successfully, how is the machinery of the Children's Court set up and run? This will be the burden of the present article. One feature of the Juvenile Court, the work

of the probation officers, has been lightly touched upon in this paper, for the reason that it was dealt with quite exhaustively in "Making the Bad Child Good," which appeared in *The Modern Review* for December, 1908.

The Juvenile Court is no longer an experiment. It is an institution that has been doubted, reviled and tested. It has stood the doubts, revilements and tests, and has emerged from the experimental stage as

an institution of proven merit and beneficence, an institution that has come to stay for the betterment of our race.

The State of Colorado challenges the State of Illinois as to being the progenitor of the Juvenile Court idea. The late Judge Harvey B. Hurd of Chicago, and Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, Colorado, are both styled the "Father of the Juvenile Court." The State of Massachusetts claims the initiation of the probation system. These questions are purely academic and do not concern outsiders. The Juvenile Court at Denver, presided over by Judge Lindsey, is conceded by all fair-minded critics to be the best of its kind. Judge Lindsey is a man who loves children, not in the way of a foolish parent who does not resist the temptation of giving candy to his child, and sickens him with the sweets, but in a sensible, saving manner—a man who has sympathy, patience and intelligence to look into the troubles of the boy or girl, analyze the situation keenly and honestly, and arrive at the *causa causans*—a man who does not inspire the youth with a dread of the law, but instills in him a love of right living, of a "square deal"—a man who will fight to a finish the agencies that tend toward contaminating the rising generation and degenerating them. These leading traits of Judge Lindsey's character have made his Juvenile Court the model children's tribunal in the United States—in the world.

The Juvenile Court at Denver has now been in operation for nine years, during which period it has amply justified its existence. Thousands of children, of both sexes, of poor and rich parentage, have been brought before Judge Lindsey. Many of these little ones have been found physically defective and the effort has been made to correct their defects: as a result moral delinquency has been automatically removed from them. Many of the children were victims of circumstances and the Court has helped them to overcome the temptations that surrounded them and thereby improved their moral tone and put a period to their delinquency. Many of the boys and girls have been rescued from the wrecking influence of the drink-shop and brothel and put on their feet to start in life again. Great numbers of boys and girls have been rescued from drunken, immoral, neglectful

parents and placed in surroundings where they will have a better chance to live a decent and worth-while life. Some of the youths have been subjected to wholesome discipline in an Industrial School, where their characters have been strengthened, their energies trained, and ideals of decency implanted and nurtured within them. Out of the thousands of boys and girls that were brought to the court charged with more or less virulent delinquency, all except an infinitesimal percentage have been effectually cured of their badness. Judged in the light of this fact, the Juvenile Court has been eminently successful.

The success of the Juvenile Court is mainly attributable to the fact that while the Judge is considerate of the feelings of the child, and kind to him in every particular at the same time, he looks after his best interests and protects him from ruin. Thus kindness and discipline go hand in hand. On the one hand there is none of the hard-headed justice which more or less smacks of the give and take of commercialism; on the other hand the Judge is not trying the young offender as Mrs. Grundy's delegate, who is to determine his punishment for having wronged society: on the other hand the Judge has enough ballast of character, acumen and integrity to subject the juvenile to wholesome discipline for his own good. The discipline to which the boy is subjected, supplemented by his awakened desire to uplift himself, which is roused by the efforts of the Juvenile Court, works for the reformation of the youngster and makes the institution of the Children's Court an unqualified success.

The work of the Juvenile Court is no sinecure. Essentially it is a new work. The Judge has few precedents to go by, and therefore has to invent new methods of solving the problems with which he is constantly confronted. The questions that rise before him are numerous and complicated. They require a great deal of original research work, patience and probity. That, in the face of these circumstances, the Juvenile Court should have justified its existence by its unqualified success, shows that the principles upon which it is founded are sound and success-insuring.

The city of Denver, Colorado, where Judge Lindsey's Court is located, has a

population of nearly 150,000. The latest years for which statistics are available for the Juvenile Court of Denver are 1904 and 1905. A peep into the figures of this biennial period gives a wonderful insight into the work of the Children's Court.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST CHILDREN.

	1904	1905
No. of complaints heard in office	864	1,181

CASES SETTLED OUT OF COURT.

	1904	1905
No. of cases settled by probation officers without any legal procedure	558	354

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BROUGHT INTO COURT.

	1904	1905
Delinquent boys	603	376
Delinquent girls	33	46

TOTAL ... 636 422

FORMS OF DELINQUENCY CHARGED AGAINST JUVENILES.

	1904		1905	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Truancy*	88	8	60	15
Larceny	154	10	155	7
Incorrigibility	12	11	8	11
Malicious mischief	284	...	64	...
Immorality	2	4	9	6
Disorderly Conduct	33	...	40	7
Loitering	13	...	22	...
Burglary	2	...	10	...
Cruelty to animals	15	...	...	...
Frequenting saloons	...	...	1	...
Forgery	...	...	1	...
Gambling	...	...	6	...
TOTAL	603	33	376	46

(*) Many of the commitments have been made under the head of truancy, as the form of delinquency; although in most of such cases there were other forms of delinquency of a more serious character, and to protect the record of the child the charge has been truancy rather than some other form of delinquency. No child is charged with crime, but a record is kept of the form of delinquency.

CASES AGAINST ADULTS FOR CONTRIBUTORY DELINQUENCY.

	1904				1905				Total.
	Guilty.		Discharged.		Guilty.		Discharged.		
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
For sending child to steal coal ...	2	5	3	2	1	3	...	3	19
Encouraging petty larceny ...	8	11	...	...	6	2	...	...	27
Failure to send child to school...	19	6	10	4	10	6	1	1	57
For sending child to saloon ...	5	2	...	...	1	2	...	...	10
For admitting children to saloons and selling liquor to minors ...	11	...	3	...	33	2	13	...	62
For giving liquor to children ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
For taking child into a saloon ...	1	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	5
For selling tobacco to boys ...	1	...	1	...	7	...	1	...	10
For encouraging loitering ...	2	2	...	...	1	...	1	1	7
For parental neglect ...	3	2	1	3	5	2	...	...	16
For allowing child to stay in assignation house ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
For using obscene language in presence of child ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2
For encouraging cruelty to animals ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
For immoral relation with children ...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3
For admitting girls to wine rooms ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
For giving tobacco to child ...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	3
For encouraging child to commit assault ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	4
For encouraging immorality ...	...	...	...	...	3	2	4	1	10
GRAND TOTAL	52	30	19	...	75	23	24	9	241

COMMITMENTS TO STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

Age	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
1904.										
Truancy	1	...	...	1	9	3	...	2	...	16
Larceny	...	1	3	5	...	5	2	2	...	18
1905.										
Truancy	...	...	1	1	1	4	3	1	...	11
Larceny	...	...	1	1	2	1	1	4	4	14
Incorrigibility	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	3
TOTAL	1	1	5	9	12	13	7	10	4	62

COMMITMENTS TO STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

Age	...	...	...	...	13	15	16	Total
1904.								
Incorrigibility	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	4
1905.								
Incorrigibility	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
TOTAL	1	1	5	9	12	13	7	62

PROBATIONERS WHO REPORT.

	Dec. 31 1904	Dec. 31 1905
No. of probationers reporting to court:		
School boys	...	140
School girls	...	2
Working boys	...	47
Working girls	...	1
TOTAL	...	190

PARENTS OF DELINQUENTS.

Normal	...	...	...	...	568
Father dead	...	...	...	...	187
Mother dead	...	...	...	...	103
Both parents dead	...	...	...	...	45
Parents separated	...	...	...	...	155
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	1,058

A PLEA FOR AN INDIAN JUVENILE COURT

19

NUMBER OF CHILDREN HELD AT THE DETENTION SCHOOL AND FORMS OF DELINQUENCY CHARGED.					FORMS OF DELINQUENCY CHARGED IN CASES AGAINST DEFECTIVES.				
From Dec 12 1903 to end of					Incorrigible	...	...	...	21
1904					Larceny	...	...	...	17
Boys Girls					Truancy	...	...	...	7
1905					Immorality	...	...	...	6
Boys Girls					Runaways	...	...	...	2
Truancy	...	105	1	91	Bad conduct in school	...	...	...	2
Larceny	...	111	1	168	Forgery	...	...	...	1
Malicious mischief	...	30	...	50	Malicious mischief	...	...	...	1
Incorrigibility	...	10	10	5	Assault	...	...	...	1
Shooting craps	...	7	...	6	Drunkenness	...	...	...	1
Jumping on Cars	...	83	...	5	TOTAL				
Runaways	...	35	...	17	SEX OF DELINQUENTS FOUND TO BE DEFECTIVE.				
General delinquency	...	100	...	62	Boys	...	...	...	51
Dependent	...	50	17	89	Girls	...	...	...	8
TOTAL	...	531	29	493	TOTAL				
AVERAGE LENGTH OF DETENTION OF INMATES AT THE DETENTION SCHOOL.					FAMILY HISTORY OF IMBECILIC DELINQUENTS.				
1904					Negative	...	...	...	13
Boys					Tubercular	...	...	...	4
Girls					Insanity	...	...	...	4
11 days					Asthma	...	...	...	1
9 days					Cerebral Hemorrhage	...	...	...	1
10 days					TOTAL				
8 days					...				
					23				

ANALYSIS OF 15 DEFECTIVE CASES.

No.	Sex.	Age.	School Grade.	Temperament.	Family History.	Previous History.	Form of Delinquency.	Nervous System.	General Examination.	Remarks.
1	Boy.	14	1	Restless.	Negative.	Negative.	Larceny.	Imbecile.	Characteristic deformities of imbecility.	Recommended commitment to institution.
2	Boy.	13	5	Bright.	Negative.	Epilepsy.	Truancy.	Negative.	Eczema.	Treated for epilepsy.
3	Boy.	10	3	Restless.	Negative.	Negative.	Bad conduct in school.	Negative.	Anaemia.	Tonic treatment.
4	Boy.	10	2	Bright.	Negative.	St. Vitus dance.	Immorality.	Negative.	Marked anaemia.	Treatment for anaemia and chorea.
5	Boy.	15	6	Bright.	Negative.	Negative.	Immorality.	Negative.	Negative.	Discharged.
6	Boy.	15	6	Sluggish.	Negative.	Weak lungs.	Incorrigible.	Negative.	Negative.	Discharged.
7	Boy.	14	3	Bright.	Negative.	Negative.	Larceny.	Negative.	Anaemia.	Tonic treatment.
8	Boy.	15	6	Restless.	Negative.	Negative.	Immorality.	Negative.	Negative.	Discharged.
9	Boy.	12	5	Restless.	Father alcoholic; mother criminal.	Negative.	Larceny.	Negative.	Anaemia and eye defect.	Prescribed glasses and tonic treatment.
10	Boy.	16	5	Gloomy.	Negative.	All muscular movements since birth awkward; speech defective; mentally dull.	Incorrigible.	Imbecile.	Characteristic deformities of imbecility.	Recommended commitment to institution.
11	Girl.	9	None.	Gloomy.	Mother insane; brother imbecile.	Mentally defective since birth.	Incorrigible.	Idiot.	Characteristic deformities of idiocy.	Recommended commitment to institution.
12	Boy.	17	4	Sluggish.	Father insane.	St. Vitus dance and paralysis; mentally dull.	Drunkenness.	Infantile paralysis.	Anaemia.	Recommended commitment to institution.
13	Boy.	13	4	Sluggish.	Negative.	Convulsions between 3 and 4 years of age.	Larceny.	Normal.	Normal.	Discharged.
14	Girl.	14	8	Restless.	Negative.	Very nervous.	Larceny.	Negative.	Negative.	Mouth breather. Discharged as normal.
15	Boy.	14	9	Gloomy.	Negative.	Negative.	Larceny.	Negative.	Negative.	Masturbator. Advised circumcision.

The work of the Denver Juvenile Court, though very heavy, as the above quoted statistics show, is done by a limited machinery. The personnel of the Court consists of the Judge, Clerk of the Court, Chief

Probation Officer, one man and one woman probation officer, Superintendent of the Detention School and his assistant who is his wife, Deputy District Attorney, a special police officer and his deputy. The

Judge is not only the Juvenile Court Judge, but also the Judge of the County Court. The probation officers are paid officials. The Chief Probation Officer receives Rs. 4,500 a year and has an allowance of Rs. 3,300 a year as an expense account, to be paid out under the direction of the Court. The two other Probation Officers are paid Rs. 3,600 per annum each. Provision is made for the appointment of Probation Officers by the Juvenile Judge, subject to the approval of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, which is composed of two women and five men, experienced in philanthropic work.

When it is considered that the work of the Juvenile Court is an active agency against crime amongst men and women as well as little folks, and therefore an effective check on the nation's incurring expense on account of building and maintaining jails and criminal courts, it will readily be seen that the small expense incurred by the Children's Court is not only a justifiable expense, but at heart is an economy. In fact, Judge Lindsey has proved, by a comparative table showing the cost of caring for children by the old and new ways, that in 18 months the Juvenile Court actually saved the State and County Rs. 2,66,483.

Not only is the machinery of the Juvenile Court inexpensive and exceedingly simple; but it also works with smoothness and without break-downs. Complaints or petitions declaring any child to be delinquent and briefly stating the cause of the delinquency may be filed in the County Courts of the several Counties of the State, by the District Attorneys of the various Counties as well as by Probation Officers appointed by the Court. In Denver all complaints and petitions are filed by probation officers who are vested with all the powers and authority of Sheriffs to make arrests, etc. In some States citizens are permitted to file complaints; but the Denver method has been proved by practice to be the best. Citizens are likely to indiscriminately file petitions and complaints for petty grievances against the child, which do not merit the dignity of court proceedings. In Denver the Probation Officer thoroughly investigates a case before the petition or complaint is filed, and often settles it out of court, thus saving expense to the County and humiliation to the child and its parents.

The powers of the Denver Juvenile Court have never been abused. Only two cases out of the two thousand against both children and parents that came before the Court during the first three years, have employed lawyers to defend them, and no one has ever complained about the disposition of a case, although several hundred adults have been fined or sent to jail and a large number of children committed to institutions. Exceptional cases sometimes crop up—cases of depravity and extreme viciousness among the young, which demand sternness rather than kindness. For the trial of such cases the State reserves the right, by one section of the Juvenile Court Law, to consider any one of them under sixteen years of age, a proper subject for the criminal court, subject to all the rules and penalties of the criminal law: but so far the Denver Juvenile Court has not been obliged to make use of this proviso in a single case. A separate law deals with the parents and other adults who contribute to the delinquency of the child offender; but these adult cases are tried by the same judge, in the same court and on the same day as the children's cases. In this way there is concentrated in one court, in one jurisdiction, under the surveillance of the same set of officers, every case of a dependent or delinquent child as well as of those responsible for its dependency or delinquency. The Compulsory Education Law and the Child Labor Law, both separate from the Juvenile Court Law, are also enforced in the Children's Court, by the same Judge. In order to avoid constitutional difficulties and attacks upon the Act, the Juvenile Court Law provides for a trial by jury in case it is demanded, and also extends the right to counsel. Annual reports to the State Board of Charities and Corrections are required, containing detailed information as to the workings of the Juvenile Court. The names and identity of parents and children brought to the Juvenile Court are prohibited by law from being revealed in the annual reports. Similarly, the Judge of the Juvenile Court has prevailed upon the local newspapers not to publish the names of girl offenders that have been brought to Court. This practice would injure their reputations in after life, and very effort is made by the Court to keep any taint from attaching to the child's

name on account of being brought before it.

Having outlined the preliminaries, now the administrative work of the Court will be discussed. The child is brought to the Juvenile Court Session in obedience to a summons issued by the Court based upon a complaint or petition filed by a Probation Officer, who has carefully investigated the case and decided that it is worthy of the Court's attention. Once in Court, the Judge listens to the report of the Probation Officer, the testimony of the parents and aggrieved party or parties, and everyone who is likely to be acquainted with the facts in the case. Then he takes the child into his chambers and talks to him in a fatherly, kind fashion, seeking to get from him the truth about the affair. In every move he makes, the Judge is actuated by just one motive—to discover the true cause of the delinquency and remove it. Sometimes the cause is hard to trace, but almost invariably it goes back to some adult influence. For instance, a young messenger boy was brought before Judge Lindsey for overcharging for delivering messages, and appropriating the amount of the over-charge to his own use. After careful sifting, the whole trouble was traced back to a certain day when, answering a call, the lad was sent to a drink shop by a man to purchase a bottle of wine and deliver it to a woman inmate of a house of ill-fame. Upon delivering it, the woman coaxed him to take a drink. He never before had tasted liquor, but she made him feel that it would be a manly thing for him to drink. He liked the taste of the wine so well that he began to over charge and pilfer money in order to buy surreptitious drinks. The Judge took him in hand to teach him how to live the life-worth-while, and extorted from the manager of the messenger service a promise never again to send boys to liquor shops or houses of ill-fame. The lad was forgiven, placed on his honor, and taken back to work, with the result that he never again was guilty of an offence against society.

The children who come before Judge Lindsey are invariably placed on probation (that is to say, on their good behaviour and given a chance to be good at home, before being sent to a reformatory institution. A close watch is kept upon their doings by

means of a record system. Most of the boys and girls who come under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court, attend school. These youngsters are made to bring, every other week, a report from their teacher setting forth their actions as "good," "fair," and "poor," and suggesting the cause of the report being what it is. Unknown to the children, the school principals and teachers have been notified of the fact that they are special wards of the Court. Every Monday a full list of boys and girls on probation is sent to the principals of the schools which they attend, along with an outline of the causes that led the child to the Court. With these to guide them, the teachers pay special attention to these little ones, seeking to uplift them and help them to be good. If a child on probation fails to attend school without excuse for 24 hours, the principal immediately telephones the head quarters of the Juvenile Court and a Probation Officer is detailed to look up the truant and report upon the case. Some few of the children work for their living, and do not attend school. These are made to bring reports of behaviour from their employers. So perfectly does the record system keep the Court in touch with the children, that in very few cases is visitation of the homes by probation officers necessary in order to make the bad child good.

Every other Friday and Saturday the reports are presented to the Court by the little folks. The girls bring theirs' on Friday and the boys on Saturday.

The Saturday Juvenile Court Days are of special interest. At these Sessions the Judge does most of his work of personally influencing the children to be good. The tables and benches are removed for this occasion and the boys sit on long rows of chairs which stretch across the room and make the Court look more like a school or place of amusement than a tribunal of justice. The Judge comes down from his bench and mingles with the boys and discusses with them their child-troubles. He reads the reports and comments on them. If the report is "fair" or "poor," he does not scold or punish the child, but expresses sorrow at learning that his confidence has been misplaced. He tells the boy that he wants to "stick with him" and help him, but if he will not help himself, a

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trip to the State Industrial School at Golden will be necessary, not as a punishment, but because the boy is too weak to learn to be good unless he is placed in an institution where he will be forced to be good until it becomes a habit with him. Sometimes a sort of moral physic is administered by sending the boy to the Detention Home over Sunday instead of allowing him to go home. The Detention Home is provided in place of the jail, and the one at Denver has proved to be an eminent success. During the period the children are detained there they are engaged in healthy occupations. The home is more of an industrial school than a place of detention. The child goes on with his studies just as if he was at school. Thus he does not lose time or lag in his studies. Sending him to the Detention Home and thus separating him from his parents for two or three nights is usually a most effective way of bringing a boy to his senses by giving him a foretaste of what will follow if he does not gather himself together and try to be good. If the child has been given chance after chance to reform and has failed to take advantage of them, the Judge sends him to the Industrial School. But even in this he attempts to rouse a spirit of manliness in the punished child by relying on his honour and sending him alone instead of in the custody of a policeman. He explains to the youth why it is best for him and for society that he should go to the Industrial School for a little while, explains that he has implicit confidence in him and will not humiliate him by placing him in charge of a policeman, gives him the paper committing him to the place of detention and the money to pay his fare there, and sends the boy, alone, to report at the School. In no instance has his trust been betrayed. The lad invariably has reported to the School and cheerfully served his time.

In the Saturday Sessions Judge Lindsey always delivers a short speech, using boy terms and never talking above the heads of his audience. He explains in simple English, the meaning of the law, and makes them understand the relations between the individual and society. He impresses them with the necessity for laws, law administrators and officers, and makes them understand and feel that the law is their friend,

and not their enemy—that the Judge is there for their benefit, not their punishment—and that they ought to respect and co-operate with the Court instead of working against it.

Lads who work all day bring their reports to the Judge at night, and he has heart to heart talks with them encouraging them to be good. If the report is good, the Judge tells all the other boys about it. He says Johnnie is a "bully fellow", "one of the squarest kids that ever lived". He expresses his joy and satisfaction by a pat on the head, a shake of the hand. The lad's face is wreathed in smiles and the other boys are beaming with delight. During school vacations "report days" are held once a month, and the boys give their own reports verbally. The Judge always takes their word for it, and his trust in them inspires them to be truthful. Thus he stimulates their pride and makes them anxious to be good in order to win his approval. Judge Lindsey impresses the boys with the fact that he is their best friend and that he considers their interests paramount to every thing else in the world. This was shown in a little incident that once occurred in his Court. One day, during a busy Civil Session of the Court, while Judge Lindsey, in the capacity of County Judge, was trying a Will case involving six millions of rupees, the court room door opened. A boy who had been before the Juvenile Court Judge and who had become convinced that the man on the bench was his friend and wanted to help him, poked his tousled head and freckled face into the court-room. The bailiff "shooed" him out, but he returned, not with any thought of disobedience, but because he had learned his rights there. The Judge ordered a recess of three minutes, to the disgust of one or two of the distinguished counsel, and the boy came to the bench, unafraid now where he was crying with fear the first time when he was brought there three months before.

"What can I do for you, Morris", asked the Judge of the childish petitioner pleading his own cause. The boy explained that a new policeman had been appointed to the beat where he was in the habit of selling papers, who would not permit him to ply his trade and thereby he was losing Rs. 1/8 a day. "If you will give me an injunction again dat cop, Judge," said the boy, "I will get my rights." The kindly clerk, catching the spirit of the thing, handed the judge a blank in-

junction writ, in the body of which he wrote a kindly note to the police constable. He told him that Morris was a good boy and brought splendid reports from his teacher, and that he was his friend. He explained to the boy the duties of an officer, and how he represented the law, and he must respect him. With the writ in a sealed envelope, he went away rejoicing. In a week he came again with the usual excellent report, and the Judge said: "Well, Morris, how did the injunction work?" "Oh," said the lad, "I tell yer, Judge, it worked fine, it did. He liked to have dropped dead when he read it. Say, Judge, he is trying to be my friend, now; he wants to get on the good side of me. He thinks I've got a pull (influence) wid de Court."

His whole-hearted sympathy with children has made Judge Lindsey the friend of every boy and girl in and around Denver. Children go to him with their troubles, as they would to their fathers and mothers in whom they reposed their trust. Numbers of little ones voluntarily come to the Juvenile Court and ask Judge Lindsey to help them to be good. The Judge relates one pathetic instance.

"One day at the close of a busy session of the civil court, I noticed a little fellow sitting back in the court room all alone. I called him up to the bench. I had never seen him before. With tears in his eyes the lad told me that he was 10 years old, that his father had deserted his mother and that his mother had gone away and left him; that he was living with a good lady and that he had been stealing things for a long time and some of the kids had told him if he kept it up the policeman would get him and he had better come and tell me about it, and I would get him out of trouble and help to make him good."

In order to accomplish the best results among some of the delinquent boys, the Court has provided a fund for their relief. When children come to Court poorly clad and shod, they are warmly clothed out of the relief fund which has been raised for that purpose by charitably inclined people. As an example of the good effects of this relief work, a single instance may be cited. Judge Lindsey tells the story:

"I remember coming into Denver one cold morning when a poorly shod little boy came up to the passengers through the depot to carry their baggage. I stopped the boy and asked him if he did not know he would get into the Juvenile Court for being out of school. He said he was too sharp for the Juvenile Court, and that Judge Lindsey could never catch him. He insisted that he had a right to carry baggage if he could make a quarter, as he needed it to help his mother. I took the boy with me to the Court House, against his cries and protestations. He was shod and decently clad, placed upon probation, and through the assistance rendered the home and the boy, he has become one of our warmest supporters and one of the best boys in the Court."

One Christmas, through the donations of

the merchants of Denver and many friends of the Court, an elaborate Christmas entertainment was planned for the boys in the Juvenile Court room. Every boy on the probation list who desired to come was invited. The Christmas presents consisted of good things in the way of fruits, nuts, games and books, and every boy was given Rs. 1/8 in money. Their behaviour was commented on by a number of persons as being even better than that of children at some of the Sunday School Christmas trees among the children of the financially well-to-do.

Judge Lindsey suggests that it would be better to pension the mothers of homes where poverty reigns supreme rather than put into state institutions the children they are unable to care for through the hard tasks our system of society and crimes of men force upon them.

When the reports of the children on probation are persistently "poor", Judge Lindsey turns them over to a physician for examination. Perhaps it turns out that his eyes are poor and his vision defective, and for this reason he has not been able to keep up with normal children in his studies, and so has gained the name of being "bad" and "stupid". One little chap had been recommended for the Industrial School because he was rebellious. He had been suspended from school and was constantly upon the street, drifting from idleness to crime. Judge Lindsey talked with him for a few hours one afternoon, and sent him to the doctor to see what made him so "strange and peculiar". The medical man discovered that the boy had had fits when he was seven years old and the nervous trouble returned in a different form at twelve, making him peevish and rebellious. The boy was placed under treatment, and at the end of eight months his teacher wrote to the Judge saying that the erstwhile incorrigible lad now was the best boy in school.

Baths and good literature are employed as reformatory agents in the work of the Court. A bath room about 20 feet square has been installed in the basement of the Court House adjoining the boiler room. Long pipes are attached to the ceiling and extend from one end of the room to the other. In the middle is a cement pool. Boys who have no such facilities at home

are encouraged to stand under the pipes and get a "rain bath", as they call it, and on every Juvenile Court day from fifty to one hundred boys take shower baths.

High-grade juvenile magazines are distributed among the boys each month, and the youngsters prefer them to the trashy "dime" (cheap) novels they have been in the habit of reading.

Once in a while Judge Lindsey holds a "snitching bee" (to "snitch" is to tell) in his chambers, where he attempts to have the boys make a clean breast of their mischievous doings. These "snitching bees" often result in bringing a large number of cases into Court that were not dreamed of in the beginning. The boys are encouraged to tell on themselves, but tattling about the other boys of "the gang" is frowned upon. For instance, two boys were once brought to Judge Lindsey's chambers by the officer apprehending them for stealing small trinkets from stores. They became interested in clearing up the matter, confessed all their misdemeanors and volunteered the information that they knew lots of other boys who were doing the same thing. They did not tell the names of the boys, but went back to school and the next day returned to the court with sixteen more. These boys attended school in a respectable neighborhood. They turned over to the Judge Rs. 60 to 90 worth of stolen goods, for the most part agate marbles and leather bags in which they carried the marbles. The Judge was desirous of discovering the causes of the delinquency in these youths, and, as every one of them was anxious to tell all about his misdemeanors, this was an easy task. Every boy who had been in a saloon or had bought cigarettes, told about it, and the Judge learned who had sent them to the drink-shops and who had furnished them with liquor or tobacco. As a result, several mothers and fathers were brought into Court; and the case which started with two little culprits jumped to twenty-two men, women and children. Every one of these boys gave up their bad habits and corrected their faults under the influence and direction of the Juvenile Court, and not one was ever committed to an industrial school or reformatory. In another case, the party caught numbered four, and these were instrumental in bringing to Court forty-four others;

while in another case six or seven culprits jumped to fifty-two others. In not one of these cases in which the boy offenders actively assisted the Court, was there ever a subsequent complaint against the lads because of a repetition of the offence.

Probably the most important work of Judge Lindsey's Court has resulted from the enforcement of the contributory delinquent act. As the result of prosecutions under this act, some of the most notorious dive-keepers in Denver have actually served time in jail of from thirty to ninety days in addition to paying heavy fines in many cases. Parents have been called to account for their children gone wrong and many of them have been fined, while in aggravated cases fathers have been sent to jail. Men have served time in jail for permitting a boy to enter a drink shop, for sending him to that vile place, and for selling him tobacco, firearms and immoral literature. In one case a father was fined for swearing in his home in the presence of his children. Young rowdies—young men who have no respect for womanhood, have served time in jail for contributing to a girl's delinquency by taking her to a wine room. So effective has been the work of the Juvenile Court in holding adults responsible for juvenile delinquency that several low drink shops have been forced out of business because of the personal work of the Court with them. The law-breakers have been given to understand that they will have to pay the penalty if they persist in leading little folks astray. Judge Lindsey relates:

"Recently a little fellow of 12 came to me joyously and said: 'Judge, old Mr.—that runs the drug store on our corner, sells cigarettes, and Johnny B. went in there to get some and old Mr.—got furious and said: 'You little rascal, get out of here just as quick as you can. How do I know that some of those kids out there don't belong to that Juvenile Court, and they will have me hauled up there to pay a hundred dollars [three hundred rupees] for selling you a nickel's worth of tobacco. Get out of here and don't you ever come back again.' Old Mr.—'s discretion was as wise as his fears were well-founded.'"

From the foregoing it will readily be seen that the Juvenile Court really ought to be regarded in the light of a hospital rather than a tribunal. Criminal tendencies are overcome and starved out for lack of expression. Many children are charitably provided for; weaklings are given crutches until their own moral backbones are strong



THE FIRST BOY SENT TO THE DETENTION SCHOOL.

He was not hand-cuffed, nor did he go to the State Institution under police guard. Unattended he went to the Detention House, carrying in hand his own warrant, and in his pocket the money to pay street car fare.



PLOTTING MISCHIEF.



"I'AM DE BOSS, SEE."

The boy on the right hand is a typical leader of a gang of boys.





PARLOUR OF THE DETENTION SCHOOL.

In no sense of the word a jail. Even the title of the so-called "reformatory" does not fit it. The Juveniles are not under constant surveillance, or penned up. They read and write and learn during school hours, and play and romp during certain parts of the day. In all essentials, the school is a home, a good, uplifting, typical home.

enough to keep them erect and firm in the right. The cases are diagnosed and remedies are applied calculated to overcome the abnormalities. And the chief cog in the machinery of this hospital for deformed character is the Judge, always watchful to help, his finger upon the pulse of child-life, kind even when stern, administering punishment as he would bitter medicine, to cure

the little one of bad conditions, applying soothing poultices or counter-irritation, as indicated—a father of the fatherless and protector of youth, a veritable lion in the path that leads to criminality, scaring back those that set foot therein, the child's best friend, whose chief business in life it is to make the bad child good.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Beloved! it is I.
From out beyond the waters deep
When lying in a weary sleep,
My soul had heard your cry!
I could wait no longer, sweet,
I came away with fleeting feet,
Wake, wake, fond one, for I am nigh,
Beloved, it is I!
How could I come, my sweet!
A million waters 'twixt us roll
And myriad lands from pole to pole,
How was I then so fleet?
Nor land nor sea can keep apart,

When heart, my love, is wed to heart,
Your cry helped on my struggling feet,
Thus could I come, my sweet!
When the world is at rest
I'll come to you night after night,
I'll kiss your lips, my heart's delight,
An ever welcome guest!
And when we're dead we'll fly above
To the happy, happy land of love,
And there we two shall build our nest,
From pain of parting we shall rest,
And for ever be at rest!

B. K. DAS.

THE DAWN

- [The following verses were written after reading Tulsi Das's beautiful description of the coming of the rains in Book IV, (Kiskindhya) of the Ramayana.]

In the purple East, the morning
 Light is dawning.
 O'er the plains the gloom is breaking,
 Earth from heaven new glory taking
 Robes herself with dewy splendour,
 Mystic, tender.

Every grove with joy is ringing,
 Birds are singing.
 Fragrance fills the air, and flowers
 Wakened by the cooling showers,
 Raise their heads from drowsy slumber
 Without number.

All the dusty drought is over,
 Earth's bold Lover,—
 The glad Sun,—with rapturous kisses
 Greets his bride, and pours his blisses
 On her radiant face, upturning
 To his yearning.

Crystal clear the streams are gushing,
 Onward rushing
 Till they join the stately river,

Where the tall, green grasses quiver,
 And the lotus flowers are blowing
 Bright and glowing.

Sons of India! Let your sadness
 Turn to gladness.
 For the long night of your sorrow
 Now has passed. A glorious morrow
 Dawns upon you; day is shining.
 Cease repining.

Fresh and green the path before you,—
 Blue skies o'er you.
 Flowers about your feet are springing,
 Birds their carol songs are singing
 Heralding the coming glory
 Of your story.

Lo! The Motherland rejoices
 At the voices
 Of her children.—Rise and greet her,
 Going forth with joy to meet her
 In the great regeneration
 Of the Nation.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS..

THE WEST AFRICAN TRADER

BY CAPTAIN SHAW.

WHILST the actual work of a trading station is apt to grow irksome and monotonous, whilst the fevers, insects, pests of earth, pests of water, and pests of air are wont to drive the trader to the verge of insanity, there are certainly moments of recreation, when, if the Briton be a man of observation, one who takes a keen interest in the new and the strange, he may see that which will keep his thoughts employed profitably for many a weary hour.

After all, it is not given to everybody to penetrate the thick forest and come out in a native village, a village of mud houses in orderly rows, that at a distance look like vast ploughed fields. The fashion of reaching such a village is somewhat out of the common, and is full of romantic pleasure. For the white traders of the African river country have learnt to rely far more on the shoulders of native bearers than on their own feet, so the correct method of procedure to be followed in making a visit to some native potentate, is to summon the ham-

mock-bearers; who will then bring a long, broad grass-hammock, fitting deliciously to every curve of the body, a means of transit the equal of which is hard to find. The trader settles down comfortably in this conveyance, two burly Krooboys take the pole and set off at a swinging lope that is the very poetry of motion. Two others bring up the rear, and change into bearers as the first two weary, so that the onward journey never ceases until the trader gives the word to halt.

Then the towns themselves are very quaint. African natives either wear no clothes at all or else wear very brightly coloured garments. The effect of striped Manchester cottons of vivid hues, draped about black-brown bodies, surmounted by thick red lips and gleaming eyes, is quite unique, and the fat picaninnies rolling hither and yon are a delight to the eyes. Here the trader might see industries carried on as they were carried on a thousand years ago. The making of clay-pottery is a fashionable industry in many of the Hinterland villages, and the deftness of the workers—women mostly—is not far behind that of the men of Burslem and Longton especially considering the fact that the crudest of tools and machinery are employed. Groups of native women, bangled and earringed, ankleted, and girt about with coils of copper wire, stand in the open places, selling bananas and Indian corn, rows of little sheds contain cloth-workers and dyers: and even soap is made here—though to judge from the faces of some of the villagers, it is not made exclusively for home consumption.

There are many other items of interest about, but all are eclipsed by the grandeur of the court of the chief who happens to rule over the destinies of this small settlement. The dusky guards are a blaze of splendour as to their upper parts: old uniform tunics, sold to Jew traders at home, come out here by the bale, and are transmogrified into garments of appalling splendour; they are clothed as to the head with frizzy hair and tin-can helmets, but from the loins downwards they are much as Nature made them. The chief himself, generally under the influence of cheap, sweet champagne, be it noted, lolls gracefully under a vast umbrella—the sign of his rank—and receives his visitor with grim

state, which might, depending entirely upon the sable monarch's whim, rise to affability or degenerate to rank enmity, with alarming consequences to the venturesome trader in search of concessions.

The trader needs to pay particular attention to his outfit prior to embarking upon this life abroad. Ordinary clothing is of but small utility here; white duck and flannellette, zephyr garments and sun-hats are more in keeping with the intense torridity of the climate. Stout shoes are an absolute necessity, for the ground underfoot is creepingly alive with crawling abominations, each one of which, whether ant, nit, beetle or spider, is fitted with a pair of jaws fit to tackle anything short of sheet iron, and against whose attacks anything lighter than solid leather is of no more account than tissue paper.

All the outfit must be packed in air-tight tins, not only that it may be preserved from watery inroads during the passage ashore through the turf, but also as a protection against damp and mildew, which two items play havoc with all clothing and equipment.

But, so West African traders will tell you, clothing is a secondary consideration out on the African rivers. You must stock yourself with a veritable chemist's shop of drugs: permanganate of potash, camphor, loose, and in pill form, castor-oil, ipecacuanha, iron in tabloid form, laudanum—invaluable for the sudden and frequent attacks of dysentery this latter—quinine by the pound, phenacetin, for the African sun is a great breeder of headaches, arsenic, Kutnow's powder, the names of the drugs are legion. One of the most necessary items is alum—that and filters. And for this reason; Out in Africa it is the rule rather than the exception to find clear drinking water. The ordinary filter might remove a lot of the foreign matter that makes the fluid undrinkable, but the surest way to command an efficient supply of drinking water is to use powdered alum. The peasoup consistency of the water sickens you at first sight, but—behold the change! You sprinkle a handful of alum upon the water—the dirt settles down at once, and there you are—the owner of a potable fluid, clear, sweet and fit for either cooking or drinking.

Mosquito nets are a sine qua non of the outfit

and should be made of doubled muslin, for the flying pests of the jungle are wily beyond their years, and will strenuously work a path through a single net. Taking them in order, the most essential portions of an outfit are alum, filters, mosquito nets, quinine, and then stout shoes, for the jiggers by day are quite as bad as the "skeeters" by night.

Once up in the bush, endless are the precautions necessary. It is far better for the unblooded trader to rely almost implicitly on the advice of his Krooboy, for then he will never pick up the apparently innocent log of firewood, prior to throwing it on the cooking fire, only to drop it of a sudden, and find a mighty scorpion clinging to his fingers.

But there is still one other feature of bush life which is worthy of mention here, though, owing to the inward march of civilisation, it is daily growing more and more uncommon. Friendly trading is the rule, unfriendly the exception, but when the natives of the interior do become unfriendly, they are very much at war with all white men. There may well come a time when the solitary trader, a thousand miles, maybe, from the coast, is compelled to turn his warehouse into a fort, and hold off sundry ferocious attacks by maddened savages, until help can be sent up from the nearest Haussa post, or, failing that help, until the last cartridge is expended, and the last barricade is beaten down. War, grim, grisly war, enters into the scale of things for those who would fare forth in the Empire's interests to the African interior.

The story of African trading is full of such chapters. These chapters tell of solitary men, alone in a wild country, having unexpectedly broken some ju-ju, or otherwise given offence to the savages, who, once their passions are aroused, are devils unchained. They tell of long nights of tireless watching until the senses become dulled by overstrain, of days of fever-haunted misery, of sham alarms to wear down the patience of the watching trader. They tell of fierce, frenzied attacks by rushing, yelling hordes of savages, who have but one aim in life, to kill or be killed, and to fight until the last drop of blood is expended. Not

merely spear-armed savages these; men who are used to the handling of firearms and who possess them, too; not merely the flint-engines of war once so common out there, but modern rifles—Martinis and Mausers, shipped inland by traders who, for their own aggrandisement, are willing to be the cause of wholesale massacres of their own white stock.

And through all this the trader must "keep his end up" so long as he can. He is not only fighting for his own life—that is a minor consideration; he is fighting for the property of the company he serves, for, it may be, the warehouses are full, from mud floor to matting roof, with precious goods—ivory, palm oil, and "trade" in abundance. These he must defend with all his might. His Krooboy may turn and flee, his halfcaste clerks may scurry away bushwards and hide their cowardly heads wherever they may, but the white trader, till the rifle barrel grows red-hot in his hand, till the back-spit of his revolver blackens and skins his hand, till his arms ache with the rise and fall of the musket butt, and then, when his defence is over and still no relief appears, he had far better reserve one last revolver bullet for private use, for the fate of the white who falls alive into the hands of these fanatical savages is not fit to be written here.

But to the average Briton such excitements would appeal rather than repel. And there is always the chance of some great discovery to be made, some splendid concession to be obtained for rich trading in rubber or mahogany; so that, though the labour is hard, the reward is not out of keeping with the toil.

To the average trader the chance of making a fortune is not too probable. There are very many in the field, Belgians, French, and Germans, but it may well be that our trader may, by reason of some kindly action or some special acumen, receive news of a great spoil to be had up-country, and then, when this spoil is located and the necessary concessions obtained, it will be found that the game is well worth the candle.

Note.—In this article the white man paints himself. How the African savage will paint him is another story.

A PLEA FOR A SANE SYSTEM OF FEMALE EDUCATION

A colloquy took place in my father's home, when I was a child of barely ten, that has left an indelible impression on my mind. My younger sister had completed her seventh year. My father had taught her the vernacular characters when she was a mere tot, and at that time the lass could read almost any book in Gurmukhi—she could even read the most difficult passages from the *Granth Sahib*, the sacred scriptures of the Sikhs. My mother not only had allowed my father to initiate the little girl into the mysteries of the Sikh alphabet, but she took every available occasion to commend his efforts and encourage the child as much as she possibly could to make a rapid progress in mastering Panjabi. Mother had a deep religious nature, and longed for the time when her daughter would be able to read the *Adi Granth* and recite from it for the edification of the family and others.

The intelligent little girl had not only gained considerable proficiency in reading and writing her mother-tongue: she had also persuaded her brother to teach her to read Urdu characters. Being quick of wit and retentive of memory, she knew almost as much of Hindustani as I did. Her girlish intuition told her that she was eating the forbidden fruit, and all that she knew of Urdu was stealthily gleaned—unknown to her mother. Father, however, was in the secret and encouraged both the girl and me. My sister had mastered the first primer—*Q'aida*. Now came a time when her ambition got the better of her good sense. She wanted to learn fast, and therefore she desired to read Urdu books all the time. Formerly the child would merely sit beside me while I studied at home, in the evening, and, while mother thought that she was keeping me company, the girl was learning Urdu—running me a hard race to keep a little ahead of her, to justify my boyish pride. But when she had finished the first book, she wanted to devote more time to

reading, and see if she could get ahead of her elder brother.

It was at this juncture that the colloquy I speak of took place between my father and mother. Mother, on discovering that her daughter had learned Urdu, was terribly wrath—she severely reprimanded the girl and positively forbade her to touch an Urdu book. The little one had cried bitterly—and went to father with her trouble.

"Now, if my older brother can read Urdu, why can't I, father?," said she appealingly, her cheeks tear-stained and her eyes red and still shedding tears. "Didn't you say, father," she argumentatively continued, "I am as good as brother? Then why can't I read, too, as he does? If Urdu is bad for me, forbid brother to read it, too. Let him not learn it, if I can't."

"Your brother has to earn a living for himself and for the girl he marries. You don't have to work in an office—your husband will support you," responded mother, in quick, tense tones, while father sat beside the sacred scriptures, hunting for words and arguments that would prevail.

A scene analogous to the above has occurred in many families other than that of my father. The pet objection of many an illiterate mother in India against the secular literary education of her daughter, always has been and still is that the girl will not be compelled to earn a living. What a poor notion does this objection reveal! But why blame the woman for placing such a low value on literary education? Many Indian men rarely think more of schooling than to consider it a passport to a Government office or to sum money-making profession. Nor are they entirely to blame. The modern educational system of their land, Western in its origin, has failed to inspire within them higher ambitions.

In justice to my mother,—and to Indian mothers in general,—I must point out that she did not object to the education of my sister on lines which she could understand

and appreciate,—her objection was not to education, but to a kind of it. As stated above, she even encouraged her daughter to make rapid progress in Panjabi for her spiritual betterment. The essence of her objection was not against any education that would make my sister a true woman, but against what she thought useless and masculine. If it could be explained to her that ordinary "secular" literary education would help in making my sister a true woman, and an ideal housewife, she would not, I believe, have raised any objections. We must not forget, too, that an illiterate person is not necessarily uneducated. There may be such a thing as education without a knowledge of letters. Many of our illiterate mothers and grandmothers were better educated for their spheres of life than is imagined.

The success of propaganda work for advancing education amongst Indian women fundamentally depends on conquering the prejudice prevalent amongst the illiterate section of the gentle sex that education means merely the accumulation of knowledge that increases the money-making ability of the individual. A broader, more humane idea of education must be disseminated amongst the Indian women. They must be made to understand that education really means the proper training of all human faculties—a training absolutely indispensable to those who wish to lead a worth-while life.

Those who have endeavoured to prevail upon their woman-folks to permit their girls to obtain secular education—especially higher education—alone know how difficult it is to rid them of their old-fashioned notions about education. But the overcoming of their prejudices does not mean that all the battle is won. It is then, in fact, that the fight has commenced. The so-called education retailed from the usual brand of school is hardly the kind of training that will fit the girl for life, and when you come to consider it seriously, the objections of the average Indian mother against "educating" her daughter on the plea that she does not need "education", since she will be supported by her husband, is not as trumpery an argument as you may be disposed to consider it at the first thought. The constitution of our society will not be

changed so materially, for many decades, that, as is the case in the Occident, woman will have to leave her home and engage in the thick of the business to keep the hunger-wolf from her door. Such a change, in itself, cannot be for the best. Even in the West, woman has not gained by such a metamorphosis. Economic independence may be as desirable for the woman as for the man—but successful homes are not founded upon woman's independence, or man's independence—it is the inter-dependence of the man and woman upon which rests the success and happiness of the home—the keystone of the nation. Furthermore, woman's work at home, though homely, is by no means to be despised. It is as essential as man's work out of the home—the labour that brings money. Since woman does not actually produce money, it is not to be supposed that she is being fed on her husband's bounty. Such a faulty concept of the basic principles upon which the home is founded has proved instrumental in making the Occidental woman seek for economic independence by toiling in factory, field, shop or office. In her struggle for the attainment of this desire, she has lost much, gained little, and produced problems which threaten the very existence of society in Occidental countries. There is every reason, therefore, for us to feel glad that for many, many years to come, our social structure will not be remodelled to such an extent that the rank and file of our women shall have to neglect the duties connected with the home in order to work in an office to gain a living for themselves and families. In view of this, the objection of the reactionary mother that her daughter should not learn to read and write and calculate, since she will not be forced to support herself, seems plausible and hard to refute.

But it is only an education of a certain character which is not able to answer this argument. It is only against the education which will attempt to make mere clerks of our girls, that the objection holds. The argument of illiterate mothers must cause us to design and conduct a system of education that will not take the woman out of the home, but will prepare her to preside over the home in such a wise manner that her own life, and the life of the members of her family, will be rendered worth while.

Any system of education fashioned for the uplift of the Indian woman must take this into consideration: that the sphere of the Indian woman lies principally in the home. To be sure, the Indian woman like the woman of any other nation, makes Kindergarten and primary teacher *par excellence*, and an equally good nurse, but to steer clear of social problems whose solutions are puzzling Western nations, we should so train every daughter of the land that, right at home, the girl will find, in her mother, a competent nurse and a good helpful teacher who will give her the early training that is so dynamic in its influences for good or bad in after-life. The widows who do not wish to re-marry, or the virgins who may not care to enter into matrimony, may choose for their vocations nursing, teaching, etc., but the average woman must be educated to be an accomplished home-body (if I may be permitted the term), a capable wife and mother. In a word, the training of the average Indian woman should be given with a view to preparing her to lead a worthy, useful, happy life, by conscientiously performing the duties that are, in all likelihood, to be hers, rather than developing a masculine ambition within her, and fitting her for clerical or business work outside of her home.

Home is the centre of civilization. The destiny of a nation chiefly depends upon the education of the woman who is the head of the home. Naturally, the home-body ought to receive a most careful and conscientious training—a schooling that will fit her to discharge her various duties as they ought to be done. The realm of the home is by no means a small or insignificant kingdom. The ordinary routine of housework enters into the domains of chemistry, physics, mathematics, mechanics, and, above all, of psychology. Not one of these studies would be superfluous in the education of the woman who is to preside as the queen of the household. Indeed, a knowledge of these sciences would fit her to grapple with every problem likely to arise in the discharge of her duties. If the average girl in India can be taught to fulfill her duty by the home, she will have on her hands all that she can possibly attend to, and, her work properly performed will transform the nation within a generation.

But there is no earthly reason why the evolution of woman should be circumscribed by the domain of the home. A woman who is capable of successfully managing her home, is, by virtue of that very reason, fit for many public duties. Therefore, while woman's education, on the one hand, ought to prepare her for home duties, on the other hand it should invest her with the ability to discharge her duties as a citizen. While the system should make every effort to imbue the girl with the nobility of the work connected with the home, and teach her how to efficiently and economically perform it, should also broaden her viewpoint and humanize her susceptibilities. The cultivation of the home instinct, its proper guidance and instruction, while forming the heart of scholastic effort, should not be considered all that the school must do for the education of the girl. The woman of India not only should influence manhood in the home and thus have an indirect share in the affairs of the nation, but she should be permitted to wield a direct influence on public affairs of various kinds—and for this purpose, she should be properly educated.

But the question is, where can the Indian girl go to receive a training that will make her an efficient home-maker and citizen? The average school in India is hardly capable of giving such education. Here lies the chief problem connected with woman's education in India, and the leaders of the nation ought to busy themselves devising means to overcome this difficulty.

Elsewhere in the world, students of sociology have awakened from their slumbers and have founded institutions where girls can be trained to live the life worthwhile. Here the lass is taught the most improved ways of doing efficient household work, in the shortest possible space of time, and with the least expenditure of vital energy. Here she is educated to satisfactorily discharge the duties of wife and mother. Here she is impregnated with the desire to uplift all with whom she comes in contact—to contribute her share toward religious and social work. In a word, the effort is made in these schools to so instruct the future woman that she will be able to fill her niche in the home and society with credit to herself and her relatives,

In schools of this character domestic science and nursing are carefully taught. Domestic Science is a term of great potentiality. It includes all work connected with the care of the home. The girl is also instructed how to make her own dresses and the clothes of her family, and learns how to efficiently discharge her duties as wife, mother and citizen. These various things are taught her in a scientific and thorough manner. At the same time her

intellect is trained and she is given a thorough grounding in the three R's and in a general knowledge of the world.

It behooves us to study educational institutions of this character and remodel them for introduction in India, so that a sane system of education can be conducted in India for the proper development of our girls.

A SIKH TRAVELLER IN AMERICA.

HIS RELEASE

(A SHORT STORY.)

I.

BABU Nagendra Nath was on a visit to his father-in-law in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays. He was a Deputy Magistrate in Eastern Bengal and Assam recently transferred to the *sudder* station of Faridsing district. When leaving his last station he left his wife and children with his father-in-law, and has now availed himself of the holidays to fetch them to Faridsing.

Calcutta, during the present Christmas, was full of bustle and enthusiasm. The Indian National Congress was to hold its sittings shortly. The Industrial Exhibition had already opened.

Nagendra Babu's father-in-law, a retired Subordinate Judge, lives at Bhowanipur. He has three sons;—the eldest is a vakil of the High Court; the second, an assistant in a Government office; the youngest, did not do anything in particular, he was frequently seen delivering speeches at public meetings.

Nagendra Babu was twenty-seven and has been a Deputy Magistrate for five years. His University career was a brilliant one, he having topped the list of successful M.A.'s of his year.

It was the day before the opening of the Congress. The Deputy, after a comfortable morning tea, was sitting in the inner apartments, chatting with his brothers- and his sisters-in-law.

Grindra Nath, his brother-in-law, enquired—“Is there any unrest at Faridsing now?”

“No,—I haven't seen any.”

Little Indumati, his sister-in-law, asked—“How is Swadeshi getting on there?”

“Fairly well,—though it is nothing like what I used to read in the papers before going there.”

Satyendra, his brother-in-law, observed—“That's only natural. The enthusiasm of early days never lasts. What we saw here in Calcutta at the beginning—”

Nagendra Babu interrupted him, saying,—“Faridsing is much ahead of your Calcutta in that respect. You dare not buy a piece of Manchester *dhoti* there openly. You find the school-boys patrolling the streets with *lathies* on their shoulders.”

“Are they the National School boys?”—enquired the brother-in-law who was the public speaker.

“Yes, most of them. There are boys from other schools also.”

“Don't the teachers try to stop it?”

“Oh, they have given it up.”

“And the police?”

“The boys care precious little for the Police. In my rambles through the bazars, I have often heard them saying to the Police—‘Look here Mr. Constable, I am picketting’—and the Constable grins.”

This caused a burst of laughter. Satyendra Nath said—“Do you intend, Nagendra Babu, to send your little boy to the National School when you arrive there?”

“Heavens!—That would be as much as my job was worth”—said Nagendra Babu with a smile.

"But supposing you didn't risk your job,—would you do it?"

"Oh, certainly."

"Then why continue in such a service?"—chimed in Girindra Nath.

"One must live."

"You have completed your terms of legal study. Why not pass the examination and start practice as a *vakil* at the High Court?"

"Oh dear! Do you think I am fit to pass examinations at my age?"

Indumati, pouting her little lips, said—"You are not willing to give up serving the *Feringhees*, that's the real reason. Let us know please, are you in favour of Swadeshi or against it?"

"In favour, without question. Yesterday I brought from the bazar about fifty rupees worth of Swadeshi clothes to take to Farid—ng,—you saw them."

"Aren't Swadeshi clothes available there?"

"Yes they are,—but the prices are rather high." Satyendra, smiling sarcastically, said—"Don't you understand, Indu, he daren't patronise Swadeshi there lest the *Sahibs* should come to know of it."

Nagendra Babu said—"Well, well,—admitting that was the reason,—is there any harm in doing a virtuous act in secret?"

"There isn't. But take care, Nagendra Babu, that you don't *sin* openly to please your masters."

At this moment a chorus of voices was heard singing outside the house. Somebody said—"There's the Society of Mother-worshippers, come to collect donations for the Congress." They all came out of the house and saw about fifty young men and boys, with yellow *puggries* round their heads, singing a patriotic song to the accompaniment of *mridang* and *kartal* calling upon the devoted to pay according to the means of each one for the worship of the motherland. Some of them carried flags inscribed with "*Bande Mataram*" and one had a big *thali* in his hand containing the money already collected.

When the song was over, each one of the household placed something on the *thali*, silver coins of different values. Nagendra Babu gave them a ten-rupee note.

A young man of the party immediately approached him and said—"Your name, Sir, if you please."

"What does it matter?"—said Nagendra Babu.

"Our rule is to take down the names of those contributing more than five rupees."

"You may write—'A Friend'."

Satyendra said—"Write down—'A Deputy'—this gentleman is a Deputy Magistrate in Eastern Bengal and Assam where buying Swadeshi cloth is a felony and singing *Bande Mataram*, high treason."

Girindra interfered saying—"No, no—Don't mention the Deputy Magistrate—'A friend' will do."

The young men made the note as desired and departed resuming their song.

II

It was dusk. Some school-boys were walking about the streets in the bazar at Farid-sing. They noticed a person dressed like a Khansama coming out of a shop with a tin of biscuits in his hand.

The boys at once approached the person and said—"Hallo Khansamaji, let's see what sort of biscuits you have bought."

The man stopped and handed over the tin to the boys. They inspected it and said—"Oh fie, this is English manufacture."

"Yes Babuji, English articles are good, aren't they?" said the Khansama, somewhat surprised.

One of the boys put in—"Are you a Hindoo or a Mohamedan?"

"A Mohamedan, Sir."

"Food of English manufacture is *haram*, don't you know that?"

"*Toba, toba*, don't say that Babuji."

"How much did they charge you?"

"A rupee and a half."

"What, a rupee and a half! You may have a tin of a better quality country-made biscuits for one rupee only—fresh from the machines."

The man was a Khansama in the employ of a European tea-planter putting up at the Dak Bungalow. The man thought to himself—"Well, my Sahib has given me a rupee and a half for a tin of biscuits. If I can get him a better quality for a rupee only, I make a profit of eight annas and he eats nicer biscuits; so, where is the harm?"—aloud he said to the boys—"Are you sure, gentlemen?"

The boys felt encouraged;—and said—"Yes, Khansamaji, we are perfectly sure. Come with us and see the *deshi* tin for your—"

self. In the meanwhile let us all go and return this tin to the shopkeeper."

Four or five of the boys took the Khansama to the shopkeeper who had sold the tin and requested him to take it back and return the money. The latter obdurately refused to do so, saying—"Heaps of English articles are rotting in my shop on account of Swadeshi. If I have sold a tin, I am not going to take it back again."

The boys left the shop disappointed. They all held a short conference together and decided to buy the Khansama a tin of *deshi* biscuits out of their own money. They proposed to the Khansama that they would keep the English tin themselves and give him a *deshi* tin in exchange. The Khansama consenting, the boys took him to the Swadeshi stores, and bought him a *deshi* tin on credit.

The look of the tin apparently satisfied the Khansama. He said—"I think this will do, Babuji. But it is only one rupee. What about my balance of eight annas?"

The boys said to the Swadeshi shopkeeper—"Kindly let us have eight annas in cash. We will repay you this amount together with the price of the tin to-morrow."

The Khansama, pocketing his eight annas, looked at the tin again and said—"Are you quite sure, Babuji, that these biscuits would be just as good as English?"

"Better a great deal better—we can assure you. Never buy English biscuits in future. They are *haram*."

"*Toba, toba*" ejaculated the Khansama and proceeded towards the Dak Bungalow.

The boys came out of the shop and opening the tin scattered its contents on the street. They then began to dance on the biscuits singing in unison the opening bars of a popular song which exhorted people to kick all foreign commerce out of the country. They punctuated their song with frequent shouts of *Bande Mataram*. One of them kicked the empty tin out of shape and flung it into the gutter by the road side.

The Khansama witnessed the whole performance from a little distance. Having newly come from Assam, he was at a loss to understand what it all meant. Seeing another pass, he asked—"Have the Babus turned mad or what?"

"Since the *Bande Mataram* began, the boys don't allow anybody to buy *bilati* things."

"What do they say? *Bundook marum*?"

"No, no—*Bande Mataram*."

"What's that?"

"Some new kind of abuse they have invented, I think. The boys shout it out whenever they see Europeans now a days."

III

Having made a profit of eight annas clean, the Khansama returned to the Dak Bungalow in high glee. He found his master walking about the verandah in an impatient manner.

Seeing the Khansama the Sahib enquired of him in an angry voice, the cause of his delay and took the tin from his hand. As soon as he saw the words "Hindu Biscuits" inscribed on the tin, he lost all control over himself and hurled it with a tremendous force at the head of his Khansama. The poor man was standing at the edge of the verandah and the impact sent him down to the ground below where a quantity of rubbish was lying scattered. The corner of the tin cut open the skin of his forehead and he bled profusely.

The Sahib, taking no notice of the man's condition, roared out—"You damned son of a pig—why did you bring these *deshi* biscuits?"

The Khansama managed to scrawl up to the verandah again, and stood before his master, trembling with fear. With folded hands he said—"Huzoor,—I did buy *bilati* biscuits at first—but"

"You did,—did you? What happened to them?"

"But Huzoor—the school-boys—." The Khansama thought he had much better bid good bye to his eight annas and confess that the boys had misled him into the belief that *deshi* biscuits were superior in quality and cheaper at the same time, so he bought them. He would however never do so again, &c., &c. But his master, burning with anger, interrupted him, saying—"What, the school-boys? *Bande Mataram*? They snatched your tin away—did they?"

The Khansama quickly changed his mind, thinking that this was by far the best way out of the difficulty. So he replied, bowing low,—"*Yes, Huzoor—they snatched my bilati tin away.*"

"Why did you let them?"

"What could I do, *khodawund*? I was

alone and they were twenty or twenty-five against me."

The Sahib thought that things had happened exactly as he had been reading of late in the [Anglo-Indian] newspapers.

"You damned coward—why did you not call for the Police?"

"I did, *Gharibparwar*—I shouted myself hoarse for the constables, but nobody turned up. The boys broke open the tin and scattering the biscuits on the street, began to dance on them, yelling *Bundook Maro* or some such thing. The Huzoor's tea was getting cold and as I had a rupee of my own in my pocket, I bought a *deshi* tin. The *biluti* tins could not be had for less than a rupee and a half, *Dharamawatar*."

The Sahib was convinced. "All right, I am going to see the District Magistrate at once about it. I will get these rascally boys clapped into jail"—he said, and taking his hat, marched off towards the Station Club.

The Magistrate, the Judge, the Police Superintendent and some other European officers were at the club. Some Mem-Sahibs were also present. The Judge and the Magistrate with their coats off and their shirt-sleeves tucked up, were playing a game of billiards. The Joint Magistrate, the Police Sahib and their respective wives, were playing bridge. The Civil Surgeon, with his pipe in his mouth, was turning over the leaves of the *Illustrated London News*. The gentlemen were drinking whisky-pegs and the ladies were sipping vermouth.

The tea-planter, arriving at the gate, sent in his card to the District Magistrate, and was asked to walk in immediately. He entered, hat in hand, murmuring that he was very sorry to intrude, and then related the whole of the affair as he had heard from his Khansama.

The Magistrate's face became red with anger. Addressing the Superintendent of Police, he said—"I say, this is serious. This must be seen to at once."

The Police Sahib jumped to his feet, saying—"Yes, I will myself go and see to it." Making over his cards to the Civil Surgeon, he left the club with the tea-planter. On the way he ordered his *chuprassi* to summon the Kotwali Daroga to the Dak Bungalow, at once.

Arriving at the Dak Bungalow, the tea-planter said—"While we wait for your Daroga, may I offer you a peg?"

"Thanks, I don't mind"—said the D. S. P.

The bottle, glasses and soda-water appeared on the table. Havanna cigars were also produced.

"Tis really very good of you to take so much trouble"—said the tea-planter.

The D. S. P. remarked—"This *Bande Mataram* nuisance is getting intolerable day by day. The scoundrels of the National School must have done it."

The gentlemen then discussed over their glasses the state of unrest in the country, the impertinence of the present day Bengalis, the remissness of the Government in not adopting sterner measures and the criminal folly of the "White Babus" in Parliament in encouraging native lawlessness.

In the meanwhile, Kasimulla Khan, the Daroga, arrived and saluting the D. S. P., stood attention.

"Daroga, do you know that there has been a disturbance in the bazar to-day?"

"Yes, Huzoor, I have just heard of it."

"What action have you taken?"

"I have deputed a Head Constable to find out the complainant, Sir."

"The complainant is here. Take down his *itala* and draw up a First Information Report at once."

"Yes, Huzoor,"—and the Daroga took the Khansama out into the verandah, and getting hold of a lamp, sat down to draw up the First Information. The Khansama gave the Daroga the same story as he had done to his master. In the midst of it the Daroga enquired—"Did they assault you and were you wounded?"

"Yes, they assaulted me rather severely and these are the wounds I received,—see Darogaji" whined the Khansama and pointed out to him the wound on his forehead he had received at the hand of his master, as well as several bruises he had sustained by falling on the rubbish heap.

All this was in the hearing of the tea-planter, but he did not feel that there was any necessity of correcting his truthful servant. He merely murmured to himself—"What liars these damned natives are!"

The First Information drawn up, the D. S. P. said to his Daroga—"You must arrest the culprits this very evening. Don't

let them out on bail during the night." He then bade good night to the tea-planter and left.

The Daroga then approached the tea-planter and said with much deference,

"Will the Huzoor be pleased to give the Khansama leave of absence for a little while to come with me and identify the accused?"

"All right, you may go Khansama. Show the culprits to the Daroga."

The Khansama, with great hesitancy, said—"They were a large number of boys, Huzoor, and it was getting dark. I doubt if I could identify them."

"Soor (pig)"—thundered his master—"If you can't identify the accused, I will dismiss you instantly."

"*Jo hukum, Huzoor*"—murmured the poor man and walked off with the Daroga.

This excellent Police officer, without making the slightest attempt at any kind of enquiry, betook himself to the Boarding House attached to the National School. None of the resident teachers were present then. Many of the students were also out. In the central room, four or five boys sitting on grass mats, were preparing their lessons by the light of open earthen lamps. The Khansama pointed to three of the boys as having been in the row, and the Daroga forthwith arrested them.

Needless to say that these boys knew nothing of the affair. Greatly astonished, they exclaimed—"Why are you arresting us, Daroga Sahib? What have we done?"

"You shall know it in Court, young men"—was the Daroga's laconic reply. He gave these boys in custody of three constables and sent them to the thana.

The Daroga next took the Khansama to the Government Hospital and got his wounds examined by the resident surgeon and an injury report duly made out. This done, he wanted the Khansama to accompany him to the thana.

"But I have already been late and must go back to my master. What should I do at the thana?"

"Identify the accused."

"Haven't I already done so?"

"Yes, yes—but you must make yourself thoroughly acquainted with their faces to-night. To-morrow some Deputy Magistrate will come and mix up the three accused

with half a dozen other boys of the same age—and you will be required to pick them out.* It you fail, bang goes your case."

"But the Sahib may be annoyed if I stay away long."

"Go and ask him for leave for a couple of hours." The Khansama did as he was directed explaining everything. His master gave him the leave, saying to himself—"How dishonest these damned native Police are!"

The Daroga then got hold of certain other "witnesses"—shopkeepers and others from the bazar and brought them to the thana. For fear of the Police they agreed to speak of the very little they had seen and of a good deal they had *not* seen. The whole of the evening was spent in giving these "witnesses" a thorough drill as to their statements in Court, and also in preparing them for to-morrow's "honest identification."

IV

The case was duly sent up and the District Magistrate made it over to Babu Nagendra Nath for trial.

It was evening. The Deputy Babu, came home from the cutcherry and finishing his tea, was sitting on a verandah of the inner apartments, leisurely pulling at his *hooka*.

His wife, Charusila, a young lady of twenty summers, came and sat by him. Observing that her husband was rather taciturn that evening, she enquired—"You look sad. Is there anything wrong? Has anything happened?"

"No, nothing in particular."

But the lady was not satisfied with this reply. She began pressing him to tell her what was passing in his mind.

At last the Deputy Babu said—"You have heard of the students' case, haven't you? There are so many other Deputy Magistrates; it is very annoying that the case should have been made over to me for trial."

"You will try it? I am so glad. I was rather anxious on that score."

"Why anxious?"

"I apprehended that the case might be made over to somebody who would unjustly send the boys to jail, in order to please the

* This procedure is known as "honest identification" in Police parlance.—Translator.

Sahibs. A great weight is now removed from my mind."

The Deputy smiled inwardly at his wife's ingenuous confidence in his own independence of judgment. He observed languidly—"Yes, but supposing the case is proved. I should not acquit the boys unjustly. Should I?"

"Oh, certainly not"—was Charusila's firm reply—"I wouldn't have you do so even if they were my own children. But, from what I have heard, I am persuaded that they are quite innocent."

"Where have you heard it?"

"The other day when I was at the Munsiff Babu's house on the occasion of the *Bowbhat* ceremony of his daughter-in-law, many ladies there said that the boys had not as a matter of fact snatched away the tin of biscuits from the Khansama; that they had taken it from him with his free consent after having given him the full value of it, neither had they assaulted the Khansama. Besides, the three boys who have actually been sent up were neither there nor were they in any way connected with the affair."

The Deputy Babu heaved a sigh and said—"Yes,—but the question is whether they would be able to prove it."

"Oh yes—there will be plenty of evidence to prove it. There are many who have seen the whole affair."

"I hope they will be able to prove it"—said the Deputy Babu with another sigh.

Charusila thought for a few moments and then added—"But supposing they fail to prove it and their guilt is established. You should consider their youth and award a sentence of fine. You ought not to send the poor urchins to jail—as has been done in similar cases elsewhere."

Charusila, for some time, employed her gentle arts to cheer up her husband, but the Deputy Babu remained as sad and thoughtful as before. A little while after, a letter was brought in to him. He tore it open and found that it was from the District Magistrate, inviting him to a call at eight o'clock the next morning.

At the appointed hour, Nagendra Babu arrived at the Magistrate's Kothi and sent his card in. Outside in the verandah, seated on a bench, were a dozen visitors who were patiently waiting for an interview. A minute later, the Magistrate's *chuprasi* came and

showed him into the office room. "The Sahib is at *Chota Ilazri*, Sir, and will be here directly."—said the *Chuprasi*, bowing low.

A few minutes passed and then the Magistrate entered. He shook hands with Nagendra Babu, and asking him to be seated, enquired—"How is everything in town now?"

"It is in its normal condition, sir."

"Any excitement among the Swadeshi-wallas?"

"None that I know of."

Lighting a cigarette, the Magistrate observed—"This Swadeshi is damned rot.—What do you think of it, Nagendra Babu?"

"Sir—"

"Mind you, the real Swadeshi—an honest endeavour to help and improve the industries of the country—is a very good thing—and it has the hearty support of us all. But this *hulla*—this burning of Manchester cloth—what is all this?"

"That's wicked, sir"—replied Nagendra Babu in a tone almost apologetic.

A short silence followed. The Magistrate then broke it, saying—"By the way—that biscuit case is in your file—isn't it?"

"Yes, sir, it is."

"Oh the impudence of these boys! They almost fractured the poor Khansama's skull. They scattered the biscuits on the road and danced on them like so many devils. If these young scoundrels are not taught a good lesson now,—they would turn thieves and dacoits when they grow up. Their punishment ought to be exemplary."

Nagendra Babu sat silent, fixing his gaze on the carpet underneath.

Another brief silence followed. The Sahib then said—"How do you like Faridsing, Nagendra Babu? I find everything so dear here."

Immensely relieved at the change of topic, Nagendra Babu replied—"Yes, Sir, it is so. Milk sells at four annas a seer here."

"When I was a Joint at Bhagalpur"—the Magistrate continued—"I used to buy six large fowls for a rupee. Here I can hardly obtain more than three for that amount. There, the *baburchi*, the *Khitmadgar* could be had for ten or twelve rupees. Here I have to pay twenty."

"Yes, Sir,—servants are also very dear here. We, who are poorly paid,—find it very difficult to make both ends meet."

"What grade are you in now, Nagendra Babu?"

"Two hundred and fifty, Sir."

"For how long?"

"Three years."

"What?"—exclaimed the Magistrate—"Three—years!—Shame! 'Tis a downright shame. I will have a look at your Service Book and write to the Commissioner recommending your promotion to the three-hundred grade as soon as I can."

"Thank you very much, Sir,—it is so kind of you."

After a few minutes' more conversation, the Magistrate Sahib stood up and stretching his hand towards his visitor, said—"Well Nagendra Babu, I won't detain you longer. Good morning."

"Good morning, Sir"—bowed Nagendra Babu, and was about to depart.

"I say"—said the Magistrate—"If you hear anything special about this Swadeshi business in town, come and tell me at once. This Swadeshi must be stamped out at any cost."

Greatly pleased at the prospect of promotion, Nagendra Babu responded with apparent enthusiasm—"Yes, Sir. You can reckon upon my doing my duty towards the Government."

Coming out into the verandah, Nagendra Babu cast a proud glance on the expectant *salaam-givers*, still sitting patiently on the bench, and got into his carriage.

V.

The case was taken up on the appointed day. On the day following the arrest of these boys some pleaders of the local bar stood sureties for them and got them released on bail. The same gentlemen, at a sacrifice of their valuable time and money, were looking after the case and defending the boys in court.

The Khansama stuck to his former statement. In cross-examination the defence pleader asked him whether it was not a fact that his master the Sahib had caused him the injury on his forehead by throwing the biscuit-tin at him. The Khansama stoutly denied it, persisting in his statement that the injury was caused by the boys who had slapped and cuffed him on the forehead.

The tea-planter, following in the wake of the "damned natives," emphatically denied having hurled the tin at his servant's head.

Some bazaar people spoke to the breaking of the biscuit box in the street and the boy's dancing on the scattered contents of it, but could not identify the accused as having been in the assembly. The Police put in the broken tin rescued from the gutter and an envelope containing dust mixed with powdered biscuits, as "Exhibits" in the case.

The merchant identified the boys and swore that they were among those who came into his shop with the Khansama and insisted on the English tin being taken back and the money refunded. A little while after they had left, he heard many voices shouting *Bande Mataram* from near the Swadeshi shop. In cross-examination he was asked whether or not school-boys for some time past had been picketing in front of his shop and thereby caused him much loss and annoyance. The man admitted the picketing and the consequent loss but denied that it had caused him the slightest annoyance.

The Assistant Surgeon deposed that the injury on the forehead was an incised wound, probably caused by some sharp and hard substance. In cross-examination by the defence he said that it could not have been caused by slaps and fisticuffs.

The case was then adjourned for defence evidence. On the appointed day the man who kept the Swadeshi Stores came and swore to everything that had actually happened. He also said that none of the boys in the dock were among those who came to his shop to buy the *deshi* tin.

A doctor in private practice said that he was passing along the street when he found the boys talking to the Khansama. He also swore to the fact that the latter had given up the tin to the boys quite voluntarily and expressed his willingness to take a tin of *deshi* biscuits in exchange. He also saw the Khansama accompanying the boys to the Swadeshi Stores. In cross-examination by the Police he admitted that he himself was a staunch Swadeshi and held shares worth two hundred rupees in the Swadeshi Stores in question.

The Khansama of the Dak Bungalow was next examined. He deposed that the tea-planter had thrown a biscuit-tin at the head of his servant who fell down on a heap of rubbish and sustained injuries. He was positive that when the tea-planter's servant returned from the bazar, he had no injuries

on his person at all. In cross-examination he admitted that the pleader Babus were his occasional customers, ordering roast fowl and cutlets to be cooked, and that the servants of these Babus came to fetch the things away after nightfall. That was a source of some profit to him.

The case then closed and the parties were heard. It was ordered that the judgment would be delivered after a week.

In the meantime the Deputy Babu was seen paying two or three calls to the District Magistrate at his *Kothi*. People began to whisper comments on these visits to each other.

On the day the judgment was due, Nagendra Babu's *ejlash* room was crowded to suffocation. A large number of school boys had attended. There were others also, eager to know the result.

Nagendra Babu delivered the judgment. The accused were all found guilty and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of fifty rupees each.

As soon as this was known, the boys gave three shouts of *Bande Mataram*, just to cheer up the accused. With great difficulty the Police stopped the outburst and cleared the room.

Babu Kalikant, the leading pleader for the defence, asked for the judgment and read it through. The Deputy Magistrate wrote that no doubt there were many discrepancies in the prosecution evidence but they were only "minor discrepancies". If anything, they served to show that the prosecution witnesses were not tutored. It was true that some witnesses said that the unlawful assembly consisted of fifteen or twenty boys while others gave the number as fifty or sixty. None of these witnesses actually counted the number of boys there, so it was quite natural that they should be mistaken in their estimates. The complainant swore that the accused had caused the injury on his forehead by slaps and fisticuffs while the medical evidence was that it could not have been caused in that manner. The learned pleader for the defence laid great stress on this point and invited the court to hold that the case was a got-up one. But to the Deputy Magistrate's mind, the complainant during the occurrence must have been so confounded and panic-struck that it was impossible for him to remember

exactly by what means the boys caused him the injury in question. As regards the defence witnesses the Deputy was of opinion that they all belonged to the so-called Swadeshi party and so they must be telling untruths to save the boys. The defence pleader argued that the Dak Bungalow Khansama was an independent witness and should be believed. But it appeared to the Deputy Magistrate that that individual was constantly patronised by the pleaders (who were all Swadeshites) and so it was not likely that he would incur the displeasure of his every day customers by speaking the truth to support the case of a chance visitor like the tea-planter Sahib.

The pleaders immediately applied for and obtained a certified copy of the judgment. They then approached the Sessions Judge for filing an appeal and praying for bail.

Hundreds of school-boys were waiting outside the Judge's Court. As soon as they heard that bail was granted, they began shouting *Bande Mataram* vociferously. They got hold of an empty gharry and put the three accused inside it. They then unharnessed the horses and began dragging the gharry themselves. Forming themselves into a procession they paraded through all the important streets of the town, singing a popular song glorifying martyrs.

VI

That evening Nagendra Babu returned home, not quite himself. He felt as though he had committed some heinous crime. His eyes were downcast and lustreless and his face was pale.

His wife sat at a corner of the verandah, sullen and sad. Nagendra Babu approached her, but she would not even look at him. He understood what it was due to.

Nagendra Babu put off his cutcherry costume and after a little came again to his wife. Charusila sat in the same position as before, almost in tears.

"Why are you so sad, Charu?"—whispered Nagendra Babu tenderly.

Charusila neither spoke nor looked at her husband. He said again—"Tell me, Charu, what it is."

"I have a pain in my head"—muttered Charusila.

"Pain in the head? I am so sorry. When did it begin? Come, let me tie up your head

with a handkerchief soaked in Eau-de-Cologne,—it would give you instant relief."

"No, thanks"—Charusila replied—"it would be of no use."

The Deputy Babu left her for the present.

The house-maid brought him his tea and refreshments. Ordinarily Charusila herself used to wait on her husband at this time, but to-day she appeared not. Nagendra Babu tried to eat of the dishes set before him—but found it difficult to swallow anything. He felt as though the cavity of his breast was loaded with stones. He then sought consolation in his *hooka*. He kept on smoking for a good long while. When he could bear it no longer—he got up and approached his wife again. Finding her seated at the same place and in the same condition, he gently touched her arm and said—"Come, Come,—don't sulk like that, dear. I had such good news to tell you to-day—I thought it would please you so."

Charusila slowly raised her head and said in a low voice—"What is it?"

"The District Magistrate has written to the Commissioner to-day recommending my promotion to the grade of three hundred."

Charu lowered her head again and this time her tears flowed freely—tears of burning shame at the thought that that was the price for which her husband had sold himself.

Trying to raise his wife from her seat, Nagendra Babu said—"Oh Charu! Don't be so unreasonable, dear. What is there to cry about?"

Charusila gently pushed her husband away, saying—"Don't, please, speak to me to-day. Keep away from me, just for this day—I implore you." So saying she got up and walked away to her bedroom.

Nagendra Babu came out of the house and sat in the front verandah. The servant prepared his *chelum*. He once more abandoned himself to its ever consoling fumes. He smoked two or three *chelums* in succession during which the summer twilight deepened into the gloom of night. He gave himself up to bitter self-reproach as he smoked. He thought what he was when, fresh from college, he first sat on the *ejlash* as a Deputy Magistrate—and, what he has become since. To-day Charusila begged him not

to speak to her, to stay away from her. No doubt she considered him fallen—contaminated, was she wrong? Has he not, wearing the sacred robe of justice to-day, dragged her to the mire, instead of upholding and cherishing her? And, this was not the first time that he had done so. What made him stoop so low?—Was it not filthy lucre? The result of long years of culture and discipline—his sense of duty, piety, moral rectitude—why had he scattered these to the winds?—merely for a handful of silver;—merely from the belief that the handful of silver would be imperilled if he displeased the powers that be. A time was when half-educated Deputy Magistrates used to accept bribes from those litigating in their Courts. They were not very much to blame, poor devils, for they knew no better. But Nagendra Babu, one of the most brilliant products of the University—has he not swerved from the strict path of justice, allured by an increment of fifty rupees a month to his salary? Was this not accepting a bribe in a sense? What had he to plead in extenuation of his transgression?—Nothing, nothing whatever.

Such were the thoughts in which Nagendra Babu indulged. When he could bear them no longer, he decided to go out for a stroll. Taking his *chadar* and his stick, he left the house and walked about only such streets as were dark and unfrequented. He dreaded a chance meeting with any of his acquaintances.

He retired to rest at the usual hour, but had little or no sleep. The next day was a holiday so he decided to go out on tour in the mofussil. The servants were busy making preparations for the journey. Nagendra Babu sat in his bedroom, with a book in his hand though scarcely reading it, when Charusila entered.

She looked at her husband's face—pale and haggard—and at once divined his mental condition. In a moment, her heart became overwhelmed with loving sympathy for her husband in his mental agony. She approached him, and said in a tone sweetly sad—"When do you return?"

"To-morrow morning, I think"—said Nagendra Babu, without looking at his wife.

"You won't be away longer, would you?"

"Suppose I did, —you wouldn't be sorry."

This drew tears from Charusila's eyes. She hid her face in her husband's breast and sobbed.

"What's this?—Oh Charu!—don't go on like that dear."—Said Nagendra Babu, lovingly raising up his wife's face with both hands.

But her sobs did not abate. At last Nagendra Babu said—"I cannot bear your grief any longer. Do tell me what you want me to do—what would please you—and it shall be done."

Charusila looked at her husband with an earnest gaze for a few moments. Then she slowly said—"Will you fulfill my wishes?"

"Tell me what they are."

"I wish you would retire from service—a service which compels you to sacrifice your conscience for its sake. I do not want your three hundred rupees a month. I do not want all the gold and silver—the comforts and the luxuries—which you provide me with. I would much rather you became a school-master on fifty rupees a month. We could manage the household even on that allowance—and be happy."

The Deputy Babu remained a few moments in silent thought. Then he spoke—"Yes, dear,—you are right. I will do as you wish."

The gharry was ready outside. There were not many minutes to be lost if Nagendra Babu meant to catch the train. He said again, reassuring her—"Yes, I will send in my resignation. I don't want you to be unhappy, my beloved one"—and kissed her good bye.

VII

The next morning, before Nagendra Babu returned home, the *chuprasi* brought in the *dak*. Charusila saw that besides a few letters there, there was an unusually large number of newspapers. She opened one packet and found that it was the Bengali daily called "Sandhya." In it was an article headed—"Vagaries of a Ghotiram* at Faridsing." "The Sandhya," with the characteristic vulgarity of style all its own, had commented on the students' case and heaped abuses on Nagendra Babu. The article was heavily marked all round with

a red pencil. Charusila had not the patience to read the whole of it—it was so very offensive. She then tore open another packet and found that it was the same issue of the "Sandhya," with the article marked in blue pencil. She then examined the different packets and saw they were all copies of the same number, seventeen altogether, kindly posted by seventeen different strangers from Calcutta, for Nagendra Babu's benefit. Charusila collected all the copies together, took them to the kitchen, and threw them into the fire-place, lest they should meet her husband's eyes.

Nagendra Babu returned home about ten o'clock and finishing his bath and breakfast quickly, drove off to the court.

Charusila, finding her little boy still loitering about the house, enquired of him why he hadn't gone to school. The poor boy replied—"Mother,—I have already been insulted by other school-boys in the streets. I don't wish to take the risk of being insulted further."

Charusila understood. "Very well," she said—"don't go to school to-day. I want you to accompany me to a certain place."

At noon, Charusila sent for a gharry, and accompanied by her child, drove to the house of Babu Kali Kant, pleader.

Entering the zenana she found assembled there several other ladies, wives of pleaders residing in the neighbourhood. Some of these ladies were playing cards—and some were looking on. They looked at Charusila and uttered not a word of welcome. Kalikant Babu's wife welcomed her, but not so warmly as she had done on previous occasions.

Charusila began talking of ordinary matters in which the hostess only joined. The other ladies kept a studied silence. At last she mentioned the students' case herself.

One of the visiting ladies remarked—"It has been a very sad affair.—We did not expect it."

Kali Kant Babu's wife added—"My husband was telling me that very likely the conviction would be set aside on appeal."

Another lady observed—"Unless of course the Sahibs refuse to do justice because it is a Swadeshi case."

"What's the date fixed for the hearing of the appeal, please?"—asked Charusila.

* When a disparaging and contemptuous reference to a Deputy Magistrate is intended he is spoken of as a Ghotiram. This term was coined by the late Babu Dina Bandhu Mitra, the greatest Bengalee dramatist of modern times, and has been in general acceptance in that sense ever since.—Translator.

"I am not certain—but it will be heard shortly"—replied Kali Kant Babu's wife.

"The boys ought to have some able Counsel up from Calcutta"—put in Charusila.

Kali Kant Babu's wife mused a little and then said—"Yes, but that means a lot of money, you know. I don't think the boys can afford it. Our husbands will do it for them as well as they can."

Charusila, with her head bent low, said—"I am willing to pay for a Counsel."

This proposal came as a surprise to those present. One of the ladies said—"You? Why should you?"

Charusila continued—"You and your husbands are doing so much for the poor boys at the sacrifice of time and money. Am I not entitled to lend them a helping hand also? Here, I have brought with me a pair of golden bracelets. Over a thousand rupees would be realised by selling them. Let that amount be spent in engaging the services of some eminent Counsel. Oh, don't refuse my offer—for Heaven's sake, let me do something to secure my peace of mind."—The ladies noticed that Charusila's eyes were sparkling with tears as she finished.

Kali Kant Babu's wife took the bracelets, saying—"Very well, when my husband comes home from the Court, I will tell him."

This incident thawed the other ladies immediately. They began talking to Charusila in a kindly manner and vied with each other in making up for their past rudeness.

VIII

The student's appeal has been decided. A famous barrister of the Calcutta bar had appeared for them, but it was all in vain. The Sessions Judge rejected the appeal. The boys have gone to jail again. Arrangements are being made to move the High Court in revision.

The news that Nagendra Babu's wife helped the boys by selling her jewellery is all over the town. It has reached the ears of the District Magistrate himself. Since then that officer has been treating Nagendra Babu rather harshly. One day he had to go to the *khas camera* of the Magistrate to explain some papers. He was not invited to a seat on the occasion as in days past. He had to explain the papers standing, like an ordinary clerk. Another day, in the presence of his subordinate staff, the Magis-

trate reprimanded Nagendra Babu severely in connection with one of the cases tried by him but set aside on appeal by the Judge.

Owing to such behaviour of the District Magistrate, and also to please his wife, Nagendra Babu has decided to retire from service, pass his Law Examination and start practice in the High Court. The husband and the wife talk over this project every day. It has been settled that Nagendra Babu would send in his resignation in a month's time.

A day or two after the Judge had passed orders in the student's case, Nagendra Babu was asked by the Magistrate to see him at his *kothi* on a certain morning. Formerly, he used to pay ceremonial visits to the Magistrate now and then, of his own accord; but for some weeks past he has deliberately been keeping himself away.

On the morning appointed, Nagendra Babu robed himself and drove to the Magistrate's *kothi*. The bearer took his card in. There was a wooden bench placed in the verandah outside the office room. The custom with the Magistrate was that when gazetted officers or big zemindars came to visit him, they were shown into the office room to await the arrival of the host. Men of a lesser position were asked to sit on the bench till each should be called for by the Magistrate in his turn according to the time of his arrival. Contrary to custom, the bearer came out to-day and asked Nagendra Babu to sit on the bench. About half-a-dozen men of the smaller fry were seated there. Nagendra Babu keenly felt the insult offered to him; and instead of sitting on the bench, began to walk about in the verandah to pass the waiting time.

A little while later, the bearer rushed out of the room where the Magistrate was having his *Chota Hazri* and addressing the Deputy said—"The Sahib is annoyed at the noise made with your boots. Sir, kindly sit on the bench."

At this second insult, Nagendra Babu's blood boiled—but he restrained himself. He went and seated himself on the bench. The smaller fry squeezed themselves together to leave a respectable space between themselves and the Deputy Magistrate.

A little later the Sahib finished his *Chota Hazri* and entered the office room. The first man he sent for—was not Nagendra

Babu. One by one the smaller fry were ushered into the august presence of the Lord of the District and dismissed after a few minutes' conversation. Several men came subsequent to Nagendra Babu's arrival. Gradually, they too began to be sent for. Nagendra Babu had no doubt that the Magistrate's intention was to disgrace him publicly. During the interval of waiting his feelings may be better imagined than described. He was perspiring all over and his handkerchief became quite useless after a time. Sitting on the bench there he resolved to send in his resignation—not after one month—but that very day.

At last, Nagendra Babu was the sole occupant of the bench. The last visitor departed, and he was sent for. Nagendra Babu reeled into the Magistrate's presence, like one drunk.

"Good morning, Sir."—said he as he entered.

The Magistrate, keeping his seat, said—"Good morning, Babu."

Babu!—On former occasions, the Magistrate used to rise, offer his hand, and say—"Good morning, Nagendra Babu." He knew very well that Bengalee gentlemen of position took offence at being addressed as "Babu" without their names being prefixed to it.*

Nagendra Babu, however, did not mind it,—as he had already decided upon the course he was to pursue.

Pressing his cigar between his teeth the magistrate asked—"What news about Swadeshi in the town?"

"Good,"—replied Nagendra Babu.

"I am glad to hear it. It is the effect of the drastic measures taken in the biscuits case."

"I am afraid"—said Nagendra Babu—"you misunderstand me, Sir. I said 'good' from the point of view of the people,—not of the Government. Since my decision in the biscuits case the people of the town have become stronger adherents of Swadeshi than before."

* Before the advent of the English, the word "Babu" standing alone was a term of great respect. But Englishmen by their contemptuous use of it, have rendered it obnoxious to the community. A Bengalee would not resent being addressed as "Babu" by his own countrymen; but would take offence if a European were to address him so. If the name is prefixed to the "Babu," it is all right. The matter is purely sentimental though difficult to support by logic. It is very much like the gentlemen of Scotland claiming to be called Scotsmen and taking offence at their being called Scotchmen.—*Translator.*

The magistrate exclaimed in astonishment—"Then why do you say it is good? Are you a Swadeshi too?"

"Since the Swadeshi movement was started, Sir, not a single pice worth of any foreign article has entered my house"—came Nagendra Babu's proud reply.

The magistrate's face became crimson. He knew perfectly well that many Bengalees who were in Government service, cherished their Swadeshi principles privately—but so far nobody had ever dared parade it before the Sahibs, their masters. He also felt that Nagendra Babu was paying him back for the insult that had been meted out to him this morning. But the proud Sahib was not a man to betray his feelings. He feigned amusement and said with a smile—"yes, I have heard that Bengalee ladies are more keen about Swadeshi than the men-folk." After a pause, his feeling of annoyance overpowering him, the Magistrate broke out—"By the way—I have heard that your wife contributed a thousand rupees towards the costs of the students' appeal by selling her jewellery. Is it a fact?"

"Yes, sir, it is so. Besides, my wife has promised to pay the costs of the High Court motion also"—said Nagendra Babu in the most unconcerned manner.

Now, this was too much for the Magistrate. He flared up again and said in a choking voice—"But is this not defying the Government?"

"I don't know, sir,—the High Court has been established by the Government also, and I thought that the Government was as anxious to do justice between itself and the people—as the people themselves."

"May be"—said the magistrate—"but your wife had no business to interfere. It may not be defying the Government, but it is defying the Executive."

"Thank God, Sir, my wife is not in executive service." Besides anger, the feeling of astonishment was also overwhelming the mind of the Magistrate Sahib. He had been in the Bengal Civil Service for so many years but such undaunted spirit in a Bengalee was quite a new thing to him. Yes, Nagendra Babu was deliberately paying him back in his own coin—that the Magistrate fully realised. But wait,—the Sahib had in his hand such a magic wand as would bring Nagendra Babu to his knees

at the very first touch of it. He mused for a few moments and then said calmly—

"Let that pass. The reason why I sent for you this morning is this. Of late, you have been very negligent of your duties. Unless you become more careful, I will have to withdraw my recommendation to the Commissioner for your promotion to the next higher grade. I may even be obliged to reduce you to a lower grade."

Having delivered this oration, the Magistrate triumphantly scrutinised Nagendra Babu's face for signs of the inevitable result. He was convinced that Nagendra Babu would collapse immediately and be eager to obtain his pardon with becoming humility.

But the 'inevitable' did not happen. A smile of contempt slowly lit up Nagendra Babu's face. "You may do as you please, sir"—he said—"because it won't affect me."

"What do you mean?"—exclaimed the Magistrate at this wholly unexpected reply.

"I have decided to send in my resignation, sir, and my application will reach you in your office to-day. Would you be so good as to arrange that I may not be detained beyond the usual period of a month's notice?"

The Sahib's face fell. What? The Bengalee—the Bengalee, with whom Government service was the be-all and the end-all of existence—coolly flinging away the high position of a Deputy Magistrate!—Well, the Sahib was not prepared for this. Surely, the times were strange.

Nagendra Babu looked at his watch and standing up, said— "I mustn't detain you longer, sir. Good morning."

Absent-mindedly, the Magistrate stood up and giving Nagendra Babu his hand, said—"Good morning."

A month has passed. To-day, Nagendra Babu sat on the *ejlash* for the last time. At close of day a large gathering of students was noticed outside his court. Many of them carried flags inscribed with "Bande Mataram." An open victoria, minus horses, was kept ready underneath the banian tree.

As soon as Nagendra Babu came out of the court, the boys garlanded him. They begged him to get into the victoria and expressed their desire to drag the carriage themselves through the main streets of the town. Nagendra Babu thanked the boys for their good-will but firmly declined to be made the subject of a demonstration. The boys brought the carriage from underneath the tree and implored him to grant their prayer.

At this moment, two peasants were passing by—one belonging to the town and the other just arrived from a distant village.

The village-peasant enquired of his urban companion—"I say—what is all this? Is the Babu with a garland round his neck, going to be married?"

"I think, not"—replied the town peasant in his superior wisdom—"The Babu, I presume, has just been released from jail. They garland Babus who come out of jail now-a-days and make a great fuss of them."

The boys were still pleading with Nagendra Babu to get into the victoria, but he begged to be excused. He returned home walking as he did every day. After a break of two months, to-day the reconciliation between the husband and the wife was complete.

Translated from the Bengali of

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKERJI.

THE GLASS INDUSTRY IN NORTHERN INDIA

MODERN METHODS.

TWO glass factories were started on modern lines, the first one at Amballa city and the second one two years later at Rajpur. In both these factories the first

furnaces were both built for gas, produced by the destructive distillation of coal, and working on the regenerative system. In the Rajpur factory a mixture of wood and coal was for some time tried, but was soon given up owing to dearness of wood. More recent-

ly a new furnace was built at Amballa, (the old one having deteriorated) and is being used at present. It is an exact copy of the old one with a change only in the air distributor and regulator. Two more furnaces were built at the Rajpur factory, both being direct-firing furnaces of about half the capacity of the old gas furnace; the old furnace, too, has been rebuilt several times. Two more furnaces are being built, a direct-firing furnace of about 32 maunds (maund—82.7 lbs.) capacity at Ferozabad and the other at Morar for the Gwalior State. The Morar factory has a tank furnace of about 140 maunds capacity and is designed to be a gas furnace without the regenerative system. The furnace gases will pass through another small furnace built next to the bigger one, where part of the remaining heat of the furnace gases is meant to be utilised in making about 50 maunds of a more fusible glass. Two more factories are also in contemplation.

None of the above furnaces is, however, quite modern. The most modern of successful systems employ producer or water gas. A furnace for water gas was built at Ahmadabad after the design of Mr. Frederick Siemens of Westminster, but somehow closed prematurely. The great difficulty in working these modern furnaces in India seems to be the want of cheap skilled labour, although the failures of the factories are apparently due more to the want of provision of sufficient working capital, bad management and very possibly also to the unsuitability of the localities selected for glass-making.

Skilled workmen and managers with a technical knowledge of the glass-trade are exceedingly difficult to procure at present and this is acting as a great deterrent to the trade. Under present conditions progress or improvement is almost impossible. This has already had very bad effects on the industry. In building new furnaces, people either went backwards to build direct-firing furnaces or repeated the defects of the old ones—knowing what the defects were. In other cases inexperienced men were employed to design furnaces, the designs were made on wrong principles and the furnaces were very defective, resulting, as was to be expected, in bad failures. Already a considerable amount of money has been lost in this way and more will be lost if

great care be not taken in selecting the proper kind of men to build furnaces and manage factories.

COST OF FURNACES.

The small direct firing-furnace can, however, be built at about a fourth of the cost of a gas-furnace and do not require the same skill in building and working. If only cheap skilled labour could be obtained, they would suit the present conditions of the trade in India very well, for they can be started with small capital, require little skill in working, and in case of stoppage due to slackness or other reasons, the loss is not a severe one. It will be, however hard to make them pay if run by costly European labour as at some places, in one case, costing, I understand about Rs. 500 to 600 per month for a factory hardly worth Rs. 10,000. It would be a very good thing if a start could be made by giving a year's training to a few of the Roorkee Technical or Mechanical class students in the third year, and then inducing some of the factories to take them as apprentices.

GLASS-MAKING MATERIALS.

The materials at present used by the factories are:—Sand.—At present the sandstones obtainable at Dehra Dun is used or proposed to be used by all the factories. Sandstones from other places have to some extent been tried but without success. Good sand-stone and quartz are said to be obtainable in Agra and Gwalior, but these have not been tried yet.

(2) Lime.—The stone for this is also largely obtained from Dehra and burned at the factories. Limestones from Agra have been tried with success.

(3) Alkali.—This is invariably sodium bicarbonate, imported from Europe. Salt-cake (Sodium Sulphate) has never been used, although it is used largely in Europe. It is a cheaper article than Sodium Bicarbonate. Potash, too, has never been tried: possibly it is not obtainable cheaply and in sufficient quantities in India.

(4) Colouring materials.—These are mostly obtained from Europe, except of course charcoal, the substance used for Amber glass. Copper Oxide is to a small extent prepared at Amritsar but not of good quali-

ty. Copper and also Iron Oxides are made for their own use by the crude glass makers by heating the metals in a kind of muffle.

Of the materials mentioned above, sand and limestone of the United Provinces and adjoining places should be thoroughly studied by analysis and actual glass-making; these will be important factors in determining the location of future glass factories. But the work can only be undertaken by Government. Salt-cake can be cheaply and profitably manufactured in India, if there be, as is likely, a good sale for the by-products, hydrochloric acid and bleaching powder. Potash, too, should be possible to manufacture from wood-ashes or otherwise and can be largely utilised by the glass factories and other industries. Of the oxides, Manganese dioxide is already worked to some extent in India, but I do not know if the product will meet the requirements of glass-makers. It should also be possible to make some of the other oxides, and it is desirable that a study of these with a view to making or obtaining them in India should be undertaken.

COST AND SELLING PRICES.

Owing to the heavy cost of coal and raw materials at the works as well as that of the skilled labour and the European competition the ordinary glass made at the factories yields little profit even in good seasons and sometimes is sold at a loss. In the case of coloured glasses which sometimes come into vogue, the makers charge high prices and reap good profits. I found at Ferozabad that a green glass was very much in demand and was fetching Rs. 10 per maund, or Rs. 3 higher than blue glass while either will cost nearly the same to make. The selling prices for the different kinds of glass made at the factories vary from about Rs. 5-8 to Rs. 12 per maund and sometimes these extreme prices are paid for articles which should cost nearly the same to make. This difference will disappear to some extent if the glass bangle makers learn to make coloured glass themselves. At the same time if the factories are to run at a profit in face of European competition, the cost of making glass should be considerably reduced. For this a carefully planned investigation should be undertaken about (1) all the raw materials that may be used in glass making (2) the conditions of

sale, distribution, etc. and (3) the probability of obtaining cheaper skilled labour. From what little I have seen I feel confident that it would be possible to reduce the cost of glass-making by at least a fourth, if not by half.

GLASS-MAKING BY OLD METHODS.

Crude glass is made at Urmura, Mainpuri and Jasrana (Agra), Sarain Sisgaran (Etawah), Maraera (Etah), Sarain Chhabila and Pahasu (Bulandshahr), Nagal (Moradabad), Purdulpur, Akraabad, and Adown (Aligarh), Basala (Meerut) and other places. The glass is made by 'melting' Reh in a kind of tank furnace varying in size from 25 to 1,000 mds, and sometimes furnaces of even 2,000 capacity are met with. The smaller ones from 25 to 100 maunds are used for coloured glasses, the most usual being a rich blue. The larger ones are used for greenish and black glass. The trade is mostly in the hands of Mussalmans, although here and there Hindoos have taken to it. I saw two Hindoos, one a Brahmin (Tewary) of Sarain Sisgaran and another a Thakur of Urmura, who were doing very well as glass-makers. The labourers employed are mostly chamars, and wages range from four to eight annas per day. The material used is mainly Reh—a substance of uncertain composition consisting of varying proportions of the carbonates, sulphate and chloride of sodium and a large amount of clay and sand. The Reh is treated differently in different localities, but can never be depended upon to produce a uniform kind of glass always. A small amount of sandstone and considerable quantity of nitre are added for producing a greenish glass.

The glass produced from Reh is somewhat opaque and dull, though occasionally a fairly transparent glass is produced. The poor quality of glass is due to the impurities in the Reh, possibly clay, and may also partly be due to the long time taken in melting. As far as I am aware no analysis of Reh and the glass produced from it, has been made with a view to finding out the causes of the opacity and dullness. Such a study should be very instructive and might lead to good results. If better glass could be produced it will certainly find a readier market and fetch a higher price.

The cost of furnaces for melting Reh varies from about Rs. 10 for the smaller ones to about Rs. 50 for the larger ones. A furnace lasts one to two meltings and sometimes three. In making glass the Reh is well fried for a long time, then taken out and stowed away in a dry place. This takes for a 600-md. furnace about a week. The fried Reh is next introduced into the furnace and melted in parts, a fresh quantity being introduced after a layer is completely melted. The total thickness of glass made seldom exceeds 18 inches and takes from two to four weeks to complete. One of the greatest difficulties met with by the glass maker is the dearth of fuel. It happens sometimes that the supply fails in the middle of a melting.* I may mention that I found many of the glass makers fairly well-to-do men and some of them expressed a desire of expending more money on their furnaces if they could be sure that there would be some advantage in doing so.

The total quantity of glass, made from Reh, made in the United Provinces is roughly estimated at 2,000,000 maunds per year. The glass is exported to great distances, for instance to Madras and Bombay. The cost of making the common varieties (greenish, brown or black) is roughly about Re. 1 per md., but when fuel is scarce it amounts higher. The selling price for common glass is from Rs. 1-2 to 1-6, depending on quality. If the glass is fairly transparent as much as Rs. 1-12 to 2 is paid for it. Coloured glasses fetch from about Rs. 2 to 4, and sometimes higher prices are paid for superior qualities,—some times as much as Rs. 8 per md. With the introduction of factory glass it is becoming more and more difficult to sell the crude glass and unless its quality be improved it may, to a large extent, be driven out of the market. I may here mention that some of the foreign made glass fetch as much as Rs. 20 to 40 per maund. These are mostly imported from China.

LABOUR AND WAGES.

The owner of the furnace for *churi* (bangle) making is called a Shisgar, who is invariably a Mussalman. He employs men

* In my opinion, by improving the design of the furnaces so as to burn both coal and wood it would be possible to remove the difficulty while at the same time making it possible to produce a better kind of glass: the cost of making the furnaces will at the same time increase to some extent.

called karigars, who are also Mussulmans, and often of the same caste and related to the Shisgars. The Karigars are paid by piecework, and earn from Rs. 15 to 40 a month according to their skill. The karigars are often assisted by boy assistants who are paid from As. 2-6 to As. 4 per day. The working hours are from 40 per week in summer to 85 per week in winter. The furnaces for *churis* are practically of the same type all over the Provinces, but are made in various sizes. They, too, stand very much in need of improvement, specially as regards capability of using coal as a supplementary fuel. There are, I understand, something like 500 furnaces within a 50 mile radius of Ferozabad, which is the biggest centre for *churi* trade in Northern India. The total number of men engaged in making *churis* is estimated to be more than 10,000. The larger of these furnaces can melt all kinds of glass in the market. During the season the furnaces are worked for 24 hours at a stretch, with the same batch of workmen, and then closed from 10 to 24 hours. The heating up of the furnace takes a long time and costs a good deal, sometimes as much as Rs. 2/- or even more. Moreover, the frequent heating and cooling impairs the life of the furnace very much and cracks it very soon, thus lowering the efficiency. Last rainy season about three-fourths of the furnaces stopped work owing to the high price and insufficient supply of fuel.

The *churi*-maker's tools cost about Rs. 1-8 for a complete set. Moulds have been introduced recently, to make *churis* in imitation of Austrian *churis* of which a very large quantity is imported every year. I found that a lot of improvements have been made in the quality of the *churis* and a large number of new forms have been introduced, and are being introduced constantly. The introduction of some kind of pressing mould, if it could be done cheaply, would improve the quality of the goods very much more. Glass-cutters and grinders are numerous in India and it may be possible, in time, to produce goods almost equal to the Austrian ones.

I may also mention, although this has nothing to do with the technical side of the question, that most of the *churi* makers are badly indebted and often

helpless in the hands of money-lenders who are also generally dealers in *churis*. This takes off much of their profits and in slack seasons brings much suffering. The men, however, earn well in good seasons and if some form of Co-operative Credit Society be started amongst them, they could lay by money in good seasons to use in bad ones. I heard talks of combination to help

each other and to some extent to regulate production and sale in slack seasons, but, as a Shisgar told me, they were ignorant people and did not know how to proceed and were too much in the hands of money-lenders at present to make a start by themselves.

B. M. MUKERJI.

A NOTABLE MISSIONARY BOOK

A REVIEW.

*North India** by the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, M.A., is a notable missionary book. It is one of the "Handbooks of English Church Expansion." It therefore, treats of the expansion of the English Church in North India. Nevertheless the book is interesting even to non-Christian Indians on account of the author's well-known sympathy with Indian hopes and aspirations. In it Mr. Andrews has been fair-minded, impartial, sympathetic, and as appreciative of Indian traditions and religious beliefs as it is possible for an orthodox Christian to be.

A few extracts from the book, with occasional remarks, will perhaps give an idea of its contents. The headings are our own.

The rule of the East India Company.

"During the closing decades of the eighteenth century the rule of the East India Company reached its lowest ebb. Moral interests and the welfare of the people were sacrificed to trade profits. Bengal was almost left to itself so far as the Church was concerned. Scarcely a clergyman could be found to go out, and the missionary work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge failed for lack of support. Church life can hardly be said to have existed. We read constantly of Hindu idolatry being openly countenanced and even practised by officials, who married Hindu wives and lived as petty rajahs. Large fortunes were acquired by encouraging the gross superstitions of the masses. Every effort was made to conciliate the Brahmans and to avoid disturbing their ascendancy over the common people. Professor Seeley has named this time the 'Brahmanizing' period of English rule. Divorced from Christian influence, and sharing in the evils of the idolatry around, English life became unspeakably corrupt. At one time the Directors of the Company, who had every reason for concealing the facts, were obliged to confess in their report: 'The vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by scenes of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct ever known in any age or country.' Vansittart tells us how the Company's servants used to flog and imprison Hindus who would not buy or sell at whatever rate was pleasing to their oppressors. It

is, indeed, displeasing and in a measure revolting to English readers, to bring from oblivion this dark chapter of the past, but it is necessary to do so if we are to understand the early struggles of the Church and the violent opposition to religion as a missionary force."

Missionaries to be deported!

"In January, 1800, the first month of the new century, Carey and Marshman began their missionary career at Serampur. The Company's officials had done their best to seize them on landing and deport them. For a time they were indentured by a sympathetic Englishman as indigo planters. But the order went out for their arrest, and they were smuggled away from Calcutta by night in a boat and escaped to Danish territory. The Danish Governor, though threatened, refused to give them up. During the next twelve years, various attempts were made by other missionaries to enter the country, but in every case they were expelled. One Governor-general wrote with regard to missionary work: 'A man might fire a pistol into a magazine and it might not explode, but no wise man would hazard the experiment.' While England was awakening to a new earnestness and evangelical fervour at home, the Anglo-Indian community in Bengal remained cold and resentful of any evangelizing effort."

Dignity of labour.

"A beautiful story is told by Corrie concerning the meekness of this fiery Mohammedan soldier [Abdul Masih, a convert] of former days. They were going up the Ganges in two boats to Dinajpur, when Abdul's boatmen mutinied. He turned to the other Christians on board and said, 'Come let us teach them a Christian lesson.' He then got out and began to tow the boat himself. When the boat had gone some distance a Mohammedan merchant appeared on the bank, who was amazed to see a gentleman dragging along his own boat. The merchant asked: 'Sir, is it not degrading for a gentleman of your standing to do such menial work?' Abdul replied, 'When I was a Mussulman I should indeed have felt shame, but I have embraced a religion whose Author was meek and lowly of heart, and I am trying to win the boatmen to a sense of shame by acting thus.' Then he read to

* A. P. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 9 High Street, Oxford.

him the conclusion of the fifth chapter of S. Matthew, and the merchant went on his way wondering at such new teaching."

It will be admitted by all that Abdul Masih acted very worthily. But we do not think that either Islam or Mussalman social opinion considers menial work degrading.

When Dr. Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, landed here, "to the evident surprise of the Company's officials, the Hindus seemed rather pleased than otherwise, and in no way resented Christians practising their own religion." This evident surprise seems to us rather comic. For, not only is Hinduism a non-proselytizing faith and therefore tolerant of other creeds so long as it is not itself attacked, but the Hindus have been the greatest sufferers from so-called Christians not following the precepts of Christ. The vast majority of Anglo-Indians are still Christians only in name. We should rejoice if they became Christians in fact.

Caste in Christianity.

With regard to "caste congregations" in South India, Bishop Wilson decided that "Caste must be abandoned within the Church—decidedly, immediately, finally." With regard to North India the author says:—

"The future danger in the North, where far the larger number of English are resident, was from another kind of caste distinction—the cleavage between English and Indian congregations, and the refusal to recognize equality of race within the Christian fold. Though Bishops and clergy in this matter have protested, and noble Christian laymen have joined in fullest fellowship with their Indian brethren, yet among the bulk of the English laity the state of affairs, owing to the prevailing Anglo-Indian spirit of domination, has been lamentable, and a continual cause of stumbling to Indian inquirers."

English vs. Oriental Education.

"Much that has happened since then has led us to modify considerably the enthusiasm over Macaulay's triumph, and in the national movement which is going on to-day the defects of Macaulay's policy are being understood—his lack of appreciation for the greatness of India's past, and his blindness as to the claims of the vernaculars. But when all this is recognized, there can be no question that the compensating advantages of the study of English have been enormous. It has given to educated India a common language, and made the unification of India and the growth of national sentiment possible. At the time, however, young educated Bengal was wholly with Macaulay."

Dr. K. M. Banerji.

On the fact that Dr. K. M. Banerji was not made a Bishop, the author comments as follows:

"The failure to recognize his great gifts and those of others of his time has had a markedly deterrent effect on the advance of the Church in Bengal in indigenous life. When it is said to-day that there are no Indian Christians of sufficiently high calibre to be made Bishops, it must be remembered what the treatment of the noblest and highest Indian Christians has been in the past. Continual subordination is not a good soil for the growth of originating and governing powers."

Zenana Missions.

The author has not hesitated in many cases to dwell on the seamy side of some Missionary methods. But there is not a word of adverse comment on the methods of Zenana Missions. Perhaps he has not heard of or disbelieves the charges almost amounting to kidnapping sometimes brought against Zenana Missionary women, and some allied methods of theirs.

The first Lutheran Missionaries at Ranchi.

"They had no fixed support or income, and lived in the utmost poverty in a small bungalow together, spending just what their saintly pastor and his congregation could afford to send them. They built with their own hands their Mission school and church, helped by some famine orphans whom they fathered and educated."

Motives of Conversion.

"There were other besides purely spiritual causes at work, and a desire to better their degraded position entered in very largely as a motive force among the Kols who flocked to the German missionaries. Yet this desire itself had a good and noble side, and was not without spiritual value. It marked a distinct rise above the level of their former life."

Kol converts suffer during the Mutiny.

"During the long months that followed many of the new converts died of starvation, and nearly all lost their property, such as it was. One Indian Christian leader maintained in the jungle, for many weeks, one hundred Christian children during the rainy season of the year. Every convert had to undergo terrible hardships, but none denied CHRIST."

We are glad that the Kol converts gave such incontestable proofs of the faith that was in them.

Progress of Kols.

We are glad to learn, too, from an extract from a speech of Sir John Woodburn's given in the book that the Christian Kols are making great progress in education. Sir John said:

"While speaking of Chhota Nagpur, I was thinking of the surprise that awaited even so old an Indian as myself. We are accustomed to hear and speak of the savage tribes of the hills, as almost irreclaimable from the naked barbarism of their nomad life. What did I find? In the schools of the missionaries there are scores of Kol boys, rapidly attaining University standards in education. It was to me a revelation that the savage intellect, which we are apt to regard as dwarfed and dull, and inept, is as acute and quick to acquire knowledge as that of the sons of generations of culture. It seems incredible, but it is the fact, that these Kol lads are walking straight into the lists of competition with the high-bred youth of Bengal. This is a circumstance so strange even to me, so striking, so full of significance for the future, that I could not refrain from telling you of this last surprise of this wonderful land we live in."

This only illustrates the latent manhood which dwells in all Indian aboriginal races and which has enabled them to survive so many shocks of conquest for so

many centuries. What are Indian patriots doing for them?

Standards of Conversion:

The author asks the following question:

"Are we at liberty, with our Christian standard given us in the Gospels, to accept comparatively low forms of motive in the first instance, in dealing with the lower races? Do motives which appear low to us appear in the same light to them? Are they not, in the case of the lower races, the only primary motives which do appeal? Are we permitted to make the lower races Christians first and raise them afterwards? Can we, at least, when a movement has begun among them, through a definitely religious conversion of the two or three quite exceptional men, go on to accept the mass who have no religious conviction, but who follow a lead that is given them like a flock of sheep?"

The discussion of these questions and the author's conclusions are too long to quote, but we think that on the whole they are fair.

Nehemiah Nilakantha Goreh's Views.

"He pointed out how the luxury of English life, with its continual round of gaiety and sport, was a stumbling-block to a frugal, self-denying Eastern people, whose ideal of religion and spirituality was the contempt of riches, and withdrawal from the world; the missionaries, living much in the same way as Government officials, were too identified with the conquering race and its worldly pomp and prestige, and therefore could not give that vision of humility and sacred poverty which would win the spiritually-minded among Indian religious leaders. For these and other reasons he pleaded for a missionary celibate life, lived for the people and among the people, in absolute poverty and renunciation of the world. He asked for more simplicity, and less organization, more of the East and less of the West in methods of work."

Benares.

"I went on from the Christian Church at Sagra into the city of Benares itself. For hours I stayed watching the stream of Hindu devotees passing through, from temple to temple, performing their round of ceremonies, doing puja with Ganges water, marigold-flowers and rice, at the different idol shrines. Most of the worshippers seemed intent on getting through as many visits to the numberless idols as possible; yet every now and then among the crowd there might be seen a pathetically earnest face, full of ardent, spiritual longing. Many sadhu ascetics joined the throng, and among them also might be seen faces stamped with earnestness and desire for salvation. The sight stirred one's own heart to the depths, and one longed to be able to hold with them spiritual communion and to help them forward to the light. As the stream of worshippers flowed on and on, one seemed to get a glimpse into the soul of the Indian nation, and to understand better its inextinguishable passion for religion."

Then there are some paragraphs devoted to idolatry as found in Benares. The writer of this review is a Brahmo. He does not believe in many gods and goddesses nor is he a worshipper of images. But his attitude towards image-worship does not coincide with that of the author. But a discussion would not be suited to these pages.

"The Epiphany."

"The *Epiphany*, a weekly religious paper, which was started and circulated free of charge to students, in the earliest days of the Mission, has now reached the remarkably high weekly output of twelve thousand copies. The expense is very great, for postage has to be covered as well as printing but the reward has been proportionate. An audience of twelve thousand, who are ready to study quietly week by week, and often year by year, the evidences of the Christian Faith, is one that opens out unimaginable avenues of influence. Correspondence in connection with the leading article is continuous, and it is possible to put students, who have never ventured to address a missionary, in touch with those who can speak to them face to face concerning the Faith. But perhaps an almost and equal value is obtained from the letters of attack on Christianity, which are freely and fairly published in the paper along with its defence. There is scarcely an educational missionary in India who does not study this column, and gain from it a knowledge of the real objections which are in students' minds, and the way to meet them. Such a study prevents a great deal of "beating the air," and sets educational work on right lines, with clear issues to face instead of shadowy phantoms."

Will Hindus and Brahmos and Aryas read the above paragraph carefully, and ask themselves what they are doing to fill the eager minds of seekers after truth?

In reading the chapter on Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Delhi, we come across names like the following,—Miss Tara Chand, Deaconess Ellen Goreh, etc. We do not wish in the least to be discourteous to these or other Christian ladies. But we may be pardoned for observing, first, that in the Indian Vernaculars there is sex in names, that Tara Chand or Ram Prasad is a male proper name, not a family name, and therefore "Miss Ram Prasad" sounds ludicrous and comic to Indian ears, and, secondly, that the adoption by Indian Christians of foreign names is entirely unnecessary and uncalled for, is a mark of denationalization and shows want of self-respect. We should like to know why Indian Christians do not name their daughters Sita, Savitri, Maitreyi or Damayanti, or, if they were at first Mussalmans, Ayesha, Rabeya or Fatima.

Bishop French.

"But the story most dear to the Church in India is that of French's nobility of conduct in the Mutiny days at Agra. There was imminent danger of an attack in overwhelming force by the mutineers, and the English were hurried into the fort, but French remained outside. The order came for him to come in and leave the Indian Christians in the city, as food and shelter in the fort was barely sufficient for the English. But no power on earth could make French move a step through the fort gates till every Indian Christian was safe inside. Then at last he entered."

Anglicizing the Converts.

European Christian Missionaries exercise an Anglicizing influence on their Indian converts. The author condemns it. He says:

"Practically, the old Anglicizing system stands condemned by its results. Some of our converts have become so "English" that they refuse to go to

Hindustani services: some, owing to temptations of worldly advancement, are willing to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage, and pass off as Eurasians*: many, on the other hand, of our best Indian Christians have been so repelled by the rapid denationalization which has taken place that they hold aloof from mission circles altogether, and lead an independent life of their own. Those who formerly went furthest in copying the missionary's English ways have gone in some cases to the extremest lengths of reaction. One of the ablest of our Indian Christians gave me once his own experience. 'Eight years ago I despised my own countrymen; my education and upbringing in the Mission made me do so. I was seriously thinking at one time of adding another name, such as 'Brown' to my Indian name, and passing off as a Eurasian. Now I can hardly bear to look back upon that period without a deep sense of shame.'

The Missionary a Sahib.

"Looking from the Indian point of view, another factor needs to be taken into account. The missionary is not only a Western, but a Sahib. Let me dwell on this point, for it is not adequately realized in England what the position of an Englishman in India is, and what impression he makes upon the people. I shall not soon forget the strangeness of my first few days in Delhi—the policeman saluting, the people salaaming, the Indian soldier standing at attention, every one making way. I thought at first it was all directed towards my companion, who was well-known in Delhi. But no! all was exactly the same when I was alone. It was due to the simple fact that I was a Sahib.

"The Englishman is of the ruling race, and every Englishman is called 'Sahib.' He is given the front seat and the first place as a matter of course. A thousand little privileges are his for the asking. The number of English is very small indeed. Each one, in most cities, is a marked man as he goes down the street, and very much like a small squire or noble in an English country town. To come from comparative insignificance and unimportance in England into such a position, is bad for most men; and Englishmen would have been more than human if they had not, in a large number of cases, succumbed to the temptation either of arrogance or of patronizing superiority. The latter is now more often the spirit which prevails; it is often kindly and well-meaning, but it is none the less galling to the modern critical Indian. He feels continually, whether rightly or wrongly, that the Sahib is looking down upon him as an inferior, and when he is sensitive he watches for every sign of a slight, and magnifies it into an insult. It is impossible to go into detail: I only wish to give the general Indian impression. It might not unfairly be summed up under four heads: the Sahib is (i) a foreigner, (ii) influential, (iii) overbearing, (iv) patronizing."

Bad Missionary Theology.

We are glad to find the author recognising that there is such a thing as bad missionary theology. He is also against the superior airs assumed by Christians.

* "By so doing they obtain a higher grade of pay. Though the Volunteer Companies in India are not open to any without English blood there are many Indian Christians in the ranks."

"The missionary, coming out to those whom he looked upon as heathen of a degraded type (for bad missionary theology has also much to answer for) assumed, almost without thinking, the air of a superiority which was so readily granted, and caught the prevailing Anglo-Indian tone."

The Indian conception of religious life.

"It must be remembered in this connection that the Indian has his own very strong conceptions of the form of life a religious man ought to lead. His ideal is renunciation. It is true that the ideal has become lowered in modern, popular Hinduism. Crowds of so-called *sadhus*, or ascetics, who are supposed to have renounced the world, are mere professional beggars, who make trade out of the religious idealism of the people. But in spite of numberless travesties, the ideal still holds, and stories of genuine renunciation are by no means uncommon. That true religion means renunciation remains perhaps the strongest religious instinct both among educated and uneducated Indians of all creeds."

Prevalent Anglo-Indian Ideas of English Position and Prestige.

"They run somewhat as follows:—'Never, under any circumstances, give way to a 'native,' or let him regard himself as your superior. We only rule India in one way—by upholding our position. Though you are a missionary you must be an Englishman first and never forget that you are a Sahib. You may do incalculable mischief if you lower the dignity of an Englishman, by allowing 'natives' to treat you familiarly or take liberties with you: they are the inferior race, and we hold India by the sword. Be kindly by all means, but always be on your guard, and do not give away English prestige.'

What the author thinks of them.

"For we must, as missionaries, reverse the whole position and counteract the false impression of Christianity given. We must continually 'give way to the native' if we are to show any humility worthy of the Name of CHRIST; we must try and lose our 'superiority,' and become the servants of all, if we are to follow CHRIST; we must come to India with the one wish in our hearts, to break down all barriers of race, not to build them up. It may be realized, therefore, how very difficult the military atmosphere is for a missionary to breathe. For the missionary is very human, with warm English blood tingling in his veins; and the martial, conqueror's spirit, the pride of blood and race, the clannish feeling, are very hard to keep under due control, even when he comes out as a minister of peace and good will. It is true, that the contradiction of ideas may be very slight in the North-west among the fighting races; but among the Hindus the contradiction is glaring, for their religious ideal is still deeply tinged with Buddhism, which inculcates a tenderness towards all sentient creatures.

Battle Flag in a Church.

"I remember taking one of our Delhi students into Canterbury Cathedral; when we came out, I asked him for his opinion of its beauty. He told me that

one thing had so filled him with horror that all other thoughts were obliterated, and that was to see flags of war and bloodshed set up, almost as it were for worship, in the Temple of the Gospel of Peace. I was reading the Beatitudes with another older student, and when we had read the first three, he said to me, 'These are the very opposite of what we see of Christianity in India; the Englishman may 'inherit the earth,' but he would never like to be called 'meek'!'

Indian Christians denationalized and worldly.

The author discusses the accusation that the Indian Christian Community in the North is denationalized and worldly. He says: "In the North, especially in the United Provinces, there can be little question that the criticism is not unfounded." The charge of worldliness is, he says, not wholly true. But he does not deny the existence of a worldly atmosphere, of which the two predisposing causes are:

"First of all, there has been the expensive standard of the European. The habits of India are extremely simple, indeed one of the most beautiful traits about the people is their simplicity of life. But when a family becomes Christian in the northern cities, this simplicity tends to disappear. It seems impossible to check the process, and there are certain compensations; but the eager pushing forward towards more material comforts and expensive English habits, brings with it an air of worldliness, and tends to deaden the ideal of renunciation and self-sacrifice. It may be that this is only a passing phase, but it is a painful one.

"The second cause is still more serious, and could have been avoided, if the danger had been more clearly seen at the outset. The paid 'agent' system within the Church has been carried to an excess, with the consequence that voluntary self-sacrifice has been checked. The temptation to pauperize in India is very great indeed, for a new convert is continually resourceless. Some post is found for him in 'mission employment,' and he becomes a paid 'agent' of the Mission, though often spiritually unfit. The consequence has been a lowering of the standard of spiritual work. I shall not forget my astonishment on hearing, at the first Mission Council that I attended, such phrases as 'Oh! So-and-so's a twenty rupee catechist,' his character being marked, as it were, by his monthly stipend. Wherever the blame lies, there can be little doubt that the monetary idea has crept in all through this side of our work, and spiritual power seems to have gone out in proportion. It was very noticeable how, in answer to a series of questions which I sent to leading missionaries of the Church in preparing this chapter, the trouble which was most constantly mentioned was the dearth of really spiritual catechists."

After paying a tribute to the "many Anglo-Indians who are a pattern of self-denial and good works," the author says:—

Irreligious Anglo-Indian gaiety and luxury.

"But side by side with this must be placed the follies and extravagances of the 'Simla season,' the constant balls, gymkhanas and race meetings of the cold

weather in the plains, the club-life with its round of gaiety and luxury. This, in a country so desperately poor as India, where millions upon millions are living on the verge of starvation, and a single meal of coarse grain each day is all that can be obtained,—this Anglo-Indian waste of wealth on personal comforts is an "offence" to the Christian religion that cannot easily be over-estimated. Indians ask with reason, "Is this a religion of renunciation, such as we in the East can understand?"

"A chaplain travelling at double first-class fare at the tax-payers' expense, and living in every way like a Sahib, with a Sahib's ideas of the 'inferior race,' remains a stumbling-block still to the logical Hindu mind, however much the anomaly may be explained away."

The awakening of the East.

"The awakening of the East in its effect upon politics, art, literature, and thought, may well be called a Renaissance. With very much of this Renaissance—with the longing for freedom and enlightenment, the love of country, the desire for a true and healthy national existence, the wish to elevate the countless myriads of the common people—no thoughtful Christian can fail to sympathize. As an Englishman he may feel at times that the day of his power is on the wane, but as a Christian he can not but rejoice and welcome into the brotherhood of man the new nations that are now being born.

"One feature is apparent in educated India to-day. There is life where before was stagnation. The spiritual nature of Indian thinkers and writers is absorbed in the prospect of an awakening East, an Indian Nation, a free and enlightened People, a deliverance from the nightmare of superstition and the tyranny of caste. It is true that the problems and difficulties of the future have been little realized, but a great hope has been born. There is a day in the East never to be forgotten, the day of the coming of the monsoon rains after the long dusty drought. The dead parched ground seems to put on new verdure in a single night and the new tender grass appears upon the barren soil. Even so it has been in the last few years in India. Before that time, a note of helplessness and despair ran through the thoughts and writings even of those who were the most persistent workers for the good of the country. But now educated India is tingling with new life. The form taken may be at times extremely crude and even repellent, but it is life, life, life!"

Young Indians.

"Young India is wakeful, alert, precocious; it turns to its national leaders as to a magnet, and is irresistibly attracted. The student class is poor, often terribly poor, but high-spirited and remarkably intelligent. The villages are sending ever-increasing numbers to the schools and colleges in the cities, and these come back to their homes filled with the new spirit. A typical instance would be that of a village student in one of our North Indian cities who told me his life history. He had been educated in a mission school, and had learnt good principles, but had received no deep impression. He was a clever lad and his ambition was to rise in the world. Then one day there came to him what might have been called in religious

language his conversion. With overwhelming force he heard the call come to him to give up his life for his country. For months he could think of nothing else. Day and night the dream was before him. At last he determined to put himself to the test. Hindu though he was, he tried to fraternize with Mohammedans as fellow Indians, and, though meeting with continual rebuffs, had persisted for more than two years, and succeeded in gaining their friendship. His father had insisted on his marrying at once and taking up Government service; but he had steadily refused, having determined to lead a celibate life in order to be free to work for his country. He had been banished from home in consequence, and reduced to great straits, but had kept to his resolution. My last communication with him revealed the fact that he had been spending the whole of his vacation administering famine relief to the lowest castes.

"This is an example of the new earnestness that is spreading in the land. I have met with it in every city which I have visited. When it penetrates the great agricultural population of India, such an example will be multiplied in every district, for the villagers are by no means enervated or demoralized as is frequently the case in the towns; they are, in most parts, a sturdy, thrifty, determined folk, quick in intelligence and mother wit, with a wonderful capacity for hardship and endurance. Those who come to our college from the villages of the Panjab are more actively stirred by the new spirit, and have greater tenacity in retaining their enthusiasm, than those who come from the towns. The new movement is still in its infancy, yet from every educational centre comes the same tidings. It is the village students who are showing most markedly the effects of the awakening, and who are coming more and more under its influence. When it is remembered that India is a land of villages rather than of towns, and that the new movement will increase in volume just in proportion as the villages are affected, it will be understood what immense developments may yet be in store. The movement will go on: nothing now can stop it: momentum is being gathered at every stage."

False Missionary pictures of Hinduism.

"I have been studying, in connection with the writing of this book, Indian missionary literature of the past, and few things have pained me more than the false and one-sided picture given of the Hindu religion."

India the land of idealists.

"A country like India, where the Brahman or intellectual caste has maintained its sway for centuries, where the material side of life has always played so secondary a part, will to-day, in the era of new movement and awakening, be moved still by thought and by leaders of thought. We are not dealing with China or Japan, where the practical looms so large, but with India, the land of philosophies and idealisms."

"But India after all is the land of idealists. The lowest peasant, in spite of his terrible poverty and his hard material conditions, is an idealist at heart, and will ever remain one."

Change in missionary theology.

"To this end there must be a change in our missionary theology. We need to have a deeper faith in

God, and in His love for men. We must believe that God has not left Himself without a witness for thousands of years among the most religious people in the world. We must believe that holy men of old in India spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST, and we must no longer despise the HOLY GHOST by speaking slightly of their message. We must believe that CHRIST is really the Light of the world, the Divine WORD who is the Life of men—that He Himself has been lightening every Indian coming into the world, and that the many millions of yearning human spirits in India have had His spiritual light to guide them, before any missionary came to teach them the full message of the Incarnation. We shall then find, if not an Old Testament, yet, a true *praeparatio evangelica* in the Vedas and Upanishads, in the poetry, and even in the legends of ancient India, as well as in the traditions of Muhammad, the utterances of the Sufi mystics, the sayings of Kabir, and the verses of the Granth. It is true that selection will be needed, and purification; but that is a different thing from the wholesale destruction or wholesale neglect which is at present far too common."

Change in missionary method.

"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable (*margin* reverend), whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any praise, if there be any virtue"—in Hinduism or Buddhism, or Islam (and there is very much indeed of each and every one of these things)—we need to "think on [*margin*, take account of] these things." We must no longer build up a wholly foreign system which turns Indian Christians into foreigners in their own country, so that this terrible sentence could be written by an impartial and kindly observer writing in a leading Indian review,—"An Indian Christian is, with honourable exceptions, thoroughly denationalized; at best he is but a spectator standing unconcerned on the shores of the stream of national life—though he is not all to blame for it."

The Established Church.

"The State Establishment will have to go; it is already an anachronism, and an offence; if chaplains remain, they must be only for the troops."

We have found every chapter of this book highly interesting. To Indian readers in general the last two chapters—"The Indian point of view" and "The National Movement"—would be found specially interesting.

In glancing over the names of the prominent Indian Christians mentioned in the book, we have been struck by one fact. It is that not one of them was born a Christian. Christianity has been in India for many centuries. How is it then that all or almost all her most distinguished sons have been drawn from the folds of Hinduism or Islam? If Indian Christianity really be spiritually potent, how is it that generations of Indian Christians born and brought up within the church have not been able to produce men equal to those who themselves became converts and who owed all their latent spiritual potency to their Hindu or Islamic birth, breeding and heredity? Let European missionaries and Indian Christians answer. When-

ever you want to show a specimen of Indian Christian manhood, you push forward a Gorch, or a Kalicharan Banerji. Your theory is that Christianity made them what they are in spite of their "heathen" homes and heredity. But pray show us similar specimens of born Indian Christians with all the advantages of your

Christian homes and heredity. We admit the mundane uplifting power of Indian Christianity, there being so much money and organisation behind it. But it is by the test of spiritual power that a faith is judged. Show us the spiritual potency of *born* Indian Christians. This is what any non-Christian Indian may demand.

AURANGZIB

"From Contemporary Persian Histories & Letters."

§ I.—EARLY LIFE.

MUHIUDDIN Muhammad Aurangzib, the third son of the Emperor Shah Jahan and his famous consort Mumtaz Mahal, was born on 24th October, 1618, at Dohad, now a town in the Panch Mahal taluq of the Bombay Presidency and a station on the Godra-Rutlam railway-line. The most notable incident of his boyhood was his display of cool courage when charged by an infuriated elephant, during an **elephant combat** under his father's eyes on the bank of the Jumna outside Agra Fort, (28 May, 1633.) The victorious beast, after putting its rival to the flight, turned fiercely on Aurangzib, who firmly kept his horse from running away and struck the elephant on the forehead with his spear. A sweep of the brute's tusk hurled the horse on the ground; but Aurangzib leaped down from the saddle in time and again faced the elephant. Just then aid arrived, the animal ran away, and the prince was saved. The Emperor rewarded the heroic lad with his weight in gold. (There is a fine picture of the episode in an old manuscript of the Khuda Bakhsh Library).

On 13th December, 1634, Aurangzib, then 16 years of age, received his first appointment in the Imperial army as a commander of ten thousand cavalry (nominal rank), and next September he was sent out to learn the art of war in the campaign against Jujhar Singh and his son Vikramajit, Bundela Chiefs of Urrhha, who were finally extirpated at the end of the year.

From 14th July 1636 to 28th May 1644, Aurangzib served as **Viceroy of the Deccan**,—paying several visits to Northern

India during the period to see the Emperor. This his first governorship of the Deccan, was marked by the conquest of Baglana and the final extinction of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. He was married, first to Dilras Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safwi (8th May, 1637) and at some later but unknown date to Nawab Bai, and began to have children by them, his eldest offspring being Zebunnisa, the gifted poetess, (born 15th February, 1638).

At this period, too, occurred the only romance of his life, his **passion for Hira Bai**, (surnamed **Zainabadi**), whom he procured from the harem of his maternal uncle. It was a case of love at first sight, and Aurangzib's infatuation for the beautiful singer knew no bound: to please her he consented to drink wine! The affair was cut short by her death in the bloom of youth, which plunged her lover in the deepest grief.

Whether this loss was the cause we know not, but in May 1644 the prince prepared to renounce the world and **turn hermit**. Shah Jahan was highly displeased, and at once deprived him of his governorship, estates, and allowances. For some months the prince lived at Agra in disgrace. But on 25th November, when Jahanara, the eldest and best-beloved daughter of Shah Jahan, recovered from a terrible burn, her joyful father could refuse her nothing, and at her entreaty Aurangzib was restored to his rank. On 16th February, 1645 the viceroyalty of Guzerat was given to him; his vigorous rule suppressed lawlessness in the province and won rewards from the Emperor.

From Guzerat Aurangzib was recalled two years later and **sent to Central Asia** to recover Balkh and Badakhshan, the

cradle of the royal house of Timur. The official history records that Shah Jahan "graciously bestowed these two provinces on Aurangzib as his fiefs"; that is to say the prince was presented with the skin of a lion which he had yet to hunt! Leaving Kabul on 7th April, 1647, he reached Balkh on 25th May, and battled long and arduously with the fierce enemy. The bravest Rajputs shed their blood in the van of the Mughal army in that far off soil; immense quantities of stores, provisions and treasure were wasted; but the Indian army merely held the ground on which it encamped; the hordes of Central Asia, —the teeming loins of Asia,—swarmed on all sides and could not be crushed once for all. The barren and distant conquest could have been retained only at a ruinous cost. So, a truce was patched up: Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ex-King of Balkh, was sought out with as much eagerness as Sir Lepel Griffin displayed in getting hold of the late Amir Abdur Rahman, coaxed into taking back his throne, and the Indian army beat a hurried retreat to avoid the dreaded winter of that region. Many *krores* of Rupees of Indian revenue were thus wasted for absolutely no gain; the abandoned stores alone had cost several *lakhs*, and much treasure too had to be sacrificed by the rearguard for lack of transport.

During this campaign Aurangzib did an act which made his fame ring throughout the Islamic world. While the Mughal army was fighting desperately with the vast legions of Abdul Aziz Khan, King of Bukhara, the time for the evening prayer (*zakar*) arrived. Disregarding the prohibitions of his officers, Aurangzib dismounted from his horse, knelt down on the ground and deliberately and peacefully went through all the ceremonies of the prayer, in full view of both the armies. Abdul Aziz on hearing of it cried, 'To fight with such a man is to ruin one's self', and suspended the battle.

From Balkh, Aurangzib returned to Kabul on 20th October, 1647, and was afterwards appointed Viceroy of Multan (probably early in 1648). This post he held till July 1652, being twice in the meantime called away from his charge to **besiege Gandhar** (16th May—5th September, 1649, and 2nd May—9th July, 1652). This fort

Persians, and these two huge and costly sieges and a third and still greater under Dara (28th April—27th September, 1653) failed to recover it.

With his **second viceroyalty of the Deccan** (of which the appointment was made on 17th August, 1652), began the most important chapter of Aurangzib's early life. What Gaul was to Julius Cæsar as a training-ground for the coming contest for royalty, the Deccan was to Aurangzib. Many hundreds of his letters, preserved in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, give us much interesting information about his life and work during the next six years,—how he overcame his recurring financial difficulties, how he gathered a picked band of officers round himself, how ably and strenuously he ruled the country, maintaining order and securing the happiness of the people. By constant inspection and exercise he kept his army in good condition. He must have been often out on tour, as he admits in one of his letters that he was a hard rider and keen sportsman in those days. Thus the year 1658 found him beyond doubt the ablest and best equipped of the sons of Shah Jahan in the ensuing War of Succession.

After a long intrigue he seduced from the King of Golkonda his *wazir* Mir Jumla, one of the ablest Persians who have ever served in India. At Aurangzib's recommendation Shah Jahan enrolled Mir Jumla among his officers and threw the mantle of Imperial protection over him. To force the Golkonda King to give up Mir Jumla's family and property, Aurangzib made a **raid on Haidarabad** (Jan.—Apr., 1656); the king fled to Golkonda where he was forced to make a humiliating peace with immense sacrifices. Mir Jumla joined Aurangzib (20th March), was summoned to Delhi and created *wazir* (7th July), and then on 18th January, 1657, returned to the Deccan to reinforce Aurangzib.

A year after this unprovoked attack on Golkonda, on the death of Ali Adil Shah, King of **Bijapur**, Aurangzib with his father's sanction **invaded** the latter country (January, 1657), captured the forts of Bidar and Kaliani (29th March and 1st August, respectively), and was looking forward to annexing a good deal of the territory, when the whole scene changed in the most un-

The Emperor Shah Jahan had now reached his 66th year, and was evidently declining in health. His eldest son and intended heir apparent, Dara Shikoh, who lived with him and controlled much of the administration, induced him to recall the additional troops sent to Aurangzib for the Bijapur war, on the very reasonable ground that the Bijapur King had thrown himself on the Emperor's mercy and offered a large indemnity and cession of territory as the price of peace. But this peremptory order to Aurangzib to come to terms with Bijapur gave him a sharp check when flushed with victory and cut short his schemes of aggression. Besides, the depletion of his army left him too weak to hold the Bijapuris to their promises, and thus the fruits of victory were lost.

§ 2.—WAR OF SUCCESSION.

On 6th September, 1657, Shah Jahan at Delhi was taken severely ill. For some time his life was despaired of. Dara attended him day and night with extreme filial piety, but he also took steps to secure his own succession. He stopped the courtiers on the roads and prevented his brothers from getting true news of court affairs. But this only aggravated the evil: the wildest rumours prevailed all over the country; the Emperor was believed to be already dead; the officers in the provinces were distracted by the prospect of an empty throne; lawless men in all parts raised their heads without fear of punishment. Two of the princes, Murad and Shuja, openly crowned themselves in their governments, Guzerat and Bengal respectively. Aurangzib after a short period of gnawing anxiety and depressing uncertainty, decided to play a subtler game. He denounced Dara as an apostate from Islam, proclaimed his own design to be merely to free the old Emperor from Dara's domination and to purge the state from non-Islamic influences, and lastly made an alliance with Murad Bakhsh swearing on the Quran to give him all the Mughal territory from the Panjab westwards.

Meanwhile Dara despatched two armies, one under his son Sulaiman Shikoh and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh against Shuja who was advancing from Bengal, —and the other under Maharajah Jaswant Singh and Qasim

Khan against Aurangzib and Murad. The first army surprised and routed Shuja at Bahadurpur, opposite Benares, (14th February, 1658,) and pursued him to Mungir. But Aurangzib and Murad effected a junction outside Dipalpur and crushed Jaswant's army after a long and terribly contested battle at Dharmatpur, 10 miles south of Ujjain (15th April). Dara sent off urgent orders recalling his son from Bengal. But his division of his forces had been a fatal mistake: Sulaiman returned from far-off Bihar too late to help his father or even to save himself. Aurangzib had the immense advantage of crushing his enemies piecemeal, while his own armed strength was doubled by the league with Murad.

From Ujjain the victorious brothers pushed on to the capital. At Samugarh, 30 miles south of Agra, Dara who had issued from the city with a second army, attacked them on a frightfully hot day (29th May), was signally defeated, and fled from Agra towards Delhi and the Panjab. Aurangzib now marched on Agra, compelled his old father to surrender the fort by stopping the supply of drinking water from the Jumna, and kept Shah Jahan strictly confined in the harem for the remainder of his life. Then, at Mathura he treacherously made Murad prisoner at a banquet (23rd June), and advancing to Delhi crowned himself Emperor (21st July, 1658). Dara was chased through the Panjab and Sindh to Bakkar, whence he fled to Guzerat over the Rann of Cutch, undergoing terrible hardships on the way. A second army which he raised was destroyed near Ajmir (13th March, 1659,) and he was hunted by Aurangzib's generals from place to place, till he reached Dadar, at the Indian mouth of the Bolan Pass, whose chief betrayed him to Aurangzib. The captive Dara was brought to Delhi, paraded with insult through the bazar, and murdered by some slaves of Aurangzib (30th August, 1659), who had got the Mullahs to issue a sentence that according to Islamic Law Dara deserved an apostate's death. Murad Bakhsh was beheaded in Gwalior prison as a legal punishment on the accusation of a man whose father he had slain in Guzerat, (26th December, 1659). Dara's eldest son, Sulaiman Shikoh, died mysteriously in the same state-prison.

Meantime Shuja had gathered together

a new army and advanced beyond Allahabad to make a second attempt for the throne. But he was signally defeated at Khajwah (5th January, 1659,) and driven back to Bengal, whence after a two years' struggle on land and river he was forced to flee miserably to Arracan for refuge (6th May, 1660.) Here he was massacred with his whole family for a plot against the Burmese King on whose hospitality he was living.

Thus all his rivals being removed from his path, Aurangzib became the undisputed sovereign of India.

§ 3.—AURANGZIB'S REIGN IN NORTHERN INDIA.

The new monarch now enjoyed a long period of comparative peace: he received grand embassies from Persia (22nd May, 1661), Bukhara (17th November 1661), Mecca, Abyssinia (March, 1665), and Arabia, sent to congratulate him on his accession; and the envoys were treated to a sight of the lavish splendour of the Mughal Court,—a splendour which dazzled the eyes of Bernier, Tavernier and other European travellers of the time. He had a sharp attack of illness (12th May—24th June, 1662), which threatened to shake his newly planted throne; but he recovered and paid a visit to Kashmir (23rd April—29th September., 1663).

Though peace reigned in the heart of the empire, there was war on the frontier: ambitious and enterprising officers tried to extend the territory of the empire; Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar, conquered Palamau (April—December 1661). Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, overran Kuch Bihar and Assam, capturing their capitals on 19th December, 1661 and 17th March 1662; but famine and pestilence destroyed his army, and he sank down under disease before reaching Dacca on return (31st March, 1663). Shaista Khan, the next Governor of Bengal, wrested Chatgaon (Chittagong) from the Portuguese and Burmese pirates (26th January 1666), and also captured the island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal. An expedition from Kashmir forced the Dalai Lama of Greater Tibet to be a feudatory of the Emperor and to "submit to Islam" (November 1665). To crown all, the able and astute general Jai Singh tamed Shivaji, the daring and hitherto invincible

Maratha chief, annexed two-thirds of his forts, (Treaty of Purandar, 8th June, 1665), and induced him to do homage to the Emperor by a visit to Agra (9th May, 1666). Aurangzib's lack of statesmanship in dealing with Shivaji and the latter's romantic escape from prison (19th August) are a familiar tale all over India. True, the Mughal arms did not gain any conspicuous success in Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur (2nd half of 1666), but these expeditions were of the nature of raids for extortion, and not deliberate schemes of conquest.

A more formidable but distant trouble was the revolt of the Yusufzai clan and their allies on the Afghan frontier, (begun in 1667). The war against these sturdy hillmen dragged on for many years; successive Mughal generals tried their hands and buried their military reputation there, and at last peace was purchased only by paying a large annual subsidy from the Indian revenue to these "keepers of Khyber gate."

A state of war also continued against the Bijapur King and Shivaji for many years; but the Mughal generals were bribed by the former to carry on operations languidly, and the latter was more than able to hold his own. These operations present us with nothing worthy of note. The Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, in fear of the Mughals, courted the alliance of Shivaji, who rapidly grew in wealth, territory, armed strength, and prestige, and had made himself the foremost power in the Deccan when death cut his activity short at the age of 52, (14th May, 1680.)

Meantime Aurangzib had begun to give free play to his religious bigotry. In April 1669 he ordered the provincial governors to "destroy the temples and schools of the Brahmans...and to utterly put down the teachings and religious practices of the infidels". The wandering Hindu saint Uddhav Bairagi was confined in the police lock-up. The Viswanath temple at Benares was pulled down in September, 1669. The grandest shrine of Mathura, Kesav Rai's temple, built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees by the Bundela Rajah Narsingh Dev, was razed to the ground in January 1670, and a mosque built on the site. "The idols were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of Jahanara's mosque that they might be constantly

trodden on" by the Muslims going in to pray. About this time the (new?) temple of Somnath on the south coast of the Kathiawar peninsula was demolished, and the offering of worship there ordered to be stopped. The smaller religious buildings that suffered havoc were beyond count. The Rajput War of 1679-80 was accompanied by the destruction of 175 temples in Mewar alone, including the famous one of Someswar and three grand ones at Udupur. On 2nd April 1679, the *jazia* or poll-tax on non-Muslims was **revived**. The poor people who appealed to the Emperor and blocked a road abjectly crying for its remission were trampled down by elephants at his order and dispersed. By another ordinance (March, 1695), "all Hindus except Rajputs were forbidden to carry arms or ride elephants, *palkis*, or "Arab and Persian horses." "With one stroke of his pen he dismissed all the Hindu clerks from office." Custom duties were abolished on the Muslims and doubled on the Hindus.

The discontent provoked by such measures was an ominous sign of what their ultimate political consequence would be, though Aurangzib was too blind and obstinate to think of the future. A rebellion broke out among the peasantry in Rewar (December, 1669), another near Mathura under Goklā Jāt (January, 1670), and the Satnāmis or Mundiās rose near Narnol (March and April 1672), and it taxed the Imperial power seriously to exterminate these 5000 stubborn peasants fighting for church and home. The Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur was tortured in prison till he-courted death as a release (1675), but his followers thereafter gave no rest to the Panjab officers.

At last Aurangzib threw off all disguise and openly **attacked the Rajputs**. Maharajah Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur died in the Emperor's service at Peshwar (10th December 1678). Immediately Aurangzib sent out officers to take possession of his kingdom and himself marched to Ajmir to overawe opposition. Two wives of the Maharajah delivered two sons after reaching Lahore in the following February. Aurangzib sold the Jodhpur throne for 36 lakhs of rupees to a worthless nephew of Jaswant and ordered the late Maharajah's widows and new-born babes to be seized and detained in his Court till the latter should come of age. But thanks to the devotion of their

Rathor guards, all of whom died like heroes, and the sagacity and loyalty of Durgadas, (one of the noblest characters in Rajput history), Ajit Singh, the surviving infant of Jaswant and the future hope of Marwar, was safely conveyed to Jodhpur (23rd July, 1679). But Aurangzib was up to any trick: he proclaimed Ajit Singh to be a counterfeit prince, and for many years cherished a beggar boy in his Court under the significant name of Muhammadi Raj, as the true son of Jaswant! All Rajputana (except everloyal Jaipur) burst into a flame at this outrage on the head of the Rathor clan. The Maharana, Raj Singh, chivalrously took up the defence of the orphan's rights. The war dragged on with varying fortune; the country was devastated wherever the Mughals could penetrate; the Maharana took refuge in his mountain fastnesses. At last **Prince Akbar**, the fourth son of Aurangzib, **rebelled** (January, 1681,) joined the Rajputs, and assumed the royal title. For a few days Aurangzib was in a most critical position, but his wonderful cunning saved him: by a false letter he sowed distrust of Akbar in the minds of the Rajputs, the Prince's army melted away and he fled leaving all his family and property behind and reaching the Maratha Court after a perilous journey under the guidance of the faithful Durgadas (about May, 1681). The Emperor patched up a peace with the Maharana (June, 1681), both sides making concessions. But henceforth the Rajputs ceased to be supporters of the Mughal throne; we no longer read of large Rajput contingents fighting under the Imperial banner; he had to depend more on the Bundelas. The Rathors continued the war till the end of Aurangzib's life. Here ends the first and stable half of Aurangzib's reign—the period passed in Northern India.

§ 4. AURANGZIB'S REIGN IN THE DECCAN.

We next enter on a scene of unceasing but fruitless exertion for 26 years,—the war with the "slim" Marathas, which ruined the Emperor's health, the *morale* of his army, and the finances of the state, a war of which all saw the futility and all were heartily tired, all save Aurangzib, who pursued one policy with increasing obstinacy, till at last the old man of 90 sank

into the grave amidst despair, darkness and chaos ready to overwhelm his family and empire.

Shivaji's eldest son Sambha was a more daring raider than his father and deterred by no fear of consequences. With Akbar as his pensioner, what might he not do against the Mughal crown? Moreover, all Aurangzib's generals and even his sons sent against the kingdoms of the Deccan had failed of conquest, and were rightly suspected of corruption. So there was nothing left for Aurangzib but to conduct the war in person. With this object he left Ajmir for the Deccan (8th September, 1681), never again to return to Northern India alive or dead. The capital Aurangabad was reached on 22nd March, 1682. Thence on 13th November 1683, he arrived at Ahmadnagar, a town to which he was destined to return 24 years afterwards only to die. Two of his sons and some nobles were despatched against the Bijapuris and the Marathas, but effected nothing decisive, though a large number of Sambha's forts were captured. A large force which penetrated into Ram-dehra in the Konkan under Prince Muazzam returned with failure and heavy loss (September, 1683—May, 1684).

Fierce as was Aurangzib's hatred of the Hindus (the vast majority of his subjects), it was equalled by his **aversion for the Shiah**s,—who supplied him with some of his best generals and all his ablest civil officers. To him the Shiah was a heretic (*rafizi*); in one of his letters he quoted with admiration the conduct of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shiah at Isfahan and draws from it the moral, "whoever acts for truth, speaks up for truth, is befriended by the True God!" In another letter he tells us how he liked the naming of a dagger as 'Shiah-slayer' (*Rafizi-Kush*), and ordered some more of the same name to be made for him. In his correspondence he never mentions the Shiah without an abusive epithet: 'corpse-eating demons' (*ghul-i-bayabani*) 'misbelievers' (*batil mazhaban*) are among his favourite phrases. Indeed even the highest Shiah officers had such a bad time of it in his court that they often played the hypocrite to please him! Aurangzib threw the cloak of Sunni orthodoxy over his aggressive conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, of which the rulers were

Shiah. The Shaikh-ul-Islam (son of chief Qazi Abdul Wahhab), one of the purest characters of the age, tried to dissuade the Emperor from these "wars between Muslims" as opposed to Islam. But Aurangzib got displeased at the opposition; the honest and manly Shaikh resigned his post, left the Court, and for the rest of his life rejected the Emperor's repeated solicitations to resume his high office.

On 27th March 1685 the **seige of Bijapur** was begun by Prince Azam and Khan Jahan Bahadur. The Emperor advanced to Sholapur (24th May) to be near the seat of war. A terrible famine desolated the besiegers; but reinforcements soon arrived with provisions, though scarcity of a kind continued in a chronic state in the Mughal camp. The relieving armies of Beydurs and Marathas were beaten back and the siege pressed on. The garrison fought with the heroism of despair. Aurangzib himself arrived in the environs of the city to superintend the seige operations (3rd July, 1686). At last on 12th September, Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahi Kings, surrendered, and his kingdom was annexed.

Meantime another force had been sent under Prince Muazzam or Shah Alam (28th June, 1685) against Golkonda to prevent aid from coming to Bijapur. It captured the rich city of Haidarabad, making an immense loot (October). The King Abul Hasan, a worthless voluptuary and the exact counterpart of Wajid Ali of Oudh, helplessly **shut himself up** in the **Fort of Golkonda**. But his officers were seduced by the Mughals; there was discontent among his Muhammadan officers at the power of his Brahman minister Madna Panth. The besiegers, too, had a hard time of it before that impregnable fort: a terrible famine raged in Haidarabad, but the rains and swollen rivers rendered the transport of grain impossible, and the most ghastly scenes were acted by the sufferers. At an immense cost the Mughals filled the moat and also erected a huge barrier wall of wood and clay completely surrounding the fort and preventing ingress and egress. Aurangzib himself arrived near Golkonda on 28th January, 1687, and pressed on the siege. But mining and assault failed, and it was only the treachery of a Golkonda officer that opened the gate of the fort to the

Mughals at midnight (21st September, 1687). The King was dragged out and sent to share the captivity of his brother of Bijapur. His Kingdom was annexed. Two years later, **Sambhaji**, the brave but dissolute Maratha King, was surprised by an energetic Deccani officer (Muqarrab Khan), ignominiously paraded through the Imperial camp like a wild beast, and **executed** with prolonged and inhuman tortures (11th March, 1689). His capital Raigarh was captured (19th October) and his entire family, "mothers, wives, daughters, and sons" made prisoner by the Mughals. His eldest son, Sahu, was brought up in the Imperial Court in gilded captivity.

All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzib now, but in reality all was lost. It was **the beginning of his end**. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre. Aurangzib, like the boa constrictor, had swallowed more than he could digest. It was impossible for him to take possession of all the provinces of the newly annexed kingdoms and at the same time to suppress the Marathas. His enemies rose on all sides, he could defeat but not crush them for ever. As soon as his army marched away from a place the enemy who had been hovering round occupied it again and Aurangzib's work was undone! Lawlessness reigned in many places in Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far off Deccan lost control over his officers in Hindustan, and the **administration grew slack** and corrupt; chiefs and zamindars defied local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country with bustle. In the province of Agra in particular there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage,—not a single grand edifice, finely written manuscript, or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzib's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury; the Government turned bankrupt; the soldiers starving from arrears of pay mutinied; and during the closing years the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the faithful and able diwan **Murshid Quli Khan**, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army, and its arrival was eagerly looked

forward to. Napoleon I used to say, "It is the Spanish ulcer that has killed me." The Deccan ulcer killed Aurangzib.

To resume the narrative, Imperial officers were despatched to all sides to take over the forts and provinces of the two newly annexed kingdoms from their local officers, many of whom had set up for themselves. The Beydurs, a wild hill tribe, whom Col. Meadows Taylor has celebrated in his fascinating *Story of My Life*, were the first attacked. Their country, situated between Bijapur and Golkonda, was overrun, their capital Sakhkhar captured (28th Nov, 1687), and their chief Pid Naik, a strongly built uncouth black savage, brought to the Court. But the brave and hardy clansmen rose under other leaders and the Mughals had to send two more expeditions against them.

A desolating epidemic of **bubonic plague** broke out in Bijapur (early in November, 1688), sparing neither prince nor peasant. The Imperial household paid toll to Death in the persons of Aurangabadi Mahal (a wife of the Emperor), Fazil Khan the *Sadr*, and the bogus son of Jaswant Singh. Of humbler victims the number is said to have reached a *lakh*.

After Sambha's capture, his younger brother Rajah Ram made a hair-breadth escape to the fort of Jinji (Gingee in the S. Arcot district of Madras), which was besieged by the Mughal general Zulfiqar Khan, Nasrat Jang and Prince Kam Bakhsh (after May, 1691) and fell on 7th February, 1698. Soon afterwards Rajah Ram, the last king of the Marathas, died. But the **Maratha** captains, each acting on his own account incessantly raided the Mughal territory and did the greatest possible injury by their **guerilla warfare**. The two ablest, most successful and most dreaded leaders of this class were Dhanna Jadon and Santa Ghorpure (and latterly Nima Sindhia), who dealt heavy blows at some important Mughal detachments. They seemed to be ubiquitous and elusive like the wind. The moveable columns frequently sent from the Imperial headquarters to "chastise the robbers", only marched and countermarched, without being able to crush the enemy. When the Mughal force had gone back the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attacks, as if nothing had happened to them.

§. 5. THE LAST PHASE.

After moving about almost every year between Bijapur in the south and the Manjira river in the north, Aurangzib (21st May, 1695) finally made Brahmपुरi on the Bhima river, east of Pandharpur, his **Base camp**, and named it **Islampurī**. Here a city sprang up from his encampment, and it was walled round in time. Here his family was lodged when he was out on campaign.

On 19th October, 1699, after a four years' stay at Islampurī, Aurangzib, now aged 81 years, set out to **besiege the Maratha forts in person**. The rest of his life is a repetition of the same sickening tale: a hill fort captured by him after a great loss of time and money, recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and the siege begun again after a year or two! The soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships in marching overflooded rivers and rain-soaked roads, porters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was chronic in the camp. The officers all wearied of this labour of Sisyphus; but Aurangzib would burst into wrath at any protest and taunt the unlucky counsellor with cowardice and love of ease! The mutual jealousies of his generals, Nasrat Jang and Firuz Jang, Shujaet Khan and Muhammad Murad Khan, Tarbiyat Khan and Fathullah Khan, spoiled his affairs as thoroughly as the French cause during the Peninsular War was damaged by the jealousies of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done!

A bare record of his sieges will suffice here:

BASANTGARH (surrenders 25th Nov., 1699).

SATARA (siege, 8th Dec., 1699—21 Ap., 1700).

PARLIGARH near Satara (30th Ap.—9th June).

Halt at Khawaspur for the rainy season of 1700—(from 30th Aug.).

PANHALA (siege, 9th Mar. 28 May, 1701) also Pawangarh captured.

Halt at Khatanun for the rainy season of 1701, (29th May—7th Nov.).

Capture of Wardhangarh (6th June, 1701), Nandgir, Chandan and Wandan (6th Oct.) by Fathullah Khan.

KHELNA (siege, 26th Dec., 1701—4 June, 1702).

Halt at Bahadurpur for the rainy season of 1702, after a most painful march from 10th June to third week of October!

KONDANA (siege, 27th December, 1702—8th April, 1703).

Halt at Puna for the rainy season of 1703 1st May—10th November).

RAJGARH (siege, 2 December, 1703—16 February, 1704).

TORNA (siege, 23rd February—10th March).

Halt at Khed for the rainy season of 1704 (17th April—22nd October).

WAKINKHERA (siege 8th February—27th April, 1705).

Halt at Dewapur, 6 miles from Wakinkhera for the rainy season of 1705, (May—23rd October).

This was the last of his sieges, for here he got a warning of what was to come. At Dewapur a severe illness attacked him, which was aggravated by his insistence to transact business as usual. The whole camp was in despair and confusion: who would extricate them from that gloomy mountainous region if the Emperor died? At last Aurangzib yielded to their entreaty and probably also to the warning of approaching death, and **retreated to Bahadurpur** (6th December, 1705), whence he reached **Ahmadnagar** (20th January, 1706), to die a year later.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

This life of Aurangzib is an introduction to my English translation of a highly interesting and curious Persian manuscript, the Anecdotes of Aurangzib, written by his attendant Hamiduddin Khan Nimchah, which will be published in this Review.

Goddess supreme, Mother of Dream, by the ivory doors who standest,
Who are they then that come down unto men in the visions that troop,
 group upon group, down the path of the shadows slanting?
Dream after dream, flash they and gleam with the flame of the stars still round them;
Shadows beside in a darkness that ride where the wild fires dance,
 glow and glance, and the random meteor glistens.
There are voices that cry to their kin who reply, voices sweet at the
 heart that beat and ravish the soul as it listens.
What then are these lands and seas more radiant than earth can imagine?
Who are they pace by the waves that race on the cliff-bound floor of
 thy shore under skies in which mystery muses,
Lapped in moonlight not of our night or a sunshine that is not diurnal?
Who are they coming thy Oceans roaming with sails whose strands are not
 made by hands an unearthly wind advances?
Why do they join in a mystic line with those on the sands linking hands
 in strange and stately dances?
Thou in the air, with a flame in thy hair, the whirl of thy wonders watching,
Holdest the night in thy ancient right, mother divine, hyacinthine, with
 a girdle of beauty defended.
Sworded with fire, attracting desire, thy tenebrous kingdom thou keepest,
Starry-sweet, with the moon at thy feet, now hidden now seen clouds between
 in the gloom and the drift of thy tresses,
Only to those whom thy fancy chose, thou heart-free, is it given to see
 thy witchcraft and feel thy caresses.
Open the gate where thy children wait in their world of a beauty undarkened.
There on a cloud victorious, proud, I have espied Maghavan^{*} ride when
 the armies of wind are behind him.
Food has been given for my tasting from heaven and fruit of immortal sweetness;
I have drunk wine of the kingdoms divine, heard the change of music
 strange from a lyre which our hands cannot master.
Doors have swung wide in the chambers of pride where the Gods reside and
 the Apsaras dance in their circles faster and faster.
Thou art she whom we first can see when we pass the bounds of the mortal,
And at the gates of the heavenly states thou art planted thy wand enchanted
 over the head of the Yogin waving.
From thee are the dream and the shadows that seem and the fugitive light
 that deludes us;
Thine is the shade in which visions are made; sped by thy hands from
 celestial lands come the souls that rejoice for ever.
Through thee we must pass in the mighty chase if we would climb out of
 Space and Time to the summit of our endeavour.

Note—This poem was composed by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose in the Alipore Jail, of course without the aid of any writing materials. He committed it to memory and wrote it down after his release. There are several other poems of his, composed in jail.

* The god Indra.

MEDIÆVAL SINHALESE ART



DR. A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

Mediæval Sinhalese Art. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc., Fellow of University College, London. Being a Monograph on Mediæval Sinhalese Arts and Crafts, mainly as surviving in the Eighteenth Century, with an account of the structure of society and the status of the craftsmen.

THE beauty of print and paper in this book is only the beginning of its merits.

In these respects *Mediæval Sinhalese Art* is all that a book ought to be. Printed on the hand-press formerly used by William Morris for the Kelmscott books, and issued from the beautiful home of its author, in the heart of the English country, those who handle it will hasten to believe that things bear upon them the associations of their origin, and that that which is of auspicious birth is auspicious also in its influence.

The English of the book, moreover, is that of one saturated with the strong simple terms of Gospels and Sagas. As in the printing, so also in the language, one feels the touch of Morris, master-craftsman of the modern world. Regarded as a contribution to literature, the great difficulty of *Mediæval Sinhalese Art* is found in the large number of technical terms with which it is strewn. It will be seen, however, on examination, that these terms are never allowed to interfere with the flow of composition, and that immense pains have been taken to render them with their exact English equivalents. The use of foreign technical terms in a book of this particular character is of course inevitable. The utmost that can be done is to explain them, without a break of phonetic continuity.

The matter is however more important than a single glance can show. Dr. Coomaraswamy has gone far afield to find true equivalents in English for the feeling as well as the literal significance of Sinhalese terms, and such a translation as *Lych gate*, or *Yeomen* or *Swing of doom* deserves high praise. Nothing has been more productive of confusion of mind and heart between East and West than the stupidity of carrying over words like *ryot*, *Zemindar*, and *Brahman* in the block, as if they had no Western analogy and were therefore untranslatable.

The aim of Dr. Coomaraswamy's work is to display the arts and crafts of an Eastern Mediæval kingdom, in full working order, showing both by detail and interrelations, how these have been dependent on the central civilisation of India for constant inspiration and sustenance, and yet thoroughly original and spontaneous in development and character.

"It will thus be seen," he says, "how intimately connected was the art of Southern India and Ceylon; but while thus recognising the influence of the Tamil Craftsmen, it is necessary to remember also the continuity and vitality of the indigenous tradition, and

to give to the Sinhalese people the full credit for the fact that their art, taken as a whole, is perfectly distinct in style and feeling from that of Southern India, and preserves clearer and more numerous traces of the Early Indian, and especially of the Early Buddhist style, than can easily be found in India itself." (p 62).

And again we see India as the mother of a whole circle of art-syntheses:—

“There is a remarkable unity underlying the diverse developments of Indian art (including the art of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Java), not merely as regards the persistence in time of elements of decoration, but also geographically; here I refer to the present peculiar isolation of particular trades and techniques which survive, so to say, in scattered ‘islands’ all over India. The argument from distribution is, that a knowledge of these crafts was once more widely spread and continuous; it is also fairly clear that it was once very much more extensive and thorough.” (p. 63).

A propos of this continuity of art in India, those of Dr. Coomaraswamy’s readers who have travelled in the Punjab, or in the Himalayas will be startled and delighted to find prominent mention made in this account of Ceylon of Bhumia Devi, that Goddess of the Homestead whose worship is so familiar in the North. The unity of India is indeed manifold in its expression.

The author does not hold that Sinhalese art is anything more than decorative. He says:—

“This book is a record of the work and the life of the craftsman in a feudal society not unlike that of Early Mediæval Europe. It deals, not with a period of great attainment in fine art, but with a beautiful and dignified scheme of peasant decoration, based upon the traditions of Indian art and craft. Sinhalese art is essentially Indian, but possesses this special interest, that it is in many ways of an earlier character, and more truly Hindu—though Buddhist in intention—than any Indian art surviving on the mainland so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The minor arts, and the painting, are such as we might expect to have been associated with the culture of Asoka’s time, and the builders of Barahat.”

Dr. Coomaraswamy rises to sustained eloquence on this particular subject, of the rank to be accorded to Sinhalese art, and the class of art to which it belongs.

“The most essential character of Kandyan painting, as of Kandyan design in general, is its *idealism*. This idealism belongs to all Indian art; but in Kandyan art it appears in almost an extreme form. Some of the *Magul lakunu*, for example, are little more than hieroglyphics. But the idealism is very marked also in design and picture. Observe, for example, the trees in Kandyan drawings; these are not portraits of particular trees, but abstractions, representing the artist’s generalised conception of all such trees.

When I say ‘the artist,’ I do not refer to any individual, but imply the whole body of artists who together worked out the language long ago; and I say language, because traditions and conventions are to the artist what words and metre are to the poet, and these no one man made. The idealism of Kandyan art is part of its inheritance from India; but as we have already observed, Kandyan art does not represent Indian art at its greatest or even at a very great period, but rather Indian art at the level of a great and beautiful scheme of peasant decoration. Kandyan art as we see it represents a tradition handed down from the earliest stratum of Indian art, modified and enriched by subsequent influences, but in many ways primitive; just as the original manner of building in wood, and of making images in impermanent materials, survives in spite of the work in stone of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva. Could the sculptors of Barahat have come to life in eighteenth century Kandy, they would have found little that would have seemed strange or unfamiliar in the style or subject of the painting on its vihara walls. The sculptured trees at Barahat differ only from those painted at Danagirigala in their more intense feeling for beauty and the deeper emotion which inspires them. This we should expect in work so much nearer the beginning of a great tradition.

We shall understand the idealism of Indian and Sinhalese art as well from a study of the Barahat or Kandyan trees, as in any other way. There are two ways of seeing a tree; at first glance or in a photograph, it strikes us as an irregular growth of branches and leaves, producing a confused effect of light and shade. We soon learn to distinguish more than this, and to tell one kind of tree from another. But as we consider more deeply a number of trees of different kinds, we realise that each has, as it were, a law of its being: its leaves have a certain form, with a certain range of variation, its branches a certain manner of growth, its flowers a particular symmetry. Each actual tree seems to be an incarnation or embodiment of some more perfect and rhythmical idea of the tree. This idea it is the aim of art to reveal.

A good example of the idealistic treatment is afforded by the lotus. The lotus to Indian art and for the Indian mystic, is all that the rose was to mediæval Europe. As English mediæval art is one long ‘Romaunt of the Rose,’ so Indian art is a romance of the many-petalled flower that is the throne of all divinities, and whose ideal form continually re-incarnates in every vessel and in every design. The simple lotus form represents the ideal form of all lotuses, as does the Tudor rose for all roses; it carries the emotion of all lotuses compressed into one abstraction. This is the secret of the constancy of art forms, that the ideal form they represent is eternal and immutable, a thought in the heart of Isvara; that is why the trees at Barahat and the trees in a Kandyan vihara are expressed by the same formula. The impulse to the expression of emotion in art, is born of the sense of the unity of all life, the recognition of the many in the one. The representation of ideal forms, the reduction of various complex appearances to their simplest terms, is an expression of the desire to see the one in the many.

There is here a great affinity between art and science; what natural law resuming the sequence of phenomena is for phenomena, ideal art is for the expression of emotion. Scientific drawing is concerned with the appearance of things as they seem to be in themselves; art with things as they really are within ourselves: in other words, science is objective, art subjective. It is most important that their aims should not, as is now usually the case, be confused."

In this beautiful passage, we catch a glimpse of the law that dominates and determines almost all the culminating art-epochs of the world. Great art-epochs are great religious epochs, those historic moments at which the soul of man is most deeply smitten by the glory of ideals. In accordance with this truth is the absolute agreement between Indian thought and Indian art. Dr. Coomaraswamy sounds in nothing a stronger note than here, in his demonstration of the fact that art, like science, like religion, has her eyes upon the unseen that transcends the seen; that the very crafts and industries of India are inspired and guided by the conviction that mind alone is, and matter but appears.

This book is a veritable quarry of material, in all the crafts. Details are given, for instance, about dyeing and smithing, wood-work and metal work, which ought to be of the greatest immediate value to all who attempt such arts, whether from the professional or dilettante point of view.

But, like a true son of Indian scholarship, which has never neglected humanity for wealth, Dr. Coomaraswamy does not forget the social background of the crafts. His studies of the craft castes are constant. And the main significance of caste-honour, the stability of national wealth, as embodied in the food-supply, is well suggested in the following passages:

"It cannot be too well realised that the Sinhalese Society was a community based on rice. Land was not the luxury of a few, but the daily occupation and livelihood of the majority; not to own land is still felt to be scarcely respectable. Every man from the king down had an immediate interest in the cultivation of the land; almost every man cultivated the soil with his own hands."

"Great chiefs were not ashamed to hold the plough in their own hands, and it was thought becoming for the young men to reap at least a part of the harvest every year; for which damascened and ivory-handled sickles were sometimes used. The great majority of men, and amongst the village folk, of women also, were continually brought into close touch with the soil and each other by working together in the fields; even the craftsmen did not as a

body rely upon their craft as a direct means of livelihood, and used themselves to lay aside their tools to do a share of field work when need was, as at sowing or harvest time." (pp. 29 and 30).

Following out the study of village organisation thus begun, the author concludes with the profound observation,

"It will be seen that, as in India, beneath the outward form of despotic rule lay the democratic and communistic organisation of the villages."

The characteristic bias of an Indian Scholar—so necessary in matters which concern India, as opposed to the pessimistic prepossessions of current criticism—is shown in the cheerful construction put upon contemporary facts. "The capacity for communal action," says Dr. Coomaraswamy, "is shown in the frequent cases of combination amongst villagers, to erect and endow viharas. This proof of the possibility of united action even apart from Royal or Viceregal patronage, is of particular promise for the future. Thus, in Themprul, the western division of the Central Province, there were but few viharas before the British accession and the majority now existing have been built by villagers since 1815, and endowed by them with small parcels of land."

The history of Sinhalese art could not be ignored, in an account like the present. For this the main question is of the elements or *motifs* discoverable in decorative design, and their assignment to appropriate historic sources. The lotus and lotus-petal, the bo-leaf, the tree, the cobra's head, and the *hansa*, are all noticed and analysed by the author, in passages whose charm is fully equal to the indefatigable industry which they display.

There are, however, in Sinhalese design, a number of *motifs* of other than this romance-of-the-home, or Indian-idealistic origin. The island must have been one of the meeting points of Chinese, Dravidian, and Egyptian elements in pre-Buddhistic ages, before the Vikings of Bengal made their historic descent on its shores, in 543 B. C. It would therefore be natural enough if we found there a certain purity and vigour of Mediterranean forms. Dr. Coomaraswamy, however, is no victim of current nonsense about Greece. He refuses to recognise the Hellenic mind as the sole authorised fount of beauty for the early

as for the modern world. He points out that the distinction of Greece herself lay not so much in originating as in developing certain forms. And he insists constantly, and we cannot but think correctly, on the common origin of Greek and Asiatic themes in design. This is a sound and valuable doctrine, and is bound to be exceedingly fruitful of research and discovery in the future.

But a certain number of Assyrian, Greek and Egyptian affinities are undoubtedly traceable in Sinhalese design, showing that Ceylon, like Ireland, was on one of the main lines of a very early culture-network, created possibly by the civilisation of yellow races. Besides these, again, Dr. Coomaraswamy distinguishes those 'barbaric' *motifs* which recur spontaneously, in the design of children, and primitive men, in all races, and all ages.

Summing up the more serious aspects of the historical question, we have the following *apologia* :—

"When I first met with types of ornament, forcibly recalling early Mediterranean forms, I assumed the common view as to the extent, permanence, and importance of the influence of Greek on Indian Art, and endeavoured to explain the presence of these decorative forms in Ceylon on those lines. At that time I accepted such statements as those of Grunwedel that the ideal type of Buddha was created for India by foreigners.....I have since seen reason to doubt the somewhat simple solutions of difficulties thus provided, and to believe that the influence of Greek on Indian Art, however extensive at a certain period, was ultimately neither very profound nor very important. It is the concentration of attention upon the effeminate and artistically unimportant work of the Gandhara School that has given undue prominence to the Greek influence. It must be admitted also that a certain prejudice has led European investigators to think of classic Greece naturally as the source of all Art, and to suppose that the influence of classic Art must have been as permanently important in the East as in the West. At the same time,

it is to be remembered that it is not generally realised by Western scholars, who are not always artists, that Eastern Art, whether Indian or Chinese, has a value and significance not less than that of the Western Art of any time."

The reviewer of a work like this, is always confronted by the impossibility of more than hinting at the wealth to be found in it. A classic has been written, and written from the Eastern standpoint by one fully competent to have dealt with a Western subject of the same kind, with equal authority. All who know the writer will look with eagerness for further works from his pen. But what of the continuation of such study by Indian scholars? The field of research is unlimited. Every Indian province, every mediæval city, abounds in industries, in traditions, in codes, in craft-lore fit to be immortalised and good to immortalise and thereby wing for future influence, through the printed word. Where are the men who will come forward, to assert and classify the riches of their Homeland, in such a fashion?

It is by means like these that an unassailable background of knowledge and culture may be added to the sentiment of *Swadesh*, and the doctrine of Nationality. India is full of jewels: all that is needed is men to pick them up! Laborious collection from outside is almost worthless. The passion of the lover, the insight of the poet, the tenderness of the home-child, are as necessary as the training of eye and brain and hand in such a task. Then, and then alone, shall we have a witness to the Indian national unity that no one, for any motive whatsoever, shall be able to withstand. *Bhumia Devi ki Jai! Glory to the Mother, Goddess of the Homestead!*

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

MY MOTHERLAND

(A translation of Mr. D. L. Roy's famous Bengali song
"Amār Des", My Country.,

(1)

O my Banga, O my Mother, O my Nurse, O Country mine!
Why dishevelled are thy tresses, lustreless thy look divine?
For thy seat this lowly dust, for raiment this thy tattered gear,
When thy seventy million children call thee fondly "Mother dear."

Chorus.

There's no pain and there's no shame and there's no grief, no sorrow's brand,
When the seventy million voices sing in chorus "Motherland."

(2)

Here arose Lord Buddha Great who opened Nirvan's gates above,
Half the world still kneel before Him worshipping in fervent love.
King Asoka spread his deeds from Kandahar to th'azure main.
Art thou not their country, Mother? of these gods the holy fane?

(3)

Once thy great victorious army conquered Lanka with such ease;
Once thy ships sailed freely o'er the waters of the eastern seas;
Once thy sons o'er Cheen, Japan and Tibet led their learned lore.
Is it thus and is it thou in rags and weeping evermore?

(4)

Here the sky with Nimai's *Kirtan* with *mridanga*'s music rang;
Raghu wrote his learned logic, Chandidāsa sweetly sang;
Bravely fought Pratapaditya. Blesséd be thy Mother's name,
Blesséd are we, if some drops of blood of theirs we still can claim.

(5)

Though thy light Divine has vanished, and thy day is dark as night,
Clouds will pass away, and glory shine in lustre fresh and bright.
Men are we, and not mere sheep, we will revive thy glory grand,
O my Goddess, O my life's goal, O my Heaven, my Motherland.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

SIR CHARLES MALET, THE FIRST ENGLISH RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF THE PESHWA.

"THE Malets," observes James Douglas, in his "Bombay and Western India," "in three generations and within a hundred years have given to diplomacy three individuals of note in direct succession...and in this respect the Malets tower above all Indian families always excepting Governor Pitt of Madras."...The first in this notable succession of diplomats was Charles Warre Malet whose career at the Peshwa's Court, as English Resident, forms the subject of the present paper. Born the son of a poor country clergyman and without prospects of any great career at home, Charles Warre Malet, like many aspiring youths of his day, turned his attention to India and in A. D. 1770 embarked for the East to seek fame and fortune. As was usual at the time, he started as a mere clerk in the Civil Department under

the East India Company, but he was not destined to remain there. Not long after his arrival in India, he was appointed to the responsible office of English Resident at Cambay, with charge of the Company's factory there. For some time thereafter he acted as Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, and was engaged in several important missions by the East India Company. His genius was, however, evidently intended to achieve something more glorious, and shortly after the treaty of Salbai which brought the first Mahratha War to a close, we find him urging upon the Governments at Bombay and Calcutta the necessity of having a permanent representative of the English at the Poona Durbar and endeavouring to secure for himself that important office. The situation at Poona after the first Mahratha war and the formi-

dable activities, at the Peshwa's Court and elsewhere, of the Portuguese, the French, Tippu and the Nizam had impressed upon the English the idea of having, at that Court, a permanent representative of their own who should look after their interests and watch affairs generally. It was difficult to communicate with the Poona Court as Mahadaji Scindia through whom, according to one of the terms of the treaty of Salbai, all communications by the English with the Peshwa's Court had to be carried on, was engrossed in his own aggrandizement and in establishing his supremacy over the Rajputs and the Moghul Court at Delhi. It is true, no doubt, that Colonel Upton, Mr. Mostyn and several others had been on former occasions deputed to the Peshwa's Court, but on each of these occasions, only some particular mission was entrusted to them, and when that was fulfilled they immediately returned. The expediency of having a permanent representative of their own at the Peshwa's Court, however, having been pointed out and acknowledged, the English authorities approached the Mahratha authorities with a request to grant them the permission which they sought. But here Nana Fadnavis, the greatest native statesman at the Mahratha Court had to be reckoned with. The far-seeing genius of this shrewd Minister at once perceived the great danger to the Mahratha supremacy that lay in granting the request, the only effect of which could be to introduce into Mahratha politics, the element of a permanent foreign spy ready to take advantage of any internal weakness. He had already realized that the English were a race not to be despised and his fear was that they would one day or other become masters of the country. Naturally, therefore, he was very reluctant to allow them any foothold in Mahratha politics, and, at the outset, sternly discountenanced the idea of a permanent English Resident at the Peshwa's Court. And it was not as Douglas states that it was at the request of Nana Fadnavis that Malet was made Resident at the Court of Peshwa. Circumstances, however, compelled him to accede to the request of the English. Mahadaji Scindiah, as has already been stated, was following a policy of self-aggrandizement in the North, Tippu was advancing his claims

in the South, and the French were then active all over India. To guard against these powerful influences Nana Fadnavis thought it expedient to make closer allies of the English and consented, though reluctantly, to the proposal to have a permanent Resident. This consent obtained, the English were not slow to avail themselves of it. Mr. Macpherson, the then Acting Governor-General, at once proceeded to appoint to this new and important office, Charles Warre Malet, who, as we have seen, was among the first to perceive the expediency of keeping strict watch over the Mahratha Court, and whose intimate knowledge of Mahratha tactics, and close acquaintance with the Mahrathi, Persian, and Hindustani languages, had pointed him out as the fittest man for the post. Malet's long-cherished desire thus came to be fulfilled and he was fortunate enough to become the first English Resident at the Poona Court. Though the consent of the highest of the Mahratha authorities had been obtained, the English considered it prudent to inform Mahadaji Scindia of it and to secure his concurrence. After the treaty of Salbai, as I have stated, all negotiations between the English and the Mahrathas had to be carried on through Mahadaji Scindia, and it was therefore rightly thought that if in this most important of matters, Scindia were not consulted and his concurrence obtained, it would be tantamount to giving him the greatest offence and invoking his direct displeasure. It was, therefore, decided that Malet should, before assuming charge of his new office, visit Mahadaji Scindia and obtain his concurrence. On the 18th of January 1785, the Bombay Government issued orders that Malet should proceed to Scindia's Camp and thence to Calcutta. Accordingly Malet started from Bombay on the 27th January, 1785, accompanied by Captain Reynolds and Doctor Crusso, and after a long march, met Mahadaji Scindia at Mathura on the 20th March. The purpose which had brought Malet there was communicated to Mahadaji through James Anderson, the English Vakil, then with Scindia. Mahadaji obviously did not like that the English should have direct communications with the Poona Court, as he at once saw that his importance as medium between the two courts would

thereby be considerably lessened and did not at once favourably receive the idea. Anderson, however, succeeded in prevailing upon him to signify his accord and to agree, that, for his own part, he would not raise any objection, if the Poona Court favoured the new proposal. His purpose gained, Malet proceeded to Calcutta where the Acting Governor-General Mr. Macpherson communicated to him the Government orders appointing him British Resident at Poona. This brings us to the time when Malet's real career begins and to that point in the history of those times when the events to which I wish to direct attention took place. This introductory sketch I have thought necessary, to make clear the position of affairs when Malet assumed charge of his office and the better to enable the reader to follow the account of his work.

Very few details of the time when Malet was Resident at Poona are to be met with in any of the published works on the history of those days. Having, therefore, come across a fragmentary portion, still extant, of the original correspondence between Nana Fadnavis and Bahiro Raghunath Mehendle giving a vivid picture of those times, I thought it might interest the public to have some extracts from it laid before them. The interest lies not so much in the events that it records, as in the insight that it gives us into the sentiments of those times, and the inner working of the Mahratha administration.

When towards the close of January 1786, Malet arrived in Bombay to proceed to Poona, Nana Fadnavis had gone to the Carnatic on an expedition against Tippu. Being himself absent from Poona when the British Resident was to come there, he deputed Bahiro Raghunath Mehendle to receive the new Resident, and to make suitable arrangements for him there. This Bahiro Pant continued for many years to look to the requirements of the British Resident and so long as Malet was the Resident at Poona, Bahiro Pant was the Peshwa's officer who discussed State Matters on behalf of his master and the person so often referred to as "Bahiro Pandit" in the English official correspondence of those days. The matter of the present paper has been taken from the correspondence of this Bahiro Pant Raghunath Mehendle and the portions

of it given below will, I trust, be found interesting and possibly, in some places, amusing.

On Nana's return from the Carnatic, this correspondence naturally ceased and we have, therefore, very little original material to furnish detailed particulars of events that took place thereafter at Poona. Such of it, however, as has been preserved, is very important and instructive and the perusal may interest the student of history.

The first letter in the correspondence is from Malet to Bahiro Pant and dated the 10th February, 1786. It is in reply to Bahiro Pant's letter greeting Malet on his arrival at Bombay. In it we find foreshadowed the great tact and wisdom of the new Resident and a clear indication of the policy of confidence and cordiality which the English expected the Poona Court to observe towards them. After acknowledging Bahiro Pant's letter and with the usual expressions of salutations, so profusely to be met with in the correspondence of those days both English and Indian, Malet observes :

"From what Syed Nuruddin Hoosein Khan wrote, I had already been assured of your goodness and friendly feelings and the affection of Nana Fadnavis, and was earnestly wishing for the joy of meeting you. Now we shall be of one mind and there will be truer sincerity of the heart. I have fully learnt from what Nuruddin Khan* has written about the trouble you have taken for making arrangements for our business *** and that feelings of friendship, and affection between you and us have been thereby much strengthened. You have written that the earlier I arrive at Poona the better it shall be and that you and I shall go together to the Camp (in the Carnatic). Accordingly, by God's favour, having arrived at Poona and having interchanged with you our thoughts, and been of one mind and feeling I shall visit Pandit Pradhan, and then will the plan of going to Nana and having his interview be carried out."

This letter, though on the face of it it may appear to be a mere ordinary letter, is, when carefully studied, full of meaning. The repeated mention therein of the necessity of being of one mind clearly points to the earnest desire the English then felt for being friends with the Mahrathas. We also

* Said Nuruddin Khan to whom reference is made had on a former occasion gone to the Poona Court as the Vakil of the English, and continued for some time to act there as such Vakil. He could not, however, pull on well and had consequently to leave there in the middle of the year 1785. From correspondence which passed between the Peshwa and the English on that subject, it appears that he was a person of some influence and position with the English Government at Bombay. After Malet's appointment to the Poona Court, he went back again to Poona and for a number of years was in the English Residency there. His mastery over the Hindustani language, and some knowledge of English, rendered him very useful to the British Residency.

find that it was Nana's wish that Malet should join him in the Carnatic, and further, that though such was Nava's wish, Malet had made up his mind first to visit the Peshwa. The splendid arrangements made for Malet by Bahiro Pant to which reference is made in his letter, afford evidence, on the other hand, of the Mahratha's desire to show proper courtesy towards the English.

Malet started from Bombay for Poona on the 11th February, 1786. The following letter sent by Bahiro Pant to Nana on the 24th February, gives an account of his journey. This letter contains also a very interesting list of the retinue and baggage Malet had with him. The letter runs thus :—

"May it be known to your Honour. Your orders to me were to write to you about when Mr. Malet started from Bombay and how far he has come and when he will come to Poona. Accordingly (I write to say) he entered Panwel on 12th February made his stay there for eight days. A letter has been received of his having reached the Ghauts near Khompayali on the 21st February, having left Panwel on the 20th. He was to have crossed the Ghauts on the next day. There will be two days' stay at Khandala. The reason of making other halts is that there are with him five to seven hundred head-loads and as many coolies; and on this account it will take much time and delay. Information has been received that after halting for four days here, he will start to go to the camp. [*i.e.* in the Carnatic where Nana then was.] But even at the earliest it will take eight or more days for him to start. The baggage with him is as under :—

1 Topivalas (Englishmen) including Malet himself, persons six in number. Out of them (these six topivalas), three are entitled to the honour of being carried in a palanquin. Horses 35, guards etc. 200, 100 followers and others. 50 Hamals Kamathis, 75 Doolie bearers, Bhois; Mahar coolies about 425, Elephants 2, Palanquins 5. (In) Baggage, one large tent, 2 small tents, 3 big Raotees, small Raotees.

According to these details is the furniture :—...

There is also a Musulmin lady-friend of Malet. She is carried in a palanquin.

We shall find from other letters that Malet had always with him a "lady-friend," and surprising though it may appear to us now, there seems to have been nothing unusual about it in those days, for that fact is mentioned in the letters as a matter of the most ordinary occurrence and not one exciting any comment, even though in this case it was an Englishman who was concerned.

Malet having thus left for Poona, it had to be determined who should go to receive him, what ceremonials should be observed in his reception, what place he should be

given to reside, what sum should be expended for entertaining him and many other similar details. A good deal of correspondence seems to have passed on the subject between Bahiro Pant and Nana. This correspondence affords very interesting and amusing instances of how these questions had been treated and dealt with in those days. Apparently of a trivial nature, these incidents may be valuable to the student of history as he thereby gets an insight into the practice of state courtesies of the times. For instance, Nana would not issue definite instructions on these questions until after the records had been examined and the observances and amounts of expenditure on former occasions when Colonel Upton and Mr. Mostyn had been at Poona, were ascertained. He directed as a provisional arrangement that until these facts were ascertained, a sum of Rs. 1,000 should be paid to Malet for his supplies. While all this was passing between Bahiro Pant and Nana, Malet, after what would appear to us in the present days, a wearisome journey, arrived at Poona on the 3rd of March, 1786. The next day after his arrival Bahiro Pant writes to Nana an account of it. He says :—

"The news about Mr. Malet having crossed the ghats has already been communicated to your Honour. He entered Poona at about six o'clock yesterday evening. Rajeshri Janardhan Appaji and myself had gone out to Ganesh Khind to receive him. He has made the Gaekwad Wada his residence. He, however, requires a much more commodious space shaded with trees and so he pitched tents in the mango groves near the gardens of Anandrao Shivaji opposite to the Parvati, and stayed there. He has kept his lady friend in the Gaekwad Wada. As to furniture, tents, coverings, raotees and other articles, he has enough of these with him. It will not be necessary to furnish him with any of these things from the State. As per your orders I have sent him Rs. 1,000 for entertainment expenses. Being invited by him I have been to his tent this morning where much conversation took place about the good relationship between our State and his Government. He showed me the articles he had brought with him to be presented to the Shrimant (Peshwa). He asked me information about the army. I told him as your Honour had instructed me in your letter. After that, conversation having turned about his coming to the camp (in the Carnatic) it was decided that he was to come there. He said that he had heavy baggage with him, and that about twenty to twenty-five camels should be purchased, and as to the rest, the same should be provided by the State. I only listened to him but your Honour must tell me what your orders in this matter are. Not much of State affairs was talked about on the first day. He is thinking of visiting the Shrimant (Peshwa) on the 5th or 6th date. I shall

write what takes place at the next interview. He had brought with him a large ostrich bird from the kingdom of the Negroes for being presented to the Shrimant (Peshwa). The bird, however, died on the way over the ghats while being brought to Poona. It was brought here carried by coolies. The bird is very extraordinary. Malet was at Oundh on the sixth date. He sent therefrom Nuruddin Khan, who brought with him all information from the Calcutta records about the details of reception accorded to Colonel Upton when he had come here and as to how he had been received. He desired the same treatment to be observed in his case. At present the Karbhari is Amritrao. He had once taken objection to any one going out to receive him. But pursuant to your orders and by persuasions of Nuruddin Khan, Janardhan Appaji was induced to come. More after visiting again."

It is interesting to note that even in those most orthodox of times no objection was felt to allowing Malet, a Christian, to occupy the palace of the Gaekwad and to reside in the heart of the most Brahmanical of Indian cities.

Bahiro Pant has already spoken of the arrangement to pay Malet another visit. This visit took place three or four days after the first one which was on the 4th of March 1786. During this visit much more important conversation took place between these representatives of the two nations. Bahiro Pant has described his visit to Nana in his letter of the 10th March 1786.

"I have been to Mr. Malet in his tent. There the following conversation about State affairs took place.

When Malet went last to Calcutta from Bombay, General Boddam of Bombay had written to our Government that in Malet's going, there is our benefit also. I asked Malet what that was. He replied that it was due to Scindia that the friendship between the English and the Peshwa took place, and even everything thereafter was discussed through Patilbava (the Scindia). At present there is no vakil (representative) of the English with the Peshwa. Such a vakil should be in the Poona Government on behalf of Calcutta separately. I thereupon asked "that friendship has taken place between the English and Peshwa and good feelings are in progress on both sides. If in the meanwhile any business occurs, there is the Calcutta vakil with the Patilbava (Scindia). What then is the benefit you speak of in a separate vakil being kept at the Poona Court?" He in reply said many things, which it would be inexpedient to note, and I shall tell your Honour personally. The substance of what he stated was that by there being a vakil at the Poona Court both would be benefited. He then began to ask about the Salsette affair. I have not at present spoken openly anything about that. There was a talk briefly to the effect that I had come there to carry out the instructions of the Shrimant.

I then spoke to him as follows:—

○ The Peshwa has made an expedition against Tippu. Tippu and his Government are friends. Are

they going to take any hostile part? and if so, whether forces will be given if required? He replied that "orders have been received from England to maintain peace and friendliness throughout India with all powers. It is also firmly decided that intimacy with the Peshwa should be maintained. Your necessity thus is our necessity. It is therefore necessary that there should be mutual counsels and assistance; and again Tipu is not a good man. We do not love him from our heart. But at present we have made friendship with Tippu. If we give you assistance it will be opening hostilities without any excuse. However there being friendship with Shrimant (Peshwa) we are helpless. On knowing what sort of assistance the State wants I shall reply, and write to Calcutta also if there be anything worthy of being written. If your Government makes up its mind, and as we are with you, what is Tippu? There will be good friendship. There will not exist any obstacles." This is what was talked.

He (Malet) seems to have great energy and has great ambitions as appears from his conversation; however, whatever will be carried out will be seen."

During all this time Nana was still in the Carnatic. It will be remembered Nana had desired that Malet should come to the Carnatic where he then was and Malet was accordingly about to start. But Nana having written in one of his letters to Bahiro Pant "If Malet desires, he should be brought to the Carnatic," doubts were raised in Malet's mind whether or not Nana really wanted him to go to him or whether it was left to his own choice to go there or not. Bahiro Pant having come to know of it from Nuruddin Khan, informed Nana of it by a confidential letter, whereupon Nana sent orders to Bahiro Pant to bring Malet to the Carnatic.

While Mr. Malet's departure for the Carnatic was thus discussed, another interesting question arose at Poona, about Mr. Malet's going to pay his respects to the Peshwa in his Durbar, and make the presents of the valuable articles he had brought with him for the purpose and a return by the Peshwa of equally valuable *Nazarana* according to the State practice. Nana had sent instructions that Malet should be accorded the same honours as were received by Colonel Upton and Mr. Mostyn when they had gone to Poona on former occasions. Malet, however, would not be satisfied with this. His idea of his reception by the Peshwa's Court was much grander. He wished that the same honours that were paid to him by the Emperor Shah Alum of Delhi, and by Mahadaji Scindia should also be made to him by the Peshwa. The main point of

disagreement was the present of an elephant. In the list of presents to be made to Malet was mentioned a horse. Malet, however, urged that he ought to receive an elephant and not merely a horse, and as the ground of his claim to that rare distinction he mentioned the fact that he represented no less a nation than the English. He further contended that Monseieur Montini, the French envoy, was on a former occasion presented with an elephant and he could see no reason why he should not receive the same distinction. Bahiropant, to avoid unpleasant-

to him on the occasion so much impressed this young resident that the subject of the return presents seems, at least so far as the papers hitherto available go to indicate, never to have been thought of again. To resume, Bahiropant wrote several letters to Nana asking for his advice on this vexed question. Nana, however, does not seem to have given any final reply to Bahiropant and this matter perhaps remained unsettled. Bahiropant's letters to Nana, however, afford very interesting reading and I give here one of these letters. "Mr. Malet," writes Bahiropant in his letter of the 6th March 1786,



SIR CHARLES MALET.

ness, suggested to Malet to put off his visit to the Peshwa till Nana's return, but Malet would not agree. As a compromise Bahiropant arranged that Malet might visit the Peshwa, but that the function of return presents be deferred till Nana's return to Poona. It ought to be mentioned here that this function never came off, and Malet did not receive an elephant. It appears that the splendid reception of him by Nana when he went to meet him in the Carnatic and the very valuable presents Nana made

"is very firm on the subject of his reception. This will be seen by your Honour from what has been written to your Honour. He has come here to stay for good. He is not to go anywhere for the present. There will thus for the present be no occasion for a reception. If now it is given he will be pleased. Again it is with him that all business occasions will occur. I have, therefore, requested your Honour that he should not at the outset be dissatisfied. Reception ought to be given. Your Honour has sent a list of what is to be given on the occasion. According to Malet, the Peshwa's Government is much greater than the Scindia and so the reception by that Government ought to be higher than that by the Scindia. Thereupon I said that Patilbava was a mere Sardar (chief,) this (the Peshwa) is the master. How can so much be expected from him? (He replied) "At least what jewels and presents were given by the Moghul Emperor ought to be given. The object is not to secure wealth or profits. This is a matter of etiquette and courtesy. Whatever more or less is done will please me (Malet) and the Calcutta Government. Nothing less than the Emperor's presents will be proper. A request to this effect should be made to Shrimant Nana. I give a list. Nothing should be deducted from it." It appears that the articles of presents to be made to the Shrimant are of the value of about Rs. 5000/—May this be known to your Honour. Mr. Malet is the representative of the Calcutta Government, Syed Nuruddin Khan was from the Bombay Government. Syed Nuruddin Khan had not the honor of a palanquin. Now when he went to Bombay, General (Boddam) sent a palanquin as a mark of distinction. This is because Malet is a permanent resident here and he has great regard for Nuruddin Khan. Nuruddin has also written to your Honour on the subject of Malet's reception. May this be known to your Honour. This is the request."

It should interest the reader to know the particulars of *Poshak* (dress of honour) given to Colonel Upton. I have found them given in some of the old papers and publish them here.

"Expenses incurred in connection with the reception of Colonel Upton.

Colonel Upton paid a visit to Poona as the Ambassador of the British to negotiate a treaty with the Poona Durbar in the year 1776 A. D. The following

items show detailed expenses for his entertainment at Poona.

Rupees

5000

25

10-6-0

3000

1999

Item

Chandra 30 Jilkad, for entertainment.

Chandra 16 Jilkad as Mashar Nilhe—when an elephant was presented to Sarkar (Peshwa) these were given as present to the elephant driver and his servant.

For sweetmeats given to Vakil when he came to Buzur.

Chandra 20 Zilhej for expense.

Chandra 15 Rabilakhar to Vakil for expenses.

999 to Colonel Upton.

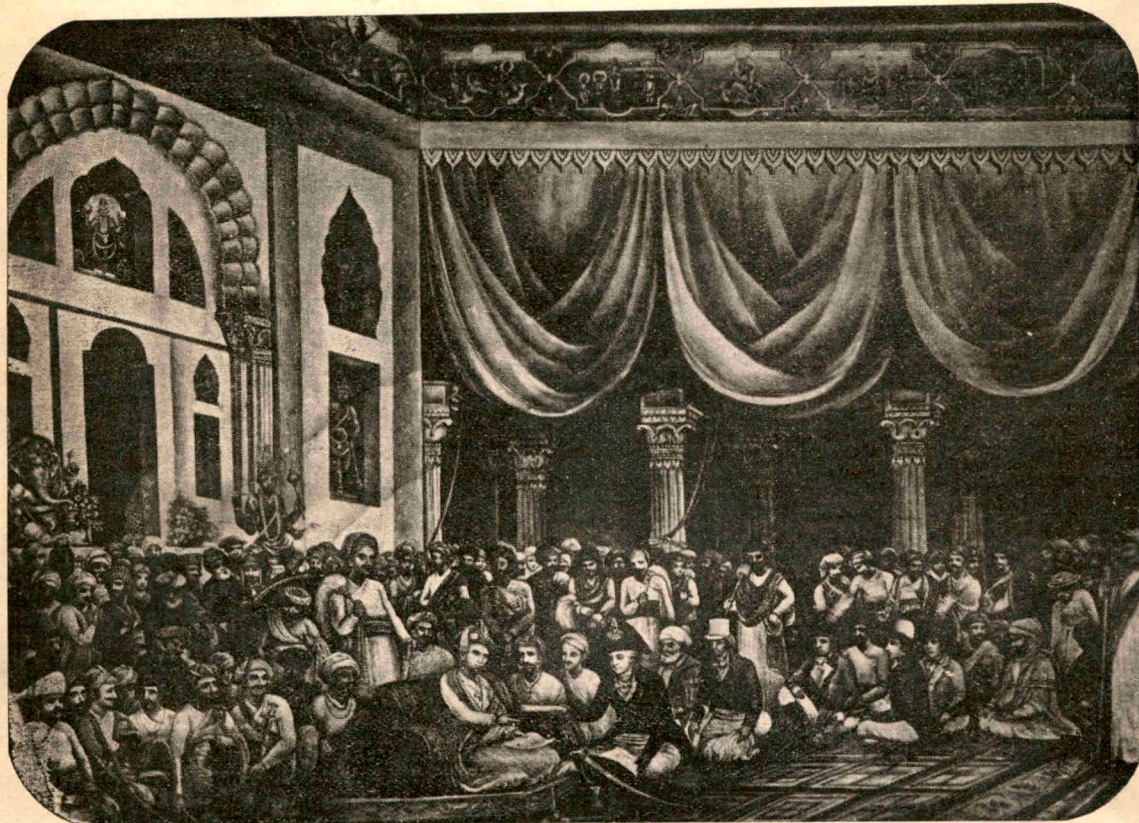
1000 to Macpherson.

2081-10-0

3687

From Chandra 29 Saban, to the end of 15 Rabilakhar for grass and other sundry expenses, for the Vakil at Saswad, District Poona.

Chandra 30 Zilkad Dresses of honour to Vakil (out of this sum Rs. 1783 were distributed in the tent of Mr. Sakham Bhagvant. Rs. 690 to Colonel Upton, Rs. 125 1/2 to his Munshi. Rs. 382 1/2 to Macpherson. Rs. 121 to his Munshi. Rs. 282-464 to Paterson, Rs. 1893 were distributed in the tent of Balaji Janardhan, Rs. 673 1/2 to Colonel Upton, Rs. 123 to his Munshi, Rs. 364 1/2 to Macpherson, Rs. 166 to his Munshi, Rs. 566 to Paterson, 2 shawls, 1 Kinkhab (a



THE POONA DURBAR OF 1790.

kind of golden embroidery cloth) and three mehemudis were the items of cloth given as a poshak (dress); to Munshi one shawl and one mehemudi as a poshak (dress).

25 Chandra 15 Babilakhar Vakil presented an elephant to the Sarkar, hence bakshis (present) to Mahut (elephant driver) given as a poshak (dress).

1166 1/2 Chandra 2 Mohuram at the time of interview as Vakil made over a present to the Peshwa as a Nazarana,

1445 Articles of jewelry 30 Zilkad. British

18441-8-0

Rs.
305 1/4
696 3/4
692

representative when visited Sakham Bhagvant's tent Rs. 675 were given, and Rs. 750 when he came into the tent of Balaji Janardhan.

The dress of honour and that is as detailed below was presented to Colonel Upton of Calcutta when he was here on his mission.

Chandra 9 from wardrobe.

Special dress of honor,
To Macpherson.
Rev. Smith.

679 1/4	Munshi (name of the Munshi being Yetesamuddin and Gulamali.)
395	To other people.
	8 Rumlal.
3276 1/4	Rupees.
	Chandra 27. About the <i>Fewels</i> .
900	Head-dress.
475	Head-dress to Macpherson.
1375	
	22 Mohorum (from <i>stable</i>)
	Elephant one in number.
	Rattangaj (with the equipment as under.)—
	1 Saklat on the back.
	1 Saklat on the head.
	15 Bells.
	2 Drivers.
	This is what the reception was."

Bahiro Pant's tact having thus averted the occasion for disagreement between the English Resident and the Poona Court, Malet's visit to the Peshwa came off on the 6th March 1786. An account of this memorable event is given this time by Janardhan Appaji in his letter to Nana of the 6th March.

"This is the special request. News about Malet's arrival at Poona has already been written to you. He had come to-day to pay a visit to the Shrimant. It was arranged beforehand that he should come first to the Court, and Shrimant should come after his arrival and at the time of dispersing, Shrimant should leave first. This programme was arranged in order to avoid the exchange of formal salutations. Bahiro Pant being of opinion and such being the wish of Malet that on coming the salutations should be by joining each other's hands, Shrimant met him alone. A list of the articles he presented has been sent herewith; from which your honour will know. He yet continues to stay in the gardens opposite the Parvati and does not appear to think of staying in the palace. His mistress and other retinue continue to live in the palace. Provisions are commenced to be continued. This is the request."

From what Bahiro Pant has written to Nana on the subject of the provisions allowed

to be made to Malet, it appears that Malet had asserted that his position was superior to that of his predecessors in as much as he represented not the Bombay Government, but the higher Government of Calcutta. This assertion on his part seems to have carried weight with the Mahratha authorities at Poona and he was considered entitled to greater honours and larger allowances than Colonel Upton and Mr. Mostyn, who had represented only the Bombay Government. Bahiro Pant in his letters to Nana had suggested that a larger allowance should be made to Malet. Nana, however, did not approve of it as one of the letters of Bahiro Pant to Nana shows. What Colonel Upton and Mr. Mostyn respectively received from the Peshwa's Government will be found given below :—

"The expenses incurred for the reception of Mr. Mostyn. When Mr. Mostyn came here to pay a visit to the Huzur (Peshwa), kuchha sidha (provisions consisting of uncooked materials) of the best quality for 28 persons and 179 followers, in all for 207 men, was supplied from the State. The following is a brief extract therefrom.

182-9-3	Vegetables.
324-3-0	Milk.
40-5-0	Butter.
250-15-0	Chickens 753.
53-2-0	Eggs 3613.
170-0-0	Goats 136.
4-15-0	Mutton.
546-10-0	Fuel.
12-12-0	Rans.
9-10-0	Doors in the camp 48 in number.
218-1-0	Grass bundles 7070.
5-8-6	Pottery work.
1818-10-9	

(To be concluded.)

P. V. MAWJEE.

HYGEINE OF STUDENT LIFE—BROAD RULES WITH RESPECT TO FOOD AND EXERCISE

INTRODUCTION

My object in writing on this subject is to point out some of our hygienic errors in early life and to suggest some means of healthy and scientific body-building, without

which no good on earth can be attained. A class of people who are deplorably weak and unhealthy, and getting poorer in their stores of energy and wealth day by day, can never achieve any thing worth having either for themselves or their country. The first and

the most important step for remedying this national evil is to take good care of the rising generation.

Most of our difficulties and discomfitures in life, which are so numerous and apparently uncontrollable, are chiefly due to the fact that the *breeding ground of our race has been infected with numerous evils, due to our ignorance and neglect*. This necessarily mars our whole future. The evils in question are:—

1. Bad feeding specially in early life with bulky stuffs, deficient in easily assimilable protied.
2. Living amidst unhygeinic surroundings, both in town and country during student life.
3. Our most harmful social customs, such as early marriage.
4. The bad system of education in vogue—such as excessive strain of brain work at the early growing period of life, which impairs physical development characteristic of that age, and the teaching of subjects mostly theoretical which do not materially help a man in the struggle for existence in life.

Our youths must be better looked after and must be well taught in their early life in all the necessary things, of which hygeinic living and useful marketable callings, are most important points. The bread earning arts should be carefully taught along with broad literary and scientific teachings. For this purpose the valuable art of every day home economy is more important in saving our energy and wealth than any other more extensive undertaking in that connection. This principle of economy is applicable both to our bodily organism as well as to our surroundings, domestic and social; and I am here going to lay down a few rational rules for the practical care of the bodily organism of our youths—in their early growing period or the first three decades of life.

FOOD

FOOD is essential in all stages of life, but in this period of rapid growth and development an abundance of it is most necessary—over-feeding at this stage is far less harmful than under-feeding (Spencer). The food should contain at this period a sufficiently large amount of easily

assimilable *proteid* stuffs, for these are essential to tissue building.

The common examples of the different kinds of food stuffs are given below. Most of the food we take, is mixed food, and here food stuffs are classified according to the predominant element in them.

1. Proteids contain nitrogen and are the most essential for life. Examples—Meat, Egg, Fish, Cheese, &c., are animal proteids. Dal, Nut, &c., are vegetable proteids. All these are tissue builders and are therefore most essential in the *growing* period of life.

2. Fat—Examples Oil, Ghee, Fat. These produce a large amount of energy and force, and so are necessary in *manhood*—the most active period of life.

3. Carbohydrates, comparatively speaking a bland diet, contain nearly 40% less energy than fat and are therefore proper to form the major portion of the diminished food in old age. Examples—Starch, *e.g.*, Rice, Wheat,—Sugar, &c.

EXERCISE

The greatest amount of activity in tissue change is to be found in child life. For $N+n$ amount of tissue oxidised by Exercise, $N+n$ is gained. This n causes growth and it is a function of N and, within a certain limit, varies with it.

Thus *Food* and *Exercise* are of very great importance at this period of life—and they inevitably determine the whole future of the individual.

I am giving below a short routine, and a rough menu which may suit an average student in Bengal. Next I shall dilate upon them. The question of Food should be attended to along with Exercise, Rest, Recreation, and Sleep, all of which factors materially influence growth and development.

ROUTINE

1. Early morning. Some hot drink in sips is helpful to stimulate the dormant function after night's rest, and wash stomach contents down. It may be simple hot water, dilute milk, or light tea, &c.

2. Any form of indoor exercise in the bedroom or house after this drink is helpful in promoting circulation.—Regulated muscular exercise or simple sitting and standing several times in quick succession is the easiest and the best, with or without the Grip

Dumb-bells, followed by outdoor walk for those who can afford it.

3. Then home work and study.

4. Bath with a good rubbing or massage of the whole body in a place sheltered from draught, to keep the skin clean and circulation free.

5. Breakfast—should be *simple, light, and dry*. In all cases it should be non-bulky—if work is to be attended to shortly after; may consist of a small piece of meat and bread, or dal and rice, better still at times alternated with khichri or polao, &c., all concentrated stuffs. This should be a light meal, and drink should be taken some time after.

6. Start for work *after rest*.

7. Light refreshments should be taken 5 or 6 hours after, consisting of fruits, sweets, pieces of bread, biscuit, &c. Our fried cereal preparations as “moori” “cheera,” &c. are excellent, but no adulterated bazar sweets.

8. Afternoon. Outdoor recreation, preferably a outdoor game should be played in company.

9. Home work and study.

10. Dinner—The evening meal should be most substantial—consisting of varieties of nourishing and tasteful dishes, taken leisurely and enjoyed in company. Digestion is always better performed during the hours of rest and recreation. This meal should consist of meat, if meat was not taken at breakfast, or if taking meat twice is not intolerable. Taking meat once a day at this period is highly recommended. Half a pound per day is the average quantity. In its absence as much fish or the quantity made up by egg, fish and meat. For vegetarians—dal soup or dal patties or almond, cocoanut and other nut preparations, or preparations of cheese and milk are to be substituted. But vegetable protieds are always more difficult of assimilation than animal stuffs. In all cases our tasty vegetable dishes should be also added. A mixed Indian and English system of diet would be more suitable for our modern life than a pure form of either.

11. Those who suffer from sleeplessness should go to bed shortly after meal without doing any arduous work after it. But others can after short rest read or amuse themselves and then after hours, go to bed. The reason is that after a comparatively heavy meal there is a natural inclination to sleep, which

is likely to disappear by arduous work or excitement. In the latter case—a cup of light drink often induces sleep. Six to eight hours sound sleep is necessary at this age of growth and development, and brain workers require more sleep than muscle workers.

COMMENTS

In connection with the above routine the following points also should be remembered—

1. The exhilarating effect of early rising.

2. The invigorating effect of exercise after night's rest, and that of fresh air breathing in the morning.

3. Food should always be taken in small bulk and well masticated; and liquids should be taken between meals in sips. Drink only sparingly at meal times.

4. Rest should always precede and follow the two principal meals of the day.

5. Remember, the first three decades of life form the most important period, and irrevocably determine the whole future.

There should be at least four meals a day at this period,—two light and two more substantial ones. The evening meal should be the heaviest, because during the succeeding period of rest the digestive organs will have energy enough to digest better. The mid-day meal, which is generally the heaviest meal in our country, should be lighter, as we have now to work immediately after that meal.

Enjoy every meal and never hurry through it. Mastication is the first step in digestion, which if imperfect, the whole of the subsequent process is vitiated. Indigestion produces toxin in the intestines and poisons the system. Such poisoning is extremely common in dyspeptics in Bengal. This shows itself in many ways—such as our general want of bodily vigor and our mental abnormality, of which our individual and national tendency to melancholia and pessimism are common examples.

Then again the value of punctuality in Food, Exercise, Rest, Sleep is enormous physiologically as well as socially. It is best to dine in company and chat at dinner. The evening, well-enjoyed, best soothes the fatigue and nervous worry of the day. “Evening fireside in an English home” is an Englishman's paradise, and to a great extent accounts for his all-sided greatness.

We have no such healthy social and domestic home life amongst us. Such an institution would cure many of our worst distempers in life in no time.

Remember how very wasteful we are in our daily life—in our food and fuel. We daily waste away half the nourishment stored up in our food grains by improper methods of cooking and taking them. Take food simply cooked—and as dry as possible. Taken dry, food is always better masticated and digested. A smaller quantity well masticated yields greater nourishment than a much bigger lump hurriedly taken. Too much salt and spices and drink at meals are irritating and very bad for digestion.

Lastly, vary your food from time to time. Monotony leads to stagnation in all functions of life. Have a partially Fasting day, and

a Feasting day as well in the week or fortnight or month, and a day for rest at home and a day for excursion abroad. Sunday has done more good to civilised Christendom than any human institution known. Take advantage of the official recognition of this day even as regards cooking, living on simple, light, readymade food, which will be an agreeable change as well as partial fasting, so that your body and mind may rest, your family may rest, and your servants may rest, for that day. This would be a very healthy impetus to the physiological processes of digestion, circulation and mental health in thoughts and feelings, by the well-known universal invigorating effects of change, namely, judicious change of climate, food and occupation in life.

INDU MADHAB MALLIK.

NOTES

Russian 'Pogroms' or Massacres.

'The Russian Government and the Massacres' is the name of a book published by John Murray in 1907. The book is written by a Russian, E. Semenoff, and translated into English with an introduction by Lucien Wolf, a well-known English Jew. It has not received in India, specially among Bengali Hindus, residing in Calcutta and parts of Eastern Bengal the attention it deserves. It is the history of a dark chapter of contemporary Russia which has a special interest for us. We give a very short summary of its contents.

A 'pogrom' is a raid, massacre, or sack of one section of the people by another, a murderous outbreak of lawlessness, a 'lynching' on a large scale. The Russian 'pogroms' were directed against the Jews and the 'Intellectuals'—by which term is meant university students, members of the learned professions, and the elected representatives of the municipal and provincial assemblies—but chiefly against the Jews. These 'pogroms' were officially engineered and organised with the aid of hooligans and ruffians, the refuse and scum

of the populace, banded together under the name of the 'Black Hundreds' and the 'League of True Russians' and often in the pay of the secret police. The murders when detected went unpunished, and the official instigators were actually rewarded by the Government. The Jews form a very numerous and important section of the subjects of the Tsar. They are peaceful and law-abiding, and intellectually superior to the Russian *moujiks* or peasants. The masses of the people had no quarrel with them and when they were left to themselves, the best relations prevailed between Christians and Jews. Nevertheless it was easy to arouse the fanatical section of the orthodox and superstitious Christian peasantry against the Israëlites. The Jews were among the earliest to join the *Cramola* or revolutionary movement. This was a dire offence in the eyes of Autocracy, and this is why they were marked as the special victims of the 'pogroms'. There were other political reasons. To set class against class is a time-honoured method of despotic government; it has the further effect of diverting public attention from social and political discontent, and disorganising the forces of that discontent by

substituting for it national hatred and internecine strife. Lastly, it was very much to the interest of the Government to cite to Europe the savagery of the hooligans who led the 'pogroms' as a proof of the barbarism of the masses of the Russian population and their consequent unfitness for political freedom. Thus a double injustice was done to the people; they had no political motives for oppressing the Jews; they were merely tools in the hands of the authorities, by whom they were goaded and instigated to perpetrate the 'pogroms'; and then the world was told that they were unfit for self-government because they massacred the Jews. Bloodthirsty pamphlets, printed at a secret official press in St. Petersburg, were distributed broadcast over the whole country by secret emissaries, preaching a violent anti-Semitic propaganda; the religious superstitions and social prejudices of the masses were cleverly exploited, the most downright libels were uttered against the Jews and 'Intellectuals', and the 'Little Tsar' and his Government were held up as the sole protectors of the poor gullible masses. The Jew, it was urged, would monopolise all political power and possess all the land if the old *regime* were changed. In vain did the amalgamated union of all the professions and the society of Russian authors, by means of counter-pamphlets, expose the sinister motives which inspired these writings. The more enlightened workmen and the whole of the 'intellectuals', they pointed out, desired 'to live as the free children of a single mother—Russia,' with equal rights, liberties and opportunities for all Jews, Armenians and Russians. The members of the newly created Duma raised their voices in vain. The plea of the police invariably was that they were helpless to stem the tide of an uncontrollable popular indignation; and yet the massacres were found in fact to be capable of suppression at the slightest hint from the authorities. But the voice of truth cannot be eternally hushed, and so it has happened that the mass of the Russian workmen has now joined the *Cramola*, and the Russian revolution, as we have seen within the last two years, has spread into every nook and corner of the Empire of the Tsar, and all sections and classes and communities—those

who led the 'pogroms' as well as those who were their victims—have joined it and are sacrificing themselves for it. The conflict is now not between one class aided and abetted by the State and another class who could no longer be hypnotised by the State into implicit obedience, but between despotism on the one hand and the forces of progress and emancipation on the other.

A few extracts from the book out of which the above facts have been gathered may now be given.

"Montesquieu says somewhere in his '*Esprit des Lois*' that fear is an essential characteristic of despotism, and cruelty its necessary consequence. No mere polish of manners, no actual progress in the arts of civilisation can modify this psychological deduction. On the contrary, every step in the political consciousness of the nations must increase the fears of the lingering despotisms and render them more dependent on the methods of defence appropriate to the barbarous epochs they have outlived". (Introd., xi). "The *idée mère* of the 'pogrom' is the old maxim of unstable despotisms of which Catherine de Medici supplied the classic application in her incitements of the Guises against the Huguenots. *Divide et impera* was a more or less bloodless instinct of the Russian administration in Poland...When the normal political discontent became intensified by the economic mischiefs of Russian administration, the alien bureaucrats found it convenient to throw the blame on the Jews, and thus got rid of their own embarrassments by absorbing the refractory masses in domestic strife." (Introd. xii.)

The organ of the Reform movement, the *Retch*, thus describes the characteristic features of these 'pogroms':

"The crowd, under the eyes of the troops and of the police, breaks windows, forces gates open, sets fire to the buildings. All this takes a long time...but the troops and the police are there and take absolutely no steps, alleging as a reason that they are not sufficiently numerous. But it was obvious to every one that it was not an armed crowd of revolutionaries, but simply local hooligans, and a single volley was sufficient to disperse such a crowd, which departed without the slightest resistance as soon as it was ordered to do so. Unfortunately that order was not given until some persons had been killed and others seriously wounded."

Prince Urussoff, sometime Deputy Minister of the Interior under M. Witte's cabinet, speaking on the same subject in the Duma in June 1906, said as follows:

"In the first place, the 'pogrom' is always preceded by rumours of its preparation, accompanied by pamphlets of an inflammatory nature, distributed among the people. These pamphlets are all worded in the same style, and put forward the same arguments. The dregs of the population, known only to the few, always make their appearance at such times, like birds of ill omen. Secondly, the officially announced

pretext of the 'pogrom' given out at the very outset of the disturbances, invariably proves to be false. Further in the details of the massacres, we find a certain regularity which deprives them of any appearance of being accidental. The assassins do their work with a consciousness of right and impunity...The 'pogrom' is then quickly and easily suppressed. Then again,... whilst certain quarters of a town are completely sacked, in spite of large forces of police, others are left almost entirely unmolested, thanks to the vigilance of police agents, who perform their duties with confidence and energy. Finally, the 'pogrom' is stopped, arrests are made, and the authorities who visit the prisoners cannot fail to observe that they have before them not criminals, but merely ignorant men whom some one has deceived." [Referring to the massacre at Gomel,] "The terror-stricken people went to see the Governor who endeavoured to calm them, though he knew fully well that they were far from being safe. The Ministry sent out despatches ordering steps to be taken for the maintenance of order and security, and the steps were taken, but the instructions given did not always inspire confidence. In many cases the police spies honestly believed that those steps were only taken to keep up appearances, whereas they themselves were correctly interpreting the true intentions of the Government. They read between the lines, obeying, unknown to the Government, a voice which came from afar, [the Secret Police Department of St. Petersburg] and which inspired them with confidence."

In the same speech the Prince made a memorable declaration as to how 'private interests and class differences' had 'yielded to the triumph of the national welfare' in the Duma. He said:

"There are among us many landholders who live on the revenues of their property. Have you heard a single one of them protest against the proposed compulsory dispossession in favour of the hard-working tiller of the soil? Representatives of the privileged classes are numerous among us. Have there been many objections to the abolition of privileges, to the idea of civic equality, and to reforms carried out in the true democratic and popular spirit?"

Thus class-hatred, which was said to be at the root of the 'pogroms', was proved to be a myth.

We have all heard of the dissolution of the first Duma, but know little of its causes. By speeches like the above, the Duma made itself thoroughly obnoxious to Autocracy, which had been compelled by circumstances to call it into being, and its dissolution was preceded and justified by officially organised telegrams and representations purporting to have been sent from all parts of the Empire, protesting against the Duma and its methods.

"A truly characteristic occurrence took place at Pinsk in Volhynia. The chief of the district called together about a hundred peasants in a 'tea-house,' where he delivered in their presence a patriotic speech. The gist of the speech was as follows:—

"The Government earnestly desires to give land to the peasants, but the Poles and the Jews in the Duma prevent it.' Having made this speech, the chief of the district telegraphed a loyalist address to St. Petersburg, which he said he had been bidden to send by an assembly of two thousand peasants. The same sort of thing has happened in other districts." (pp. 185-86).

Hydra-headed as the monster of despotism is, none of its faces is new or unfamiliar to those who are crushed under its heels.

Bombs and the Police.

In their judgment in the Midnapur case, their Lordships of the High Court remarked: "We doubt the probability of Santosh having placed and kept the bomb in the Baitak-khana." They went on to say:—

"The defence shortly maintain that the bomb was placed there by or at the instigation of the police, and they have called direct evidence that Bonomali was employed for this purpose. Though this evidence does not enable us to pronounce a positive opinion in favour of the defence story, we are by no means prepared to waive it aside as absolutely worthless."

Their Lordships had reason for not discarding the defence theory altogether, for things of the nature suggested by the defence happen even in the free atmosphere of Europe and America. In an excellent and absolutely impartial book named *Anarchy*, by Peter Latouche (London, Everett and Co., 1908) we find an account of the judicial murder of three innocent socialist agitators at the instigation of influential Trust Magnates so far back as 1886, in the city of Chicago, where a mass meeting convened by strikers was broken up by a squad of police and some one threw a bomb which killed several persons. The three leaders of the demonstration were arrested on a charge of murder, and,

"The period in which these men awaited their trial was utilised by the press to work up a campaign of prejudice against them. *Bogus plots were discovered everywhere, and arms planted by the police unearched in the haunts of alleged suspects.*" (p. 120).

Elsewhere the author says:

"If one half that English anarchists assert be true, most of the bomb conspiracies so opportunely nipped in the bud were the work of police spies...The author knows of one instance where the facts certainly look as though some police agent had been at work to salt the ground for a rich discovery...That there are police spies among the anarchists is not denied by the police...It will be remembered that early in the last century the practice of giving rewards for the discovery of crime had to be discontinued, owing to the number

of wretches who persuaded fools to commit crimes in order that they might inform on them for the sake of the reward. Human nature does not change, and *there is the danger that Anarchists who enter into the pay of the police may not be above organising crime to obtain money.*" (pp. 132-34).

We will conclude with quoting the author's diagnosis of Anarchism. "**Anarchism,**" he says, "**is a disease of poverty, repression, and injustice.**" (P. 66).

"Manu"

Mr. Augustus Lukeman, a rising American artist, is the author of the statue of Manu reproduced in this number. The figure forms one among a line of law-givers outside the Appellate Courts at New York. Here we have a representation, a fanciful portrait, of one of those radiant Asiatic personages of whose personality we have scarcely any conception, for, they are no more than mere names associated with the works ascribed to them.

In Vedic mythology Manu is the *heros* eponymous of the human race and by his nature belongs both to gods and to men. His position as the progenitor of mankind is usually indicated in general terms only. In the Rig-Veda he is repeatedly called "the father Manu". In other passages we meet frequently with the assertion that "the races of men, the five tribes", are his offspring. An older myth ascribed to him not a reproduction but the first creation of the human race. Being the father of mankind, Manu is considered as the founder of the social and moral order, as a ruler of men and as a *Rishi* to whom sacred texts were revealed, as also the inventor of sacrificial rites and the author of legal maxims. It is apparent that these conceptions have been taken over from Vedic literature and that different as they are "they have all grown out of the one fundamental idea which makes the first man a half divine and half human being, an assistant in the work of creation and the founder of moral and social order among them."

A word about the performance of the artist. The presentation does not at all conform to the mental picture that the author of the Manava Dharma Shashtra evokes in the mind's eye of an Indian. Excepting the wooden sandals there is hardly anything to suggest that the figure stands for an Indian sage. Assuming that at or about the age when



STATUE OF MANU.

By Augustus Lukeman.

Manu may be conceived to have existed the Hindu race had not emerged as a characteristic Indian type differentiated from its parent stock, the portrait here presented has failed to realise the semi-divine being that goes under the name of Bhagawan Manu in Indian literature.

O. C. G.

Different penal laws ?

The following extremely painful bit of news is going the round of the press :—

Mr. Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, Ex-Editor of the 'Deshsewak,' who was convicted and sentenced to 15 months' rigorous imprisonment for publishing Aravinda Ghose's Nagpur lectures, was on termination of his six months' confinement, removed on Saturday last from Nagpur Central Jail. His destination is unknown but it is said he is to be taken to Khandwa Jail in the Central Provinces. Mr. Kolhatkar was taken to the station fettered in heavy chains to which were fixed large iron rods. He was escorted by armed police. He walked with great difficulty bending low and holding up the rods. He seemed extremely reduced, his face wrinkled, eyes sunk deep and ghastly pale. No one was allowed to approach or exchange a word with him.

We need not complain of the extreme inhumanity with which political prisoners are treated in India. That has ever been the price exacted from all subject nations in the world who want to rise. In this bargain haggling will not do. You must pay the full price.

What we observe is that there is evidently one law in Bengal and another in the Central Provinces. In the Alipore State Trial all Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's published and unpublished writings, his speeches, conversation and private letters were subjected to the minutest scrutiny. But nothing incriminating could be found. But in the Central Provinces a gentleman is imprisoned and treated as the worst of criminals for publishing some of Mr. Ghose's speeches! India is a British Dependency where the lordlings rule the provinces and an over-lord rules all. But what is the over-lord for if he cannot equalise the operation of the laws?

Great Britain unfit for Self-government.

We take the following Reuter's telegram from the morning papers :—

London, June 23. Fifty Liverpool schools have been closed owing to fights between the Protestant and Catholic children aided by their mothers.

We think Reuter has made a mistake. These fighting children are certainly Hindus and Mussalmans in disguise who suddenly dropped down on Liverpool, having travelled thither in fifty air-ships. For, we have been told by Englishmen that India cannot have self-rule because there are religious faction fights here. The converse must also be true, namely, that in a self-governing

country there cannot be 'religious' riots. And as England is self-governing, either Reuter dreamt a dream, or the children, as we have said, were Hindus and Mussalmans in disguise.

Anglo-Indians and Medical Reform.

Most Anglo-Indian journalists, as was to be expected, have raised a hue and cry against the medical reform proposals of Lord Morley. They are opposed to the proposed reforms because they say their compatriots in India will be placed for treatment in the hands of "natives" if the proposals were given effect to. Of course they presume that the "native" medical men are not efficient in their profession.

No one ever thinks of charging these papers with stirring up racial antipathy against His Majesty's Indian subjects when they oppose the reform proposals on the ground that "native" medical men should not treat English men and women simply because they are "men of color." Their argument is not based on what is the guiding principle of every good Government, *viz.*,—the greatest good of the greatest number. They advise the Government not to recognise the just claims of the Indian medical men and effect a saving in the Indian finances by appointing Indians to the medical posts, simply because by so doing a few English men and women in some stations in India will be deprived of the services of English doctors!

Imitation is the most sincere form of flattery. What if Indians were to imitate the tactics of Anglo-Indians and say that they refuse to be treated by English doctors? This they ought to do, at least in the capital towns to begin with. For there, Indian physicians and surgeons, quite as competent as Anglo-Indians, are always available. Everywhere for all kinds of work, Indians should prefer the services of Indians, other things being the same. It is a servile and contemptible superstition to think, as some seem still to do, that an Indian must necessarily be inferior to an Anglo-Indian.

The Indians constitute the majority of the taxpayers. Theirs should be the priority of claims over those of the Anglo-Indians.

But if the Anglo-Indians do not care to be treated by Indian doctors, we suggest to

them to import in every station they reside a medical man of their own nationality and raise subscriptions amongst themselves to pay him his salary. They cannot object to this reasonable suggestion.

But are the Indian Medical men inefficient and incompetent to treat Anglo-Indians of the disorders which their flesh is heir to? If that is really so, that casts serious reflection on the professional efficiency of the English teachers of Indian Medical Colleges. English medical men who ought to know better have always spoken highly of the professional efficiency of Indian medical practitioners. Why, notwithstanding all the disadvantages they labour under, they have distinguished themselves as very successful practitioners—many of them have contributed as much to the advancement of the healing art as any Anglo-Indian medical man.

(Mrs. Annie Besant on Babu Aurobindo Ghose.)

Mrs. Annie Besant, the president of the Theosophical Society, has lowered herself in the estimation of all right thinking persons by her unjust, improper and uncalled for remarks on Babu Aurobindo Ghose. (To a representative of a London Daily, she is reported to have said :—

"Aurobindo Ghose, who has just been acquitted, is a man of the type of Mazzini, with the difference that he is fanatical, which Mazzini was not. He has been the heart of the anti-English movement. He is a man of perfectly pure motives and entirely unselfish. He has no personal axe to grind. But he is dangerous, because he would use any methods which would upset British rule."

The worshippers of Mrs. Besant, who look upon her as the incarnation of Hypatia and as the Goddess of wisdom, will be surprised to find that in comparing Aurobindo with Mazzini and considering the Italian patriot as not fanatical, she has shown ignorance of history, which one never expected from the mouthpiece of the Mahatmas. Regarding Mazzini, a modern historian writes :—

"The followers of the Genoese, Joseph Mazzini * * claim for him the honor of being the first to follow out the idea of [Italian] unity to its logical conclusion. Certain it is that Mazzini, borne on by fiery enthusiasm and undeterred by failures, devoted his whole life to the realisation of this idea. 'I have just taught the Italians', he said, on one occasion after the war of 1859, 'to lip the word "unity."' It was after his arrest

in 1830 by the Piedmontese Government as a member of the Carbonari, when he spent several months as a prisoner in the fortress of Savona, that he formed the plan of founding a league under the name of 'Young Italy', with the object of creating an Italian republic. *Animated by a faith which amounted to fanaticism*, he took as his watchword 'God and the People!' * * * *He did not shrink from employing all the weapons of conspiracy, including even assassination.* All the rebellions and conspiracies which he plotted proved failures; but even under the stress of conscientious scruples as to the right he had to drive so many highly gifted colleagues to death and long years of captivity, he was supported by the thought that only thus could the ideal of nationality be kept before the eyes of the people. (In the oath which he administered to the members of his secret league they vowed 'by the blush which reddens my face when I stand before the citizens of other countries and convince myself that I possess no civic rights, no country, no national flag * * *, by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons who have perished on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or in exile * * * I swear to devote myself entirely and always to the common object of creating one free, independent and republican Italy by every means within my power.' [The Unification of Italy and Germany, by Dr. Heinrich Friedjung, in the World's History, vol. viii. pp 257-258].)

If Mazzini was not fanatical who on earth ever was?

If Aurobindo is the Mazzini, whom does Mrs. Besant consider as the Garibaldi and the Cavour of India?

But what facts has Mrs. Besant to adduce in support of her statement that Aurobindo is the Mazzini of India? If the Mahatmas communicated any facts to her regarding Aurobindo, she neglected her duty as an Imperial English woman in not giving evidence in the Alipore Trial and mentioning those facts for the edification of the Judge, the assessors and the general public. Will she state the grounds on which she considers Aurobindo fanatical? Can she prove her assertion that "he would use any methods which would upset British rule"? If she can, let us have her proofs. If she cannot, she knows the English monosyllable which is applied to such assertions.)

{ Is Mrs. Besant an Emissary of Government ?

Mrs. Besant said that during the last four or five years she had been in touch with the Indian Government. Rightly or wrongly she is looked upon by a very large section of the Indian community as an emissary of Government and her recent statement will go to strengthen that impression in the mind of those who are

of that opinion. By being in touch with Government she is unconsciously imbibing the spirit of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and becoming Anti-Indian. Of course she is a foreigner and saturated with patriotic bias as she is, she cannot be expected to look on the Indian political problems from the same standpoint as Indians. But that is more the reason why she should be cautious in all her utterances on Indian politics. In the appeal of an Indian F. T. S. to the Indian Theosophists which appeared in the *Modern Review* for May, 1907, it was said:—

"Mrs. Besant is a gifted orator and is undoubtedly a remarkable individual of our time. But she has not studied Indian history, Indian politics and Indian economics. As such, she should not express any opinion on Indian political questions. * * *

"As long as Mrs. Besant had no official position in the Theosophical Society, she was at liberty to say anything that pleased her on political and social subjects without in the least compromising the position of that Society. But now if she goes against the trend of public opinion in matters social and political, she will make the Theosophical society very unpopular in this country."

Would that Mrs. Besant had acted on that suggestion. Her proper vocation is to communicate the messages of the Mahatmas to the sceptical world on occult chemistry, the seven planes and other kindred subjects. But in matters political, the Indian public do not like to be guided by her opinions. They know that she has no sympathy with their national aspirations; they know what she said to Mr. W. T. Stead regarding the Indian National Congress:—

"I do not regard the gaining of political power by a small section of English educated Hindoos as of much value as regards the happiness of India." (*The Review of Reviews* for August 1905, page 135).

Indians know that she has no regard for any of their leaders, not even for the Grand Old Man—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. She seems to consider herself the only reliable guide, the modern saviour of India.

No one can find fault with her for not sympathising with our national aspirations—for she is a foreigner whose compatriots come out to India to shake the pagoda tree and grow rich. Blood being thicker than water she naturally sides with her countrymen in all political matters relating to India. But it is the bounden duty of all Indians who have placed their necks under the heels of this foreign avatar to see that

she does not wantonly hurt the feelings and susceptibilities of the large majority of their own countrymen and countrywomen by her unfounded statements and allegations.]

Anti-Sedition Measures in "Native" States.

Some "Native" States have passed very stringent and quite unnecessary anti-sedition measures. In addition to the injustice and evil effects of such laws, there is one further evil in that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and their friends in England use these laws to show that "Native" rule is far more repressive than British rule, though the truth is that the "Native" rulers slavishly pass these repressive measures at the bidding of their Anglo-Indian masters: just as in the Police Department the "Native" underlings do all the dirty work at the bidding of the superior officers, but when these malpractices are exposed, these same things are made use of by Messrs. Rees & Co., to prove the dishonesty, corruption, cruelty and general unfitness of the "Natives" for self-government and high posts.

Individual and Collective morality and honour.

There are many things which are considered criminal in individuals, but are said to be justifiable, and even glorious in the case of nations. A man who commits murder and robbery is a criminal, but nations undertaking aggressive wars of conquest and their leaders are considered heroic. Lying is dishonourable in an individual, but diplomacy, which is often lying for the 'good' of the State, is thought harmless and necessary. Backbiting and tale-bearing are considered mean, contemptible and dishonourable in individuals, but are encouraged by the State. Eavesdropping and opening and reading other people's letters are dishonourable when private persons do these things, but it is allowable for the agents of a State to do them. But whatever the state of public opinion may be to-day, the men who do these criminal and dishonourable things, whether as private individuals or as agents of the State, certainly become degraded and corrupt. And those States which require such agents in large or increasing numbers, are rotten at the core and cannot long endure.



THE VISION OF THE KNIGHT.
By Raphael.

KANTALINE PRESS, CALCUTTA.

In society, too, and in the commercial relations of nations, there are similar things calling for comment. For instance, unrestricted competition, the regulation of wages by the simple rule of supply and demand, are considered quite proper. But morally, how are these defensible? If your brother has to starve owing to these commercial and industrial methods of yours, are you not responsible? A commercial and industrial war may be as cut-throat an affair as actual warfare; and the payment of starvation wages by capitalists is not far removed from robbery.



"A MUSICAL PROCESSION."

"A musical procession."

Mr. Lawrence Binyon makes the following observations on the Ajanta Cave Paintings in his "Painting in the Far East":—

"One great monument of Indian painting remains—the frescoes of the cave-temple of Ajanta, dating from the fifth to the seventh centuries A. D. . . . The art of Ajanta is characterised by the strong outline which marks the early Asiatic style; the colouring appears to have been heavy and hot; the figures and faces are

animated, there is force and individuality in them, a strong sense of life. We feel that the painters were possessed by their subject; they worked with fervour and devotion. This and the scale of the frescoes, make a forcible and imposing impression. . . . Their compositions are crowded and incoherent. In details and in single groups and forms, on the other hand, there is grace, dignity, and character."

The truth of some of these observations will be evident from the outline sketch of one of these frescoes, "a musical procession", which we reproduce here.

"The Vision of a Knight."

"The Vision of a Knight" by Raphael is one of the most valuable possessions of the National Gallery, London. It is supposed to embody in an allegorical form the struggle between duty and pleasure which was, at the time when the picture was painted, agitating the soul of the artist himself. This work was produced by Raphael when he was almost a boy (A.D. 1483—1505). At the foot of a mountain under a tree a Knight in armour has fallen asleep. He dreams that on two sides of him there stand two female figures, one offering him a book and a sword, symbolizing a life of thought and action, and another, flowers, &c., symbolizing a life of pleasure. There comes a moment in the life of every man when he has to make a similar choice between duty and pleasure. Young men of India, what will you choose?

"Nadir Shah Ordering a General Massacre."

On the second day of the occupation of Delhi by Nadir Shah, a report spread that Nadir was dead; on which the people of the town fell on the Persians and killed about 700 of them. On this Nadir ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi.

The painter of this fine picture is Hakim Muhammad Khan of Lucknow, a student of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. We have been able to reproduce it by the courtesy of the artist and of Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore. It is remarkable for its expressiveness and the fine and minute detail of its workmanship. In the original, the fur robe of Nadir, and the armour worn by the officer occupying the right side of the picture, have been painted with minute exactness.

Importance of the Progressive Policy in Turkey.

Turkey is the organic centre and leader of the Moslem world. She has now embraced a progressive policy. She has adopted the representative form of government, though the Ottoman empire is inhabited by people of different races and creeds, speaking different languages and occupying different stages of civilization. Therefore all Mussalmans are directly interested in the advance movement. For them there is no going back now; and there is less chance now for the enemies of India to make use of Moslem prejudices to injure the cause of popular government in India.

Insinuations against Mr. Gokhale.

In the paper *Svaraj*, which is published in London and edited by Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, we are surprised to read certain reckless insinuations, irresponsibly made against the political honour of a leader so universally respected by all parties as Mr. Gokhale. We have not always the pleasure of agreeing with Mr. Gokhale, but we are not fallen so far that we can fail to recognise a countryman of courage and honour, when we meet him. To suggest that such a man could use his personal influence with the Secretary of State to remove a rival from his own path is dastardly in the extreme, and we cannot resist the suspicion that only his own inability to gauge the moral heinousness of the offence could possibly have prompted the writer in *Svaraj* in throwing out the allegation.

To use the nationalist name to cover mere ebullitions of personal malice and vanity, is a civic offence, which we think all public organs should unite to condemn with no uncertain voice. To work for the creation of differences between different parties amongst ourselves, is to the full as wicked as to make artificial antagonisms between Hindus and Mahomedans. The man who does this puts himself outside the pale.

"Svaraj."

Though we have in the previous paragraph been compelled to criticize "*Svaraj*," we must acknowledge that it is conducted with great ability, and shows much political insight in many of its observations. We

also find that even if it had been published in India the C. I. D. would not have been able to find anything seditious in it, within the meaning of sedition as defined in the Indian Penal Code. As a specimen of a "Topical Note" from "*Svaraj*," we give the following:—

"Lord Morley has done just the one thing that was wanting to complete the political awakening of India. Lord Curzon commenced, and Lord Morley has completed the work. They are both unconscious instruments in the hands of Providence. Lord Curzon declared that whatever might be the object or interpretation of previous pledges given to the people of India by the British Parliament and the British Sovereign, as long as the Government of India continued to be British, so long it must be controlled absolutely by the British. Lord Curzon was a Tory. People might take it as a mere Tory ideal of Government. Providence did not want this delusion to continue any longer, and so he made Lord Morley to declare that as far as his imagination went, the Government of India must continue to be an absolute and a personal Government. Lord Curzon, in the pursuit of the old Roman policy of "Divide and Rule," had partitioned Bengal. That was the smaller partition. Lord Morley has now divided India into two huge compartments, Hindu and Mahomedan. His Lordship's is the larger partition. We all know what the smaller partition has done. Bengal is more united to-day than she has ever been before. Her political life instead of suffering through the partition of the old administrative unit, has expanded and deepened, gained both in intensity and volume. We are confident that what the Curzonian partition has done in Bengal, the Morleyan partition will do in India."

Political Parties in India.

In India there is a party that sees the destiny of the country in the maintenance of the world as it is, with slight improvements on existing conditions. The other, the non-consenting party feel that to maintain things as they are, and carry out those improvements and repairs which a farsighted land-lord might feel conducive to stability, is the business of the foreigner. For themselves, they would fain educate and train and consolidate and become efficient, up to that point where the country can choose for herself whether she will accept a policy of improvement and repairs, or launch out into building of her own. In both parties let us hope that there will always be an increasing number of the Little Children of the Mother.

To these Little Children, God is all, God can use this party and that to work out His ends, use energy and destruction, life and death, even good and evil. He is

limited in no particular. All things are His method. They look steadfastly for His leading. They are prepared at His bidding to run all risks, to be wise or foolish, sane or mad, in the eyes of the world. But they know and confidently expect that a new era has already dawned for the Motherland, and that her greatest life is in the future, not in the past.

British rule and the growth of self-governing power.

The Imperialist school of British politicians think that India is a mere possession to be exploited. The Liberals or the more advanced section of them declare that the justification of British rule in India lies in Great Britain teaching India to be gradually self-governing. But we seem to be gradually losing our old power of self-rule under the British Government. Professor Seeley at any rate is of that opinion. Says he:—

"India then is of all countries that which is least capable of evolving out of itself a stable government. And it is to be feared that our rule may have diminished what little power of this sort it may have originally possessed. For our supremacy has necessarily depressed those classes which had anything of the talent or habit of government. The old royal races, the noble classes, and in particular the Mussalmans who formed the bulk of the official class under the great Moguls, have suffered most and benefited least from our rule. This decay is the staple topic of lamentation among those who take a dark view of our Empire; ***." Seeley's *Expansion of England*, p. 196.

Of course we deny that India is incapable of evolving a stable government.

The Army starving the Schools.

The Literary Digest of New York says:—

When the Turkish soldiers in Asia Minor sack and burn the schools, we are all horrified at their sad lack of civilization, but a French writer comes forward to remind us just at this time that the so-called civilized nations are robbing the schools to support their soldiers, which comes to about the same thing. If a man spent five times as much for guns as for his children's schooling he would be considered a lunatic or a desperado, yet it appears that this is precisely what the Powers of Europe are doing. The Paris review, *Mon Dimanche*, says:—

"France spends about five times as much on her Army as she does on the intellectual training of her children. Germany gives to educational purposes one-third of the amount she devotes to military purposes. In Austria and Russia the proportion between school and caserne expenditure is as two to nine. Italy spends upon her Army nine times as much as she devotes to public education. Belgium is exemplary in that her military and education budget stand as eight to four. The only exception to this rule of priority in military expenditure is Switzerland which devotes twice as much to the education of her children as she lays out on the purchase of powder and shot and the pay of her defenders."—*Translation made for The Literary Digest*.

Our American brother says that if a man spent five times as much for guns as for his children's schooling he would be considered a lunatic or a desperado. But if he spent more than 10 times as much, what would he be considered? But our question is irrelevant, as our bureaucrats spend for education the small amount that they do, not for *their* children, but for *ours*. However, let us see what they spend. Out of a total expenditure of some 110 crores of rupees budgeted for the next year, only 2.96 crores will be devoted to education. As for military expenditure, it "has been growing in India with alarming rapidity,.....During the last eight years the sum accounted for in the Indian Budget under this head has risen from just over £14,000,000 to £20,750,000—an increase of £6,750,000." (Keir Hardie's *India*, p. 109). So that the latest figure comes to Rs 31,12,50,000. This is nearly eleven times as much as the Government contribution of Rs 2.96 crores towards education in India.

Education in British and Pre-British India.

It is admitted that Western education was introduced in India by the British Government. But when it is asserted that there was little or no education in pre-British India, or that education is now more widespread than before the British occupation, a historically wrong statement is made. Here are some facts in proof of our statement.

"Max Muller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that "in every Hindoo village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system as in Bengal there the village school has also disappeared." " Keir Hardie's *India*, p. 5.

What are the figures now? Instead of there being a school in every village, four-fifths of the villages are now without schools. Opening the latest Report on Public Instruction in Bengal (1907-1908) we find that there are in all 45,699 educational institutions for a total population of 5,37,72,184, i. e. one institution for 1176 of the population, against 1 for 400 persons in pre-British days. Sir Thomas Munro also says that in pre-British days there were "schools

established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic."

In a report written by Mr. A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, on August 17, 1823, upon the "Education of Natives," which was published in pp. 503-504 of the Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol I (published 1832), we find it stated: "In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none; and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded."

Some time ago the British rulers in India indulged in some fine talk about giving free primary education to our children. But whatever they may do, will necessarily be dictated by two considerations: (1) will it diminish their power? (2) will it stand in the way of the exploitation of India? So if we want schools in all villages as in days of yore, solely for our good, we must establish and maintain them at our expense. Of course, they will be considered anarchists; but nevertheless we must go on with our work. Evil is evanescent, good survives.

High prices and dacoities.

Some months ago Mrs. Annie Besant stated in the journal called "Sons of India" that the students of Bengal had taken to dacoities. That is also the Police theory, perhaps showing that Mrs. Besant, as she claims, is in touch with the Government. Unfortunately for the theory, as far as we are aware, in spite of the "honest zeal" and inventive power of the Police, no student has yet been convicted in a dacoity case; though if any were convicted that would not necessarily prove their guilt.

In spite of the harrying of National Schools, the persecution of Swadeshists and the nocturnal surveillance on hundreds of young men in East Bengal, dacoities continue to be committed. And no wonder. For food has become dear, but wages or earnings have not risen proportionately; and the class suspected of committing this kind of crime has as little to do with it as Mrs. Besant herself.

A return is published in the last number of the "Indian Trade Journal" showing the average price of the seven principal food grains in India during the

last six years. The percentage of increase in 1908 as compared with the previous year, is stated to have been as follows:—Rice, 9.5; wheat, 32.9; barley, 31.3; jawar, 35.6; bajra, 35.5; ragi 16.1; gram, 41.1. The general average price of all the food grains increased by 26.6 per cent.

"A History of Hindu Chemistry."

The Second Volume of Dr. P. C. Ray's History of Hindu Chemistry has at last been published. As we hope to be able to notice it at some length in the next number, we rest satisfied with this bare announcement.

Police misrule and the High Courts.

The judgments of some High Courts and the Special Tribunal in the Midnapur Bomb Case, the Bahra Dacoity case, the Travancore Riots Case, &c., have given just satisfaction. But they do not in the least mitigate the evil of Police tyranny and misrule. Very few cases can come up on appeal before the High Courts or can be tried by the Special Tribunal. All High Court Judges, too, are not competent or unbiased. Many have been guilty of decidedly perverse judgments. But even if all cases could come up before the High Courts and all the judges thereof were just and competent, the evils of executive high-handedness and irresponsibility and of Police tyranny, would still exist. It would be only a case of one set of Government officials applying the lash on the people's backs and another applying the soothing balm. The power of making the lives of all patriots or other men in the bad books of the Executive and the Police unbearable, by keeping them confined in solitary cells for long terms, of torturing them to extort confessions, of making them eat food unfit for pigs, would still remain with the Police. A complete separation of the judicial from the executive service, the employment of trained lawyers,—pleaders and barristers,—alone as judges of the lower and the High and Chief Courts, and placing the power of transferring and promoting the judges in the hands of the High and Chief Courts, would be a partial remedy. What then would be a complete remedy? Freedom, of course,—the exercise of control by the representatives of the people over the Executive and the Police. When patriotism ceases to be looked upon as a crime, when the people cease to be looked upon merely as a class to be kept down and exploited by

aliens, then alone will executive high-handedness and police tyranny cease. These are inseparable concomitants of the irresponsible rule of foreigners.

Undertrial Prisoners.

In many recent cases undertrial prisoners have been kept for long periods in solitary cells and fed on such delicacies as bits of stone, hair and dry leaves, sand and grass, mixed with coarse rice. It has also been found that such prisoners could easily be removed from jail by the police and kept in their custody for any period they chose. This is punishing a man before he has been found guilty, and giving every facility to the police to manufacture evidence. Is it impossible simply to detain such prisoners and give them food fit for human beings? That is not likely to endanger British supremacy.

When is a prison not a prison ?

When Bengali gentlemen deported without trial or formulation of any charge against them, are kept locked up in a room or rooms in a jail for 21 or 22 hours out of the 24, the jail is not a prison. English lexicographers please note for future editions of your dictionaries.

On June 8, 1909, the following dialogue took place in the British House of Commons :—

Mr. Mackarness : May I ask whether these people are to be kept in prison until a time of peace has arrived ?

Mr. Hobhouse : They are not kept in prison ; they are kept under restraint.

Sir Henry Cotton : Is the hon. member aware that all these nine Bengali gentlemen are in gaol, either in the United Provinces or Burma, or elsewhere ?

Mr. Hobhouse : No, Sir ; I am not aware of that.

Mr. Ashley : May I ask the hon. gentleman whether they are kept in compounds ?

Mr. Hobhouse : No I think that system is confined to South Africa.

Mr. Mackarness : Is the hon. gentleman aware that Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt is in gaol at Lucknow and Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra at Agra under very hot and unhealthy conditions ?

Mr. Rees : May I ask whether it is not a fact that letters from some of these gentlemen have been published in the press—(laughter)—stating that they are extremely comfortable, and whether Natives of Bengal are not accustomed to such heat as may be met with at Agra and elsewhere, where they may be in prison ?

Mr. Hobhouse : I believe that both these statements are accurate.

Mr. Rees is famous for his deep and extensive ignorance of India, but he surpasses

himself when he says that natives of Bengal are accustomed to the heat of Agra or Rawalpindi. His 'inaccuracy' is exceeded only by his malevolence. As for the deportees being extremely comfortable, we have not seen any such letters of theirs published in the press. We have read statements to the effect that they feel like being roasted within the prison cells at night. The fact is in Upper India in summer people sleep at night in the open air. But Babus Aswinikumar Datta, Krishnakumar Mitra and Sachindrâ-prasad Bose are kept locked up within their furnace-like cells. This is undoubtedly extremely comfortable. British officials may be got to swear that these Bengali gentlemen are comfortable, but the plain truth is that they are very miserable. People living in London may be hoodwinked, but God is not blind. We are really astonished to find Mr. Hobhouse stating that the deportees are not in prison. Of course, he is not responsible for this palpable falsehood. Is it merely due to his ignorance, or is it probable that some one in India has conveyed to him this lying information ?

The Deportations in Parliament.

The heckling to which ministers have been subjected in Parliament on the Bengal Deportations, has made many facts clear. The Government is not only not prepared to publish the grounds on which the deportees have been deprived of their liberty, it will not tell even the deportees the grounds of suspicion against them. They must guess why they have been deported, and make representations on the strength of these guesses. Such is the liberty we enjoy in the British Empire.

Lord Morley says Regulation III. of 1818 is as good a law as any in the statute book. Of course, so it is in a Pickwickian sense ; for did not 'the powers that be' make this law just like other laws ? But we who are neither statesmen nor lawyers consider it the negation of all law. It is an unrighteous law. When a man cannot enjoy his freedom without causing inconvenience to the foreign administrators or foreign exploiters of India, and when no offence, moral or legal, can be brought home to him, by open and fair trial, when his offence cannot be made known even to him, this law enables the bureaucracy

to get rid of the man. Lord Morley asks whether the Viceroy must not possess some emergency power? But why should he possess a kind of power which no other British official in any other part of the Empire possesses? And even if it be granted that he must possess this power, why must he not state the facts to enable the public to judge whether there was any emergency or not, and if there was, whether the particular men deported were responsible for the emergency, or not. Not even the most exalted or wisest mortal should be given irresponsible power, particularly as that mortal must see and hear through other eyes and other ears, eyes and ears belonging in most cases to the basest of men.

Nemesis now dogs the footsteps of the rulers of the British Empire. Having enslaved India, they are now themselves losing their sense of justice and instinct of liberty. They have even given the Members of Parliament indirectly to understand that the heckling is not bringing the day of release of the deportees nearer. So, if you do not agitate, the rulers say, people are quite satisfied; if you do, the rulers say, don't think we are going to get frightened, we will keep these men in jail as long as we choose.

People of Great Britain, beware; the longer you keep us in chains, the greater becomes the probability of your losing your own liberties.

The great war in Nasik.

Fifty years after the mutiny a great battle has been recently fought at Nasik. The rebel is a young man of the name of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar. He did not fight with the ancient weapons of swords and spears or bows and arrows, or with the modern weapons of Maxim guns or repeating rifles, nor even with bombs;—he simply wrote a poem, and it is even said that the poem related to the days of Sivaji. Be that as it may, he has been sentenced to transportation for life by the Sessions Judge of Nasik, for abetting and waging war against the king. When people are panic-stricken, they lose their senses. That is all the comment that we need make. And we have a suggestion also to make. Since the cheapest way of waging

war has been discovered in India,—one has simply to buy a sheet of paper and scribble on it some lines of verse,—warriors like Mr. Savarkar should be transported to England, and instead of naval engineers building Dreadnoughts and aerial engineers building air-ships, these “poemeers” should be commissioned to manufacture fighting poems to “versicute” all invading Germans and Frenchmen. We offer this suggestion in the most altruistic spirit, expecting not even a second class Kaiser-i-Hind medal in lieu of it.

“National Volunteers” making roads.

The Bengali magazine *Pallichitra* (“Village-Picture”) says:—

“The village boys of Kotalipara pargana in Faridpur district have repaired the village roads there. Most of them are sons of Brahman parents. They have made the roads using spades with their own hands. In this way 4 or 5 roads have been made in village Unashia. When bands of boys of similar sacred impulse will be formed in every village, then alone will the deplorable condition of the villages be possibly improved.”

The reader will remember that in this same district of Faridpur, “national volunteers” have excavated a tank with their own hands.

The Indian reverence for Motherhood.

There is a town called Aberdeen in the State of Mississippi, U. S. A. There is a Dr. French in this city who is a Christian minister. Mr. V. L. Tissera is a noted tea merchant and grower of Ceylon. In his recent annual trip to Aberdeen he heard Dr. French saying that in India woman was held in the minds of the people in the same manner as they regard the cow. This is the kind of missionary falsehood that ‘takes’ in the West. Mr. Tissera remonstrated with the *Padri*. To an interviewer of an Aberdeen paper Mr. Tissera said:

“I am surprised at the general opinion held by many educated men in this country regarding the status of womanhood in India. Although a native of Ceylon, I was raised and educated as a Christian according to the teachings of the Episcopal church.

“In no place in the world is motherhood held more sacred than in my home land, and I would like to correct an impression that was left upon his hearers by Dr. C. H. French, who spoke yesterday at the Presbyterian church. In his sermon the doctor stated that in India woman was held in the minds of the people in the same manner as they regard the cow.

• Musketeer—one who fights with a musket; poemeer—one who fights with a poem.

"I do not know from what source the speaker may have derived his information, but he has certainly been grossly misinformed. At no time, either past or present, might this statement have been true. In all India one of the first teachings to youth is respect and love for parents and elder people.

"After the service yesterday I called the doctor's attention to his remarks, and was advised that he referred to ancient India. But this is not true even of ancient India, and if it were, why should comparison be made between the past centuries of one nation and the present day of another. What would the average American think were he to go to India and hear a lecturer speak of the Massachusetts witchcraft persecutions and leave the impression that such conditions still prevailed?

"In India there are more goddesses probably than in any other one country. This certainly shows a high regard for womanhood.

"I went to church yesterday to bow my head in reverence to my mother, and it grieved me very much to hear the president of a Christian college make a statement that is so much in error as to leave a prejudice in the minds of one people in regard to the inhabitants of another country.

"Regardless of my personal faith, I want to say that the followers of the Hindoo and Buddhist religions have equally as much respect for motherhood as does the Christian."

"A war budget."

Apostrophising Mr. Emmott, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Lloyd George said in the peroration of his Budget speech:—

Mr. Emmott, this is a war Budget! It is a Budget for waging implacable warfare against poverty, and I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have made a great advance towards the good time when poverty, with the wretchedness and squalor and human degradation which always follow in its camp, will be as remote from the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests.

We, too, have in India war budgets every year. But in our case, war is to be understood literally. Grim poverty and plague stare us in the face, but we leave them alone, to fight imaginary foes.

↳ "Divine Messages."

The risibility of some superior editors has been excited by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's claim to have received Divine Messages in the Alipore Jail. We do not see what there is to laugh at in this. If God never spoke or speaks to man, the matter ends there. In that case Mr. Ghose deceives himself and others no more than the patriots, saints and prophets of all countries. But if God ever spoke to man, he does so still. It may indeed be

said that Mr. Ghose is not fit for God to speak to. We think that the worst sinner is spoken to by God. As for Mr. Ghose, he leads a life of as great purity and self-abnegation for his country as any public man in India. "Oh, but he is an extremist!" Yes, but God is no respecter of parties. "But he calls Lord Morley's Reform Scheme a sham." This is indeed a great offence, but we hope God will pardon him for it. We, too, do not share many of Mr. Ghose's political, social and religious views, but do not feel that that gives us a claim to give ourselves airs of superiority. We know Mr. Ghose is a cultured, sincere, unselfish, brave and intensely patriotic son of our common Motherland, and that fact looms far larger in our view than the miserable division of men into moderates and extremists, a division which serves the purposes of our enemies more than ours. ➤

Mr. Keir Hardie's "India."

All English-knowing Indians who can spend 12 annas should purchase a copy of Mr. Keir Hardie's "India". It is an excellent book and gives a better idea of the Indian problem than many bulkier volumes.

"The Times" and Bengali Valour.

In its Empire Supplement of May 24, *The Times* devotes several articles to India. In one of these articles occurs the following statement which one did not expect to find there:—

"Perhaps, the recent outburst of rancour and hatred, of which we have heard so much, is due to our forgetting that the Bengalis were our first comrades in the difficult task of founding British rule. No people, however gentle, can help a feeling of resentment if they imagine themselves to be the objects of ridicule and ingratitude, and much of the ill-feeling which has permeated Bengal and has spread from Bengal to other provinces has arisen from the constant and invidious comparisons which are drawn between the Bengalis and the more attractive races of the north. The mischief has been done, and patience and tact will be required to remove the sense of slight and hurt."

Astonishing as it may seem, *The Times* has spoken the truth, and that regarding the indebtedness of the early founders of the British Indian Empire to Bengali valour. The facts are so little known that they will bear repetition from the *Modern Review* for July, 1907.

Bishop Heber wrote in chapter IV of his *Indian Journal* :—

"I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the sepoy regiments are always recruited from Bahar and the upper provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was raised chiefly from Bengal. So much are all men the creatures of circumstance and training." *Ed.*, 1873, Vol. I, p. 53.

Walter Hamilton wrote in his work entitled *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries* :—

"The native Bengalees are generally stigmatised as pusillanimous and cowardly, but it should not be forgotten that at an early period of our military history in India, they almost entirely formed several of our battalions, and distinguished themselves as brave and active soldiers." *Ed.*, 1820, Vol. I, p. 95.

As to the "inferior size" of the Bengalis referred to by Bishop Heber, the following extract from a letter written by Lord Minto, ancestor of the present Lord Minto, from Calcutta on September 20th 1807, to the Honourable A. M. Elliot, after visiting Barrackpore, will show what the Bengali was in those days :—

"The men themselves are still more ornamental. I never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people, whose forms I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest possible cast of countenance and features. Their

features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time; but the females seem still as hideous as at Madras, and one cannot conceive that they should be the mothers of such handsome sons." *Lord Minto in India* by the Countess Minto.

That the Bengalis can become in the future what they were in the past was the opinion of so competent an authority as Sir W. W. Hunter. Says he :—

"The ruin of Tamluk as a seat of maritime commerce affords an explanation of how the Bengalis ceased to be a sea-going people. In the Buddhist era they sent warlike fleets to the east and the west and colonised the islands of the archipelago. Even Manu in his inland centre of Brahmanism at the far north-west, while forbidding such enterprises betrays the fact of their existence. He makes a difference in the hire of river boats and sea-going ships, and admits that the advice of merchants experienced in making voyages on the sea, and in observing different countries, may be of use to priests and kings. But such voyages were associated chiefly with the Buddhist era, and became alike hateful to the Brahmans and impracticable to a deltaic people whose harbours were left high and dry by the land-making rivers and the receding sea. Religious prejudices combined with the changes of nature to make the Bengalis unenterprising upon the ocean. But what they have been, they may under a higher civilization again become. The unwarlike Armenians whom Lucullus and Pompey blushed to conquer, supplied seven centuries later the heroic troops who annihilated the Persian monarchy in the height of its power. To any one acquainted with the revolutions of races, it must seem mere impertinence ever to despair of a people; and in maritime courage, as in other national virtues, I firmly believe that the inhabitants of Bengal have a new career before them under British rule." *Orissa*, pp. 314-315.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The State Manual of Travancore, Vols. I, II & III
by V. Nagam Aiya, F.R.H.S. Senior Dewan
Peishcar (retired,) Travancore. Trevandrum: the
Travancore Government Press

The writer of this brief notice of this monumental work owes an apology to the author for the delay that has occurred in taking it. The truth is that the very massiveness of the volumes has been somewhat forbidding whenever he has been reminded of the duty he undertook, and every time he has seriously thought of doing his task he has been irresistibly tempted to lay it aside for a future date in the hope of doing it better than would have been possible just then. Till at last, he is ashamed of putting it off any longer and

attempts to commit to paper a few passing ideas on the comprehensiveness and usefulness of the volumes prepared by Mr. Nagamiah. He offers an humble apology to the author, the editor, and the readers alike for the unsatisfactoriness of the notice.

Mr. Nagamiah is a distinguished man, learned, informed, enthusiastic in the performance of any task he has imposed on himself, almost overflowing with information about everything concerning Travancore. He spent more than forty years in the service of the State and rose to the highest position, having acted as Dewan more than once. And it is an open secret that the well-merited and richly earned prize of the permanent Dewanship would have been his, had his Highness the Maharajah had full discretion in the appointment of his own Minister. There was no office to

which Mr. Nagamiah was appointed which he did not fill with uncommon distinction, no duty assigned to him to the performance of which he did not bring a wholehearted enthusiasm and in which he did not exhibit complete knowledge and equal ability. No wonder that he won the approbation of successive Dewans and British Residents, not to say aught of the esteem in which he is held by His Highness the Maharajah himself. In addition to the qualities mentioned above Mr. Nagamiah possesses literary ability of a high order and he is thus able to sustain the reader's interest in the tale he has to tell.

Mr. Nagamiah had to attend to his ordinary official duties along with the preparation of this *magnum opus* and he had therefore to labour at it for not less than fourteen years. His aim in his own words 'has been to present to an utter stranger to Travancore such a picture of the land and its people, its natural peculiarities, its origin, history and administration, its forests and animals, its conveniences for residence or travel, its agricultural, commercial, industrial, educational and economic activities, its ethnological, social and religious features as he may not himself be able to form by a thirty years' study or residence in it, and every reader of the book will say that Mr. Nagamiah has fairly succeeded in his high ambition.

In the first volume are given descriptions of the physical features and geology of the State, accounts of its climate, rainfall and meteorology and of its fauna and flora, a survey of archaeology; and an elaborate history, ancient and early and modern. The second volume treats of the census and population, religion and caste. Splendid accounts are written of the different religions of the people of the State—Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity, and of the minor religions prevalent there. Mr. Nagam Aiya writes of no less than twenty-six castes into which the people are mainly divided. In the same volume are also considered language and literature, education and public health. The third volume is devoted to a discussion of agriculture, the economic situation, trade and commerce, means of communication, arts and industries, land tenures and land taxes, administration, and legislation. The three volumes comprise about two thousand pages. A bare statement of the contents of the *manual* is enough to convince one that it is a perfectly hopeless affair to attempt to do anything like justice to the rich and various material that is embodied within its covers. And to the author it must be a source of the greatest satisfaction that he has been enabled to leave to the world this lasting memorial of his love for, knowledge of and service to the State in which he has lived, moved and had his being during almost the whole of his life time. If only to give our readers a convincing proof that it will not be vain for them to dig in these volumes, we will cull a few sentences here and there and give here a summary of some salient passages dealing with subjects of present importance on which the thought of our educated and patriotic countrymen is being assiduously spent in every province and state of India. Thus we notice that among the distinctive features of Travancore agriculture are that the climate and rainfall are specially conducive to the growth of trees, roots and yams, but not of rice and cereals. Hence the partiality of the Travancore ryot for his trees and plants

and the extreme care with which he secures his garden, and that the light incidence of the ground tax and the tree tax is another factor in the partiality of the ryot for garden cultivation. The growing of wet crops is at a discount in Travancore, as the wet lands are not protected by a suitable system of irrigation. 'The Travancore peasantry are extremely contented in the matter of clothing, food and drink.'—How his brother in the neighbouring British territory must envy him! There are no good cattle available in the land, as the climate is 'most inhospitable to them.' Mr. Nagam Aiya supplies a deal of information on various matters pertaining to agriculture such as soil, rainfall, systems of agriculture, garden lands, agricultural operations, implements, fallowing, ploughing, manuring, rotation of crops, seed selection, sowing, reaping, threshing, cattle and cattle breeding, agricultural stock, and crops of different kinds, which no serious student of this foremost and greatest and most important of national industries can afford to be ignorant of.

The trade of Travancore is mostly with British India and the principal articles of export are copra, coir, pepper, tea, cocoanut oil, dry ginger, areca nuts, salt-fish, timber, cocoanuts, tamarind, hides and coffee. The most valuable of these is copra, worth about Rs. 45 lakhs a year, while the total value of the exports of all the above articles is nearly a crore and three lakhs of rupees a year. The grand total of exports is of the value of Rs. 2 crores and odd and of imports of about Rs. 1.08 crore, the excess of exports being a little less than a crore of rupees worth. Mr. Nagamiah seems to be a believer in Mr. Dada-bhai Naoroji's drain theory, for he says in discussing the economic situation (p. 193, Vol. III): 'The salaries of the European servants of the State as well as their pensions, interest and profits on the foreign capital invested in the Quilon Railway and the plantations on the hills, the cotton and oil mills, the coir manufacture and other industries due to foreign enterprise may all be taken to form a tribute which this country pays to British India or the United Kingdom. The conditions then of trade here are more or less like those of British India. The exports of British India are 40 per cent. more in value than the imports. In Travancore the exports as already shown are nearly twice as much as the imports. Political economists do not interpret such a state of things as healthy or prosperous.' And he cites Thorold Rogers and Fawcett in support of his view. His compatriots in British India who have given a thought to the subject will entirely sympathise with Mr. Nagamiah in his regret for this unhealthy economic phenomenon of his State.

The Chapter on Arts and Industries fills 65 pages and forms most interesting reading. The gist of it may be said to have been given in Mr. Nagamiah's paper on the same subject contributed to the Third Indian Industrial Conference held at Surat in the year before last. In this Chapter are dealt with the useful function that the institution of caste performed in olden days in the economy of the country's industrial organisation, Travancore music, painting, architecture, sculpture, carving, weaving, lace-work, fibres, oil-pressing, metal-work, carpentry, mining, the manufacture of salt, pottery, brick and tiles, toddy-drawing, sugar, molasses and jaggery, aad cadjan mat and rattan-work. The fibres, coir and oil-pressing

industries are of infinite possibilities, and it cannot but cause extreme regret to all who care for the material prosperity of the country that they are left sadly undeveloped. Any man with brains and enterprise and organising power can make a fortune by successfully forming companies and erecting mills and factories and works for manipulating the abundance of the plentiful raw material that lies at hand there, but verily we are a nation of beggars who cannot pick up the wealth that lies at our feet but loudly lament that we have not the wherewithal to make both ends meet.

In the Chapter on Education (Vol. II, pp. 443-97) Mr. Nagam Aiya gives us a history of the educational movement in the State, facts about missionary enterprise and of Government efforts, an account of the early administration of the educational departments, and a short *resume* of facts relating to the educational institutions in the State. Travancore is educationally more advanced than any other part of India—British or Indian. The percentage of literates in 1,000 of the population (of both sexes) is 67 in Ajmer-Merwara, 36 in Assam, 45 in Berar, 70 in the Bombay Presidency, 28 in the Central Provinces, 63 in the Madras Presidency, 88 in Baroda, 24 in Gwalior, and 51 in Mysore, whereas it is 124 in Travancore. It holds the first place regarding literacy among females too, for the figures of literates in 1000 females for the provinces and states named above are respectively 9, 4, 3, 11, 2, 9, 8, 1, 8 and 31. In regards, however, to literates in English in 1,000 of the population the Bombay Presidency with 8 holds higher rank than Travancore which has only five being bracketed with the Madras Presidency and the Mysore State, but it is better off than Assam, Berar and Baroda with 3, the Central Provinces with 2 and Gwalior with 1. There are in all 3,727 institutions in the State at which 197,385 scholars receive instruction, and the amount of expenditure on education in the year 1903-4 was a little less than Rs. 6 lakhs, which was nearly 6 per cent. of the total revenues of the State. This is in striking contrast to the 1 per cent. or thereabouts of its revenues which the great Government of British India devotes to the spread of education. A gratifying feature of the educational activity of the state is the attention bestowed on female education. There are 184 colleges and schools for girls which impart instruction to over 46,000 girls of school-going age. Says Mr. Nagamiah (Vol. II, p. 477):—"There has been an increase of over 60 per cent. in the number under instruction during the last ten years. The Census Statistics of 1901 show that in point of female education, Travancore continues to maintain the first position in India. Female literacy is nearly three times that of the most advanced Provinces of India. Thirty-one out of every 1,000 females are literate in Travancore while elsewhere the figures range from 1 in every 1,000 in Gwalior to 11 in 1,000 in Bombay which stands highest." Travancore itself is regrettably backward when 97 out of every 100 girls go without education, but it has accomplished more than the much vaunted Government of British India.

In the Chapter on Public Health Mr. Nagam Aiya deals with vital statistics, birth-rate, death-rate, causes of death, infirmities, vaccination, conservancy and general sanitation, medical relief, the indigenous medical system, Hindu diet, Hindu Surgery, etc.

The death-rate is much less than in British India, having been only 14·17 in 1903-4, and further it fell from 19·52 in 1895-6 to 14·17 in 1903-4. In British India the rate is over 30 per mille and it has appreciably increased in recent years. One of the greatest moral injuries which the nation has sustained owing to unsympathetic and unimaginative foreign domination—and we are among those who attach a vaster importance to these moral injuries than even to the material drain from the country—is the deplorable and inexcusable neglect of the fine and grand indigenous medical system of India. Lord Curzon once spoke at one of the annual meetings of the Countess of Dufferin Fund as if our forefathers knew not the healing art at all—as if the British Government brought medical relief with it for the first time to this country. Sir Gooroo Doss Banerjee had to speak later at the same meeting and the arrogant remark of that superior but in many respects ignorant person so grated on his ears, so offended his sense of propriety and veracity, that he did not allow the meeting to disperse without a protest against it. Mr. Nagamiah we are pleased to note devotes the best part of the Chapter on Public Health to a discussion of the ancient Hindu medical system, and we heartily commend those pages to the readers.

We have to bring these few and scattered remarks to a close. But we must draw attention to the many fine illustrations in the three volumes. There are no less than 45 of these, besides five plates, and all of them are neatly executed and are a pleasure to the eye.

Mr. Nagam Aiya is fortunately in the full enjoyment of his bodily powers and mental virility and has we hope many years of useful life yet to live. His own bent of mind is naturally towards service in Indian States as his whole life has been spent in such work, and we may be permitted to say without impertinence that he will be an acquisition to any State that may think of profiting by his unsurpassed experience. If, however, this is not to be, Mr. Nagam Aiya cannot do better than employ his talents, energy and practical sagacity in the development of the wonderful natural resources of his own State, of which he has written so well, so wisely, and with such just pride.

C. Y. C.

*Messages of Uplift for India: by Saint Nihal Singh, with an introduction by B. O. Flower, Editor, The Arena, Boston, U. S. A. Ganesh & Co., Madras.**

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh needs no introduction to readers of the *Modern Review*. The publication of his highly interesting and instructive articles in book form was long being looked for. Messrs. Ganesh & Co., have done a good service to the country by bringing together and publishing Mr. Singh's contributions to various Indian periodicals. The book consists of 3·9 pages, and is well printed and excellently bound. It contains Mr. Singh's well-known articles on America, Canada, Japan and Russia. The special value of his writings lies in the fact that he never puts his pen to paper but to drive a lesson home to his Indian readers. His papers are intensely suggestive. He

* The publishers sent us two copies of this book, which we sent to two reviewers. Both the reviews are published in this number. Ed., M. R.

has opened our minds to many things which were hitherto not even dreamt of by us. His messages are truly messages of uplift to his nation. The only defect in the present publication that we notice is that it does not reproduce the photographs with which his articles were embellished and illustrated. We hope the present volume is but the prelude to many others from the same gifted pen. India is in need of men like Mr. Singh, who has done so much in the field of journalism to raise his countrymen in the world's esteem.

G.

Business companion : by T. G. Ranganatha Row, Superintendent the Central School of Commerce, Trichinopoly : St. Joseph's College Press, Price Rs. 1-8-0.

The book is an outcome of the new industrial awakening in India. It professes to be a compendious dictionary of commercial terms, phrases, and abbreviations, arranged in alphabetical order. A large number of specimen business forms is appended at the end of the volume. It seems to be a highly useful publication. The get-up and printing are excellent.

The Edicts of Asoka, English translation by Vincent A. Smith. (Sold by Henry Frowde, 1909). xx+77; Price One Guinea.

We congratulate Dr. Coomaraswamy on his happy idea of getting Mr. V. Smith to issue an English translation of all the Edicts of Asoka discovered up to the present. The author of *The Early History of India* is the greatest living authority on the subject. The form of the book before us is worthy of the greatness of the emperor and of the ethical importance of his "sayings" graven on imperishable stone. It is a quarto volume of handmade wove paper, printed at the Essex House Press, in an artistic heavy type which is delightfully suggestive of a fourteenth century Chaucer MS. A fine large photogravure of the Sarnath lion capital forms the frontispiece.

The English rendering of the edicts is not slavishly literal, for "the letter slayeth." But its simple dignity and quaint archaic flavour admirably reproduce the spirit of the original. The notes are accurate, sufficient, and not too heavy or repellent to the general reader. Mr. Smith's introduction is, however, unworthy alike of the great Emperor and of his own fame as a man of letters. It is a rather prosaic compilation in the humdrum style of the usual Anglo-Indian official report. The author never rises to the full height of the subject; his hero does not warm his heart, or there would have been a quicker pulsation of blood detected in his style. A piece of literary art,—a brilliant essay and not a guide-book summary, would have been a fitting prelude here.

Mr. Smith is right in his contention that *Piyadasi* was the title and not the name of Asoka. It is a breach of Oriental etiquette to name a king, especially a living king; he should be designated by a title. Witness how the Mughal emperors are always indirectly distinguished and hardly ever mentioned by name in the Persian histories. But we venture to dissent when he asserts that *Devanam piya* (Beloved of the gods) means "His Sacred Majesty" and regards the expression as a parallel to the title of the Tudor Kings. A great Hindu King was believed to be the friend of the gods, a welcome ally of Zeus

(Indra) in his wars with the demons. In the *Bhattacharya* Dasaratha is spoken of as *bibudha-sakha* (the comrade of the gods); Kalidasa makes his hero Dushmanta perform an "avigation" to reinforce Indra who was hard pressed by the powers of darkness; King Harish Chandra is a personal friend of the same King of the gods. In all these cases no *divine character* is ascribed to the Kings; just as Theseus might have twanged his bow as an auxiliary of the gods in repelling the Titans who were clambering up the sides of Olympus, but no Greek would have worshipped him for that reason. The oriental idea of the King was, therefore, quite different from the spirit which made Roman subjects adore the Emperor and organise guilds of his worshippers (*augustales*). It was also different from the moral basis of the New Monarchy of the Tudors, in which servile churchmen transferred to the English King the sacred character of the Cæsars and proclaimed his right as divine. To the ancient Hindu the king might have been the chosen favourite of Fortune (*Lakshmi*), he might have been the incarnation of justice, but he was still a man.* The *Brahman alone was divine among mortals*: he was the *bhudeva* (deity on earth,) *bhu-sura* (celestial on earth,) while the king was merely *bhu-pati* (lord of the soil,) or *sadangsha-bhak* (enjoying one-sixth of the produce of the soil and of the spiritual merit earned by hermits by their austerities.) Therefore it was that Vishwamitra flung away kingship and sought to be a *Brahman*.

Of the enduring value of Asoka's edicts and the applicability of his teachings to all ages and all countries, we need not say anything: he has already taken his place as one of the greatest kings of men. The late Convention of Religions could not have chosen a better motto than the following.—

"The sects of other people all deserve reverence for one reason or another. By thus acting, a man exalts his own sect, and at the same time does service to the sects of other people....."

"He who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." (*XII Rock Edict*.)

What nobler maxims can a king adopt than these?—

"Work I must for the welfare of all....And for what do I toil? For no other end than this, that I may discharge my debt to animate beings, and that while I make some happy here, they may in the next world gain heaven." (*VI. Rock Edict*.)

"The king does not believe that [his] glory or renown brings much profit unless in both the present and the future my people obediently hearken to the Law of Piety (*Dharma*) and conform to its precepts." (*X. Rock Edict*.)

"My sons and grandsons, who may be, should not regard it as their duty to conquer a new conquest." (*XIII. Rock Edict*.)

"The king desires that the unsubdued borderers should not be afraid of me, that they should trust me, and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow." (*I. Kalinga Edict*.)

* The conversion of the royal hero Rama into an incarnation of Vishnu and the central figure of a cult, is of very recent date, (say 1300 A.D.)

"All men are my children, and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness,.....so also I desire the same for all men." (*II Kalinga Edict*.)

We cannot conceive a higher ideal for private persons than the following:—

"Some will perform the whole, others will perform but one part of the commandment. Even for a person to whom lavish liberality is impossible, the virtues of mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steadfastness are altogether indispensable." (*VI. Rock Edict*).

"Men perform various ceremonies on occasions of sickness, the weddings of sons, the weddings of daughters, &c... That sort bears little fruit. This sort, however—the ceremonial of piety—bears great fruit. In it are included proper treatment of slaves and servants, honour to teachers, gentleness towards living creatures and liberality towards ascetics and Brahmins." (*IX. Rock Edict*).

"There is no such almsgiving as the almsgiving of the Law of Piety.... Herein does it consist—in proper treatment of slaves, &c." (*XI. Rock Edict*).

"But wherein consists the Law of Piety?" "In these things, to wit, in abstinence from impiety, in many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, and purity." (*II. Pillar Edict*).

We have only one suggestion to make. This edition is limited to a hundred copies, and priced One Guinea. Surely Dr. Coomaraswamy does not wish that to thousands of our countrymen Asoka should continue to be a name only or that his teaching should be confined to the rich few. Then why not issue a cheap reprint? Asoka's edicts do not deserve less circulation than the Gita.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Messages of Uplift for India by Saint Nihal Singh
(Ganesh & Co., Madras), 323 pp.

This is a collection of 19 essays reprinted from various magazines. The style is journalistic and the idiom Yankee. But mixed with much that is trite, much that is useless, there is some curious and valuable information for the stay-at-home Indian, and the volume is undoubtedly interesting reading. Many of the suggestions for improving the lot of our people are of the nature of "tall orders" and the author airily ignores practical difficulties and the question of expense. For instance, the contrast between the working-man's wife in India and America merely tantalises us. If the writer advocates that Indian women of the labouring class should "lighten their burden" by "cooking on a gas range," we must class him with the mad Scotch professor who used to tell us that the Bengal peasants should escape malaria by living in a second story, 20 feet above the ground! What truths Mr. Singh has discovered for us in America we do not precisely see, but we find that he has not discovered the shallowness of Yankee rhetoric, the hollowness of Yankee brag, and the Yankee's habit of lying and "pulling the legs" of foreigners.

The "Essays Educational," pp. 107--268, are of great value; especially the graphic account of Booker Washington's work at Tuskegee, which should be digested by those interested in Indian national education. [*Herandino St. Pierre* (p. 141) is a ludicrous mistake.]

In the Introduction to the volume, Mr. B. O. Flower, an American editor, has put forth certain claims on behalf of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, which provoke a critical examination. He writes, "The present volume is an Oriental's message from the Occidental world to the Orient..... Our author felt that among the great needs of India was light, the light of full-orbed education..... Penniless and an absolute stranger to the peoples he proposed to visit, Mr. Singh set forth in quest of truths that should be enlightening and uplifting for India. He travelled in China and Japan, and from thence crossed to the New World. Everywhere his master aim was the acquisition of knowledge for the benefit of India. In the New World he has gathered the greater sheaf of facts that will serve his fatherland..... Mr. Singh deserves well of India."

Now, what are the real facts, when the above passages are stripped of the frothy rhetoric dear to the American heart? A penniless half-educated Hindu youth—he had still plenty of modern things to learn in Indian schools,—runs away to America, earns a precarious livelihood by doing odd jobs, and then betakes himself to the rather Bohemian life which is the lot of all who belong to the lower ranks of journalism in the West. The truths which he can pick up in such a life cannot be very precious. It was not with such intellectual equipment nor in such a manner that De Tocqueville and James Bryce visited the great Republic to write their *Democracy in America* and *American Commonwealth*. Mr. Flower's language, unless it is meaningless, suggests the comparison. We may admire Mr. Singh's adventurous spirit and relish his racy and gossipy paragraphs; but we do not exactly see how he has benefited India. It is peculiarly necessary in the present age to warn all writers of India, "Take not the name of our fatherland in vain."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

The Gujarat Prince, a new drama in English, by N. V. Rajan, (C. V. Naidu, Madras) 63 pp., 4 annas.

We do not think that this little book has any valid reason for existing. A literal translation of a genuine vernacular drama has some value for the historian. But an original play in verbose, prosy and frequently ungrammatical English can serve no useful purpose.

J. S.

An Address in memory of Albert Crompton, by Sydney Style (Liverpool, 1908,) 30 pp.

This little pamphlet interests us as it presents the picture of a happy and refined Positivist home and records a sweet and blameless life. Albert Crompton (1843-1908), manager to the firm of Holt and Bro., Liverpool, carried his ennobling religion into his work. His masters' business prospered while he made all the employees—European sailors, Lascars, and Chinese firemen, happy. His devotion to humanity and belief in its future found expression in his organising protests against the Irish Coercion Act of 1881 and the late Boer War. He also "spoke with no uncertain sound as to the duty of placing the Government of India in native hands." (p. 46).

In 1885 died Mrs. Crompton, who was truly his *sahadharmini* (associate in religion)—a model Hindu wife. We next have a picture of the sublime devotion of husband to wife: the Indian ideal of *sati* was touchingly carried out by the male partner. Mr. Crompton took a vow of perpetual widowhood, and

kept it for the remaining 23 years of his life. Her spiritual presence never deserted him: "From that time he devoted his life to carrying on her work in the family, and in the Church. Every Monday morning he visited her grave. She was the inspiration that guided and sustained him in all trials and difficulties. Each morning he knelt with his children at her altar, each night he communed with her upon the events of the day, and so her life was incorporated in his.....She was to him what Beatrice had been to Dante, and Laura to Petrarch."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A Fragment on Education, by F. Nelson Fraser, (Natesan) 305 pp., Re. one.

This is a collection of 23 essays written "for Indian readers as specimens of method for the treatment of educational topics." They do not directly deal with the problems of Indian Education, (which would require a knowledge of the inner life of Hindu Society). They only suggest proper methods for the investigation of educational problems, methods whose application by an educated Indian to Indian conditions would lead to conclusions of practical value. Within these limits the author has achieved a large measure of success. In the first essay he shows the danger of mere theory divorced from practice. He points out incidentally that Training Colleges run the risk of loading the schoolmaster's mind with a large number of professional rules, instead of teaching him how to apply these rules in practice.....Even play under the supervision of teachers is not felt to be a relaxation but partakes of the nature of work. The constant supervision of boys by teachers, which is now being advocated for Indian schools involves this danger. We quite agree with Mr. Fraser's suggestion that in their private reading boys should read not the so-called *boys' books*, which like Mr. Henty's novels often "reach the lowest depths of demoralising nonsensicality," but books written for *men*.

On the whole, the book will supply excellent food for reflection to teachers; and we are glad that Mr. N. Fraser has so many fresh and sound thoughts on education and taken the trouble to publish them.

KSHTISH CHANDRA SINGH, M.A.

A Narrative of Indian History for High Schools, by F. C. Allen (Longmans) X+244 pp. with many illustrations. Price Re 1. as. 8.

A remarkably accurate, sober and pleasant history of India. The author has gone to the best sources of information and his style is eminently charming and suited to young minds. There is no attempt to overburden the reader's memory with useless details. The author's reflections and descriptive passages, teach, to some extent, the philosophy of Indian history. The printing, paper, and illustrations deserve the highest praise. On the whole it can fairly claim the first place among school histories of India.

P. 185, l. 9. for *Central Asia* read *Central India*. It is insufficient to say that "Dalhousie founded the Department of Public Instruction" (p. 213) or that "Lord Curzon did a service to the princes of India by the establishment and encouragement of special colleges, &c." (p. 237.) The railway in 1856 had hardly any effect upon the volume of India's foreign trade (p. 122.) P. 121, ll. 6 and 7 for *Delhi* read *Agra*.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

SANSKRIT.

The publications of the "Jaina-Yaso-Vijaya" series—The organisers of the series have published in the course of a short time ten volumes of Sanskrit works, of which, four volumes (Nos. 2, 3, 6 and 10) are treatises in Grammar, three are collections of hymns of indifferent merit, one (No 8) is the drama *Mudrita Mukuda Charita* of no literary worth, and the volumes 1 and 5 publish the text and commentary of *Pramana-Nayatatva* by Vadisuri. Though no importance either from a literary or from a historical point of view, can be attached to these works, we encourage the undertaking in the hope that the works of real merit and historical significance, in the Jaina literature, will be published after being carefully edited.

The Jainas claim an immense antiquity for their Church. Be that as it may, it is perfectly correct that Mahavira Vardhamana came to humanise the world a few decades before the advent of Siddhartha the Buddha. But now that the Jainas are sure to be confused with the Hindus, the former greatness of the oldest heretic church is ignored by many. The sacred books of the Jainas composed not in Sanskrit, but in the Prakrita dialects of olden times which give us a fair idea of the tenets of the church, and which disclose to us what influence the Jaina ascetics exerted for the softening of the heart of India, are sealed books even to many Jaina scholars of the present day. Only a very small portion of the Jaina Scriptures has been critically edited in Europe.

According to the latest census, there are 1,334, 140 souls in India who profess Jainism; and the majority of them form a very rich and honoured community of the Banias. Is it then too much to expect that the Jainas should publish in India the whole body of their old Scriptures without caring for a large number of subscribers?

We read it in section 56 of the *Aupapadika Sutra* that Mahavira taught both the Aryans and the non-Aryans the wholesome lessons of religion, and united them all in one Church. The text runs as follows:—"Tesiṃ Savesiṃ Ariyaṃ—Anariyaṃ agilae Dhamma Aikkhai." (Edition of E. Leumann). This noble aspect of the oldest Church should once more be brought into prominence.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

HINDI.

The Poems of Vidyapati.

The Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Arrah has published a collection of Vidyapati's poems with notes in Hindi, the text being in Devanagar. It is edited by Babu Brajanandan Sahai, also called Brajaballabh, Pleader, Arrah. The great poet of Mithila has, with Chandidas, occupied the first place in Bengali poetry for wellnigh five hundred years, and we frankly rejoice that he is being gradually appreciated over a larger area. Strangely enough, no collection of Vidyapati's poems has ever been printed in Mithila, though a fairly complete edition is now being printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad, at the expense of His Highness the Maharaja of Durbhunga. We find the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, gave Rs. 200 towards the publication of the volume

before us and it was chiefly owing to this grant that the book has been printed. The Director has rendered a public service by helping such a publication.

The language in which Vidyapati wrote his poems or songs is neither Bengali nor Hindi, though it was closely imitated by a large number of Vaishnava poets in Bengal. Consequently, a knowledge of either Bengali or Hindi, or both, is not sufficient to be able to understand and explain accurately the poems of this Maithil poet. In Mithila itself his language has become archaic and is not always easily apprehended. A commentator of Vidyapati, in order to be accepted as an authority, must show that he has made the language of the poet a special study.

While we are unreservedly pleased that a Hindi edition of Vidyapati has been published we have no means of judging Babu Brajanandan Sahai's claim as an authority on Vidyapati, except by the internal evidence in the book itself. He says a number of poems appear for the first time in his collection. Perfectly true, but where did he get them? He names three gentlemen of Behar as his chief helpers. Doubtless, a number of poems can be found in Mithila in manuscript, but that is not a sufficient explanation of the collection before us.

Before, however, coming to the book itself we have a word to say about its name. It is perhaps by way of a compliment that Babu Brajanandan Sahai calls his author—Vidyapati, the cuckoo of Mithila. As a matter of fact, it is flippant and is nothing short of an outrage to the memory of the poet. If Babu Brajanandan Sahai had really studied Vidyapati's life and literature he would have known that in his own life time Vidyapati was known as *Kabisekhar*, *Kabikanthabar*, *Panchanan*, *Dasabadhan* and he was not in need of being called a bird by his twentieth century commentator. It shows that the editor has failed to grasp the seriousness of his task, or to appreciate the true position of the poet he has undertaken to edit.

Will Babu Brajanandan Sahai inform us in what collection of Vidyapati's poems either in Bengal or Mithila, or from what manuscript he has found such poems *dekha dekha Radharupa*, and *Manamatha tobe ki kahaba*? We know whence he got them and Babu Brajanandan also knows very well where he found them. There is a certain edition of Vidyapati now in the press and nearing publication, which represents six years' incessant labour. The edition will be published simultaneously in Bengali and Hindi. Babu Brajanandan Sahai was anxious that the Hindi edition should not appear. He was informed that this was not possible and there would be copyright in the Bengali notes. A few forms of the Bengali edition were also sent to him for help. We think Babu Brajanandan Sahai would have been wisely advised if he had frankly acknowledged whence he got his poems and his notes. Just as the preface is a hash of the Bengali and

English literature on Vidyapati, so are the and the notes put together without any attempt at classification or arrangement, without an index and are bristling with typographical and o errors. Consequently, although we welcome book we cannot congratulate the editor either his work or his literary probity. His interest family history also might have been well unwritten.

2

GUJARATI.

(1) *Alakshya Jyoti, or a picture of modern society. Sumitra of the Bandhu Samaj. Printed by Son Mangaldas Shah, Ahmedabad, card-board bound, pp. 194. Price Rs. 1 8 0. (1907).* (2) *Padmanabha, a social novel, by the same author. Pp. 221. 1 Rs. 1 8 0. (1908).*

We have reviewed more than one book brought by the members of the Bandhu Samaj, and the one which the members keep in view in writing these books forces them, *volens volens*, to give the subject matter of their novels, a family likeness, you find scattered over them, in the productions of different pens, the same incidents, the same quarrels and bickering due to illiterate women, the same graduated youth with young wives aspiring to the amelioration of the world, the college vacation, and the life in Bombay, the college-attending student, his separation from wife, and the consequent love-letter writing. Even these two novels, the central figures are bred from the same stock: *Alakshya-Jyoti*, is a young man who inherited vast wealth. He is fired with an ambition to do good to the poor, and consequently leaves the world as a *yogi*. He meets Vijaya who studies his *yoga*, and after great vicissitudes has to marry *in spirit* on her death bed. Almost the same circumstances with a few variations, depict the pigmy Priyakant, who too has to forego his austerity and his disciple Priyabala. On the whole, however, the first novel gives a very good picture of Hindu society and the language of both is all that could be desired. The second story sets out vividly the *khatpat* which the every day incident of a Native State, and shows that the materials are taken from first-hand information. The author guides his tale to a successful termination, with hardly an untoward incident befalling principal characters. It is strange that their passage along has been a smooth sailing. Towards the end, his hero Padmanabha elaborates a scheme for bettering the condition of poor mill-hands, by establishing for them garden-cottages, schools, hospitals, which reads like a faint echo of the *Kallian*, sought to be established by Saraswati Chandra, might be that perhaps the writer has read about town—Port Sunlight—established by the well-known soap-makers, Messrs. Lever Brothers—and so to imitate them. Both works are highly readable.

K. M. J.



KAIKEYI AND MANTHARA.

From an original painting by Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar.

By the courtesy of the Artist.

Three colour blocks by U. Ray.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VI
No. 2

AUGUST, 1909

WHOLE
No. 32

THE TRIUMPH OF THE INDIANS IN CANADA

Illustrated with Photographs Specially Taken for the Modern Review.

AT home, plague, cholera and malaria do some of us to death and the gaunt spectre of poverty and famine keeps the rest of us half-dead, half-alive. Abroad, in the British Colonies, we are told point blank that we are positively unwelcome—that we must keep out.

This is a precarious situation. Being an Indian is like standing between the devil and the deep sea.

But is it our brown hide and our coal-black hair that render us abhorrent to the Colonials? So far as Britain's North-American Colony is concerned, an emphatic "no" must be the reply: for, without being personal, it may be said that to the Jane and Harriet of Canada the brown complexion and raven-black hair that usually go with the (East) Indian make-up appear invested with peculiar charms. Of course the woman of Canada has the sense æsthetic. The Canadian man, being absorbed in money-making, much after the fashion of the American, has no time, no inclination, to cultivate the sense of the beautiful, and is therefore, more or less, devoid of imagination. Naturally, the olive-skin and dark hair of the Indian arouse no interest in the Canadian man as they do in the women of the Dominion. But more than this lack of imagination on the part of the Canadian man is responsible for the opposition that he has offered to the settlement of our countrymen in the land of the Maple Leaf. The white man who looks upon the Indian as

the "under-dog", has a strong presumption that the brown man has the grit in him that is going to make him win out: and before the brown man wins, the white man will be obliged to bid goodbye to his silly arrogance of being the superior of the coloured people. In his heart of hearts the white man feels that the day is not far distant when the brown man is going to run him a pretty hard race. This premonition is mainly responsible for the opposition that has been offered to Indians abroad: and if we possessed insight enough we would easily perceive that the sign, "Keep Out", that is posted before our immigrants in various parts of the British Empire, is about the sincerest and most gratifying compliment that the Colonials could pay us.

Nothing bears more directly upon the Indian Renaissance that is fast approaching in Hindostan than the fact that many thousands of Indians have disregarded hoary traditions and centuries-old canons of caste and conservatism and gone abroad, some to roam around for pleasure or instruction, and others to settle in foreign lands for a time or permanently. As an earnest of India's coming greatness, the presence of our countrymen in every part of the globe is assuring. This offers a glowing testimony to our contention that no section of Indians is pot-bound: that all Indians are progressive and alive, not dead nor dying.

The progress which India has been steadily making during the last generation or two is

visualized by the presence of Indian immigrants on all continents and in their ability to win success in the face of unethical opposition and unequal competition. Our countrymen have not only gone abroad, but they have distinguished themselves in whatever walk of life they have engaged in. Indian students have won honours in Japan and foreign countries, beaten native students in their favourite studies in their own lands. Indian immigrants have established their claim to superior intelligence, hardiness, sobriety and thrift. Indian merchants and professional men have demonstrated that in a foreign land they were the peers of their competitors. This they have achieved in the face of the colour and continent consciousness which infests Europe and America as the ghost of grim poverty haunts the Indian masses. It augurs well for the future of India that her sons have proved virile and capable abroad.

A significant fact to be considered is: Indians at home and abroad resent the humiliating treatment accorded to their immigrants. This shows how an Indian nation is coming into being; for the wrong from which the immigrant suffers sinks race and religious invidiousness into oblivion; it sends into all Indian hearts pulsations identical in nature—sentiments of resentment—community of interest—resolves to right wrongs, overcome weakness, conquer disabilities. Such experiences also develop that manly pride which demands reciprocity and which is the corner-stone on which the structure of individual and national well-being is to be raised.

Slavery and supineness have held India down for many a hundred years; but these ignoble characteristics are conspicuous by their absence in the immigrant. The immigrant is a man with a stiff neck—and with a backbone. He is manly and enterprising. He is not like the cur that licks the hand that whips it and thus encourages the unreasoning tyrant to continue to maltreat it. A country which furnishes such splendid immigrants as does India, ought to be congratulated: for the manly immigrant raises the status of his motherland in the eyes of the foreigner and also inspires his countrymen to utilize their abilities and material resources to the very best advantage. The direct and indirect influence of the Indian immigrant is to lift India out of the slough

of despondency and give it an impetus toward evolution.

The virility of the Indian immigrant is the most marked trait in his character. Our countryman abroad meets opposition in the most manly manner. He bends all his talents and strength to succeed in the teeth of opposition. Indians in South Africa have, during recent months, demonstrated to the world what our immigrants are capable of doing when driven to bay. Our countrymen in Canada, not to be left behind their compeers in South Africa, are showing the metal whereof they are made; and the exhibition they are making of the splendid qualities of head and heart is of a nature that ought to command the respect and admiration of all India.

There is no necessity of describing in detail the manner in which Indians in Canada were harrassed by bullies and the way in which their character was maligned. I spent a considerable portion of the years 1906 and 1907 in Canada and reported the details of this story at some length in various articles. (*) For the benefit of those who have not familiarized themselves with the hardships to which our immigrants were subjected in Canada, I will reproduce here a portion of a letter that an Englishman intensely interested in the uplift of India wrote to me on December 28, 1906. The discouraging tone of the letter is significant:

"I am obliged to you for your letter of the 6th December from Winnipeg and the enclosures it contained regarding Indian immigration in Canada. But I confess I doubt whether such immigration is a wise measure and whether it is likely to turn out to the benefit of the Indian people. All our colonial experience is opposed to the advisability of such a step. It is unfortunate that it should be so: but the fact remains and we have, as you are aware, deplorable difficulties in South Africa resulting from this colonial prejudice. It is the labour classes who object and their attitude renders the position of Indian immigrants an intolerable one. They are more wisely advised to remain in their own country, especially in the Punjab, where new tracts of land are being continually brought under cultivation by the extension of irrigation."

The writer of this note is a friend of India and is an old and to wit, an experienced man. But in the economy of nature, the old man is good only to act as a "brake". The car of progress must have a brake,

(*) Refer to "The Indians in America" series in The Modern Review for March, April and May, 1908 and also "Indians in British Columbia", in the Indian Review for February, 1907.

otherwise it may run wild and be smashed to pieces. But where would this car be but for the propelling force in the motor? Now this motive power is vested in the youth of the nation. He it is to whom Providence has given the task of pushing forward. The young man presses onward—the old man checks the speed once in awhile and endeavours to steer the car in the right direction. If the youth could have

his way it is probable that many accidents might take place. But, on the contrary let the old man have his way and the nation might just as well wind up its affairs, make its will, and prepare to stagnate to death. The youth, despite his rashness, is the embodiment of life: and of a verity plays an important part in the affairs of the world.

The immigrant is nothing if not a youth



PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH, FAMILY, AND SOME TYPICAL IMMIGRANTS.

in whose veins courses warm blood and whose brain is permeated with contempt for precedents and impediments. The immigrant may be a man advanced in years; but he is young at heart, that is to say, his heart beats fast: his expectation runs high: he is not easily discouraged: he is bent on finding a way or making it. The immigrant is not a man who would be daunted

by the mountains that lie in his path. He would dynamite them or scale them: and, may be, die while engaged in the operation. The true type of the immigrant is not a fellow who is going to turn away from difficulties.

Our immigrants to Canada are the noblest, truest type of immigrants. No other immigrant of any nationality has to

overcome the inertia of ages the Indian immigrant is forced to conquer before he can sally out of his home village. Nor is there another immigrant that has to vanquish the volume of opposition that the Indian immigrant has to contend against. Naturally our immigrant is not a man who would cross many seas and oceans, obtain *entree* to Canada and then flee to the Punjab to settle on the land opened up by the Government canals. The old Englishman wants to apply the "brake" to the car; but the

motive power pushes the car onward, in spite of the "brake."

And it was just as well that the impetuosity of our fellow-countrymen made the brake slip a cog. The Indian is resourceful and strong; but the pity of it is that he is unaware of his talents and grit. When he comes out of his land, he is forced to face himself—and he learns to know his strength. The English friends of India urged our countrymen to leave Canada and go back to their ploughs in the Indian vil-



THE SIKH TEMPLE, VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

lage—to live in the ramshackle huts built in the crudest manner and devoid of the most elementary comforts of life, to lead a life of monotonous, incessant strife and of unmitigated poverty. Our immigrant just shook his head. He knew the kind of life he would have to live in India—the Englishman did not know. The Canadian urged the Indian to go to Honduras, but our immigrant again shook his head. He had come to Canada—to live and labour there. He would stay there: die in the attempt to stay there if need be.

The Canadians who were interested in packing our countrymen off to Honduras said that this Central American British

Colony was the Utopia where the Indian immigrants who were having such trouble with the white people of British Columbia would find rest from harrassment and a plentiful, easy living. In fact, it was the paternality of the Dominion Government at Ottawa that had evolved this plan in order to see the Indians put out of their misery. Now why on earth should the "Hindus"—as the Canadians call our countrymen—display the hardihood of not accepting such an attractive proposition? But the Indians had come to Canada, not to British Honduras. They were in British Columbia, where, they knew, was a shortage of labour and work crying out for

those who would do it. They proposed to stay in the Canadian West and not go to Honduras. "But why not investigate the proposition?" urged the Canadian immigration department. Nagar Singh and Sham Singh were, therefore, selected as the delegates of our immigrants to go to British Honduras and see what it was like. The delegates went there. In the Central American colony they found 30 Indians who were the sole survivors of a batch of contract



PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH & FAMILY.

Indian labourers who emigrated to Honduras a little over a generation ago. These men had discovered plantation work to be very different from what they had been told it was like. Conditions in general were the opposite of what had been painted before them prior to their leaving India. Every one of the 30 immigrants were pining to return to the Motherland. When the delegates of our countrymen in British Columbia saw this, they knew that their presenti-

ment of keeping out of Honduras was right. The Canadian interpreter who accompanied the Indian delegates knew what was passing in the minds of the swarthy Sikhs. The delegates deposed that a large bribe was offered them to report favourably on the situation: but the Indians refused to be bought and expressed their indignation at the nefarious offer. When Nagar Singh and Sham Singh told the details of their trip to what the Indian immigrants had been led to believe would be their Utopia, there was just one decision that every one of our countrymen in Canada arrived at, and it was to leave Honduras—the haven of rest and the land of plenty and good cheer—strictly alone.

Despite opposition, despite the "advice" of friends, despite the persuasions of "sympathisers" and despite his own transient inclination born of momentary weakness which the fighter has to incessantly battle against, the Indian has "stood pat" in Canada. He has remained in the Dominion, doing his best, hoping for the best. To start with, the opposition dazed him. He did not merit kicks from the Canadians—and he did not understand why he should get them. It took him some time to realize that the white man has two standards, one for his own use and the other for the man with the brown skin. The white man may go to any part of Asia and settle there. If the Asian refuses to receive this lord of creation, the white man will send an expedition to humiliate the impudent, stiff-necked nigger. The Lord God Himself ordained that the white man was to repair to the innermost recesses of the dark continents and milk the Asiatic cow dry: and the brown and yellow races must hold their peace and do nothing to disturb, much less prevent the white man from engaging in the operation. Furthermore, the coloured man must prostrate himself before the white man and sing his praises for bringing him civilization, Christianization and enlightenment. This on the one hand. On the other: The Asian must stay put where God planted him. He must not come to the continent which erstwhile belonged to the red-man, who is said to be of Mongolian origin—the continent which has now been appropriated by the white man. The Asian, moreover, must not discuss the ethics of this procedure. Of

all this the immigrant from India's coral strand was perfectly ignorant. He also did not know that his sterling qualities, such as thrift and sobriety, would be displeasing to the white man. If he was a spender, that is to say, if he was a drunkard and gambler, if he spent 10 rupees more than he earned, his presence might be tolerated: but if he dared to save money that he had earned by the sweat of his brow, and if he committed the further enormity of sending some of his savings to India, the white man branded him "undesirable." In that event he must go. In the white man's continent there was no room for those who want to live a thrifty, sober life. This the Indian immigrant did not know, and when the Canadian began to kick up a row our immigrant was rendered absolutely speechless. A little later, when he had regained some of his former poise, the Indian asked the Canadian: "Why this opposition?"

"The Indian is a filthy beast!"

"The Indian cannot resist the climate."

"The Indian is physically inefficient."

"The Indian's head is devoid of brains—it is filled with mashed potatoes."

"The Indian lacks adjustability."

"The Indian is slothful—he does not want to work."

"The Indian does not know English. He is unfamiliar with conditions in Canada."

"The Indian is not acquainted with the methods of work prevailing in America."

"The Indian is caste-ridden."

"The Indian comes to Canada penniless. He is likely to be a charge on the public purse."

"The Indian does not bring his wife with him. Therefore he is apt to be immoral."

"The brute is Aryan and genealogically our cousin; but he is sallow-cheeked and dark-haired."

"For these reasons he can't stay in Canada; he must go," said the Canadians.

"That so?" was all the Indians said. They could not whitewash their faces, nor did they care to render themselves per-oxide blondes (as do so many of the North-American—white, not Negro, nor North American Indian—women.) But they could show to the world that the Indian was not what he had been painted to be. Our immigrant "got busy," as the American would put it,

to give the lie direct to Canadian mis-statements.

About the first thing the Indian immigrant did was to smarten his appearance. His hide is brown; but it is not brown with dirt, as the unexposed parts of many a white man are apt to be: for a white man who bathes oftener than once a week is an oddity in North America. The Canadian people need centuries of culture before they can boast of the personal cleanliness that is in-bred in the Indian. The Canadian did not like the Indian's dress. That was what led him to call our immigrant filthy. The Indian immigrant showed that he possessed adjustability and also an appreciation of the conditions about him by donning clothes *a la Canadian*. The immigrants not only affected an attire that looked neat and smart in the eyes of the Canadians: they also saw to it that their clothes were warm enough to suit the Canadian climate. British Columbia, except in its extreme Northern parts, is not a cold country by any means; but the Indian immigrants had drifted from warm lands like Burma and the Malay Straits Settlements, and their clothes of khaki and drill were not made to wear in a cooler temperature. If the "Hindu" could not resist the climate of Canada, it was not his physique that was to blame. The fault lay with his clothes. A mere change in the clothes answered most of the objections that the Canadians offered to the Indian immigrants.

The Immigration Officer of the Canadian Government saw to it that no Indian landed in the Dominion who was destitute or who was likely to be a charge on the public purse. It was not the Indian millionaires, however, who had drifted to Canada. The men who had come to the Dominion came there to make money. They brought with them, in almost every instance, just about the sum of money they must possess in order to enter Canada. This money could not be expected to last them for ever. They had expected to get right out and go to work upon their arrival in the new country. But Canadian prejudice was something that they had not reckoned with and this stood in the way of their finding work to do. The labour unions made it hard for them to obtain employment. Moreover, they did not know

the language of the land, did not understand the use of the tools they had to work with, or appreciate the new conditions. If such a dire combination resulted in stranding some of the immigrants, there was nothing to wonder at about it. In fact, the matter for surprise is that but a small percentage of our countrymen ever find themselves in hot water. This for a very evident reason. The Indian immigrants showed a remarkable amount of adjustability. They evinced a notable desire to do any work they found, and they learned the new ways of doing it with an unusual rapidity. When compared to immigrants of other nations, like Italians, Poles, etc., they acquired enough of the Canadian vocabulary in a short time to answer all purposes. These factors went a long way to save the situation. Every move the Indian immigrants made exhibited the fact that their skulls, after all, contained brains, and they were not inefficient physically.

Besides all this, the Indian immigrants showed an extremely praiseworthy trait. Sikhs, Hindus and Mohamedans they were, and our Anglo-Indian friend (*) took great delight in pointing out to the Canadian that the Indian immigrants were not "Indians"—they were Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims, and that one faction hated the other. Unfortunately, in the very beginning, there was a personal feud between one "Doctor" Devi Chand and Mohamad Khan, and the Canadian reporters made much "copy" out of it, learnedly railing at

".....The Hindoo
Who sticks to his caste
Right up to the last."

But the Canadians were destined to learn that the Sikh, Hindu and Muslim immigrants were Indians first and members of their various religious denominations afterwards. A common bond united them all. No Indian who was out of employment and in need of money ever was compelled to go to any Canadian to apply for help, or become a charge on the public purse. His countrymen supported him and did not ask him any question as to what creed he professed or what caste he belonged to. While some Canadians were showing sublime

ignorance in ranting about the "East-Indians" being crazy on the subject of caste, Indians of all sections and creeds were pulling together in a most admirable manner. It was due to this more than to anything else, that the immigrants in Canada held their own against heavy odds.

I do not know just exactly what it is that inspires the communal feeling amongst our immigrants—a communal feeling that transcends the caste and creed feeling and is national in dimensions, in the most literal sense of the word. Probably it is due to that humanizing agent—adversity. When people are kicking you you cannot but feel like affiliating with others of your kin and country and pulling together. In course of time this becomes a habit and eventually a marked trait of character. Formerly no sense of nationhood surged in your being; but now you feel for your countrymen, and this feeling is irrespective of the province from which he hails, his caste or the creed he professes. Probably the spirit of nationalism is due to the broadening effect of travel. You, with your sectarianism and caste obsession, appear ridiculous out in the wide world, and you cast aside these prejudices with all despatch. Probably your new friends and acquaintances laugh you out of this narrow-mindedness. Just how the national feeling comes to surge through the Indian immigrant it is hard to state; but the fact remains, that our immigrant is essentially a patriot. It has often occurred to me as I have admired the patriotism of our men in numerous lands where I have met them, that our countrymen who never have been out of India ought to imbibe some of this spirit from these immigrants.

Our immigrants in Canada have stuck to one another, and today they are finding that glory is theirs. The rank and file of them have subsisted on a milk and vegetarian diet, living on one-fourth of the money that a Canadian of their station would expend. At times as much as 30 or 40 per cent. of the immigrants, to my knowledge, have been out of work; but their ability to live cheaply and their disposition to help one another has tided them over until now, when, through organization, better times are in store for every Indian immigrant, not only in Canada but in the American West as well.

(*) To my personal knowledge there are quite a few of this ilk in Canada and they have tried to do immense harm to our immigrants.

During the last year or so the Indian immigrants on the Pacific Coast have had a capable leader in the person of Professor Teja Singh. Under Professor Singh's guidance, the immigrants have organized themselves for the promotion of their mutual welfare. Professor Singh arrived in the Dominion just at the time when the plans were being made to ship his countrymen off to Honduras. He ascertained the feelings prevalent amongst his people in regard to the proposed move, and found that every immigrant was dead-set against it. Thereupon Professor Singh, as the spokesman of his people, took a bold stand. He frankly told the representatives of the Canadian Immigration Department that the Indian immigrants objected to being packed off to Central America. This exposed the Professor to the attacks of the Canadian "yellow" journalists, who painted him as a rank seditionist engaged in undermining Britain's authority amongst the Indian immigrants. On the face of it, such a charge was baseless and Professor Singh more than once publicly denounced those who had attempted to discredit his propaganda work for his countrymen on the Pacific Coast.

The Indian immigrants already were helping one another, but, through lack of a leader, they frittered away much of their valuable energy. Professor Teja Singh took a hand in utilizing the splendid Indian timber that abounded in the Canadian American West, and began to build a magnificent structure with it. He was instrumental in starting the "Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company Limited" with the following objects in view:

To establish the Sikhs, Hindus and Mohamedans in British Columbia, Canada and the United States on a firm footing; and gain a status for them as a self-respecting and independent people.

To bring the wives and children of as many immigrants as possible and settle them as independent farmers. This with a view to sweep aside one of the most virulent Canadian objections and also to render the lives of the immigrants happier and to broaden the horizon and sympathies of the women and children.

To get as many shareholders of the Company as possible to devote all or at

least half of their profits for educational and missionary purposes.

To keep all the colonies of the Company open to all races with a view to paving the way for universal brotherhood by obliterating all distinctions of caste, colour and creed.

To introduce into the homes of the Colonists as much of the Oriental philosophy and art as possible.

The Company has been incorporated and its charter entitles it to do business as follows:

1. Real Estate—Buying and selling land and property. This is likely to prove very profitable in a growing city like Vancouver. The price of land already purchased by the Company has risen in the last 4 months from Rs. 96,000 to about Rs. 1,35,000.

2. Mining.

3. Logging.

4. Shipping.

5. Safe deposit.

6. Building of wharves.

7. All the work in which a Trust Company can engage.

The capital of the Company has been fixed at Rs. 1,50,000; but within a short time this is expected to be doubled. The work has been well begun. The Indian immigrants who earn but little have shown a munificent spirit in helping along the concern. Rs. 16,920 have already been paid on the 200 acres of land purchased. Besides this, over Rs. 3,000 have to be spent in defending the rights of our immigrants and promoting their cause. The above is no insignificant sum, and shows clearly that our people in British Columbia are in earnest.

Land is being purchased at Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. The promoters of the Company expect to buy land at Oakland, California, New York, London and Paris (in America), and establish "United India Homes" where men of all castes and creeds will be able to secure free admission. Smoking, drinking or the use of any intoxicants will be strictly prohibited in these Homes. The profits of the Free Gift Stock will be used for their maintenance.

In a most commendable spirit the very Indian immigrants who, the Canadians said, were brainless, are pushing through this Mining and Trust Company. It is but

meet and proper that Indians at home should help along this co-operative concern by buying its stock and devoting their profits to uplift work. The Company's head quarters are located at 1866, Second Avenue West, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, in the Sikh Temple located at that address.

Professor Teja Singh is devoting all his time and energy to the material and moral uplift of his countrymen in Canada and the United States. He is a tall man with a long beard. He was born in May, 1878, at Balowali, a small village of about 60 or 70 mud hamlets, situated at a distance of 10 miles from Gujranwala, the birthplace of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab and Hari Singh Nalwa, his greatest General, whose name is still a terror to the Afghans, Britain's Bogey.

His mother was descended from heroic Sikh warriors, who played an important part in the annals of the Sikhs and held positions of trust under Ranjit Singh. From his mother Professor Singh inherited a heroic disposition and he fondly declares that what he is today is wholly due to the noble example of the woman who gave him birth. His father, Balia Singh, was a physician and surgeon. Teja Singh received an excellent education, but during the second year of his College career his father seems to have fallen amongst bad company and stopped his allowance. All his relatives asked him to terminate his educational activities and take up some employment, but the fiery zeal and perseverance which he had inherited from his mother did not permit him to despair. The courage that he displayed brought him some help from his uncle. This was supplemented by what he earned by tutoring boys, and enabled him to go through college, from which he graduated in 1898. His father, however, saw his mistake and paid young Teja Singh's way while he obtained his degree of M.A. in English, and LL.B. Toward the close of his college career, when the temptations of youth were warring with his higher self, the Karma Yoga of Swami Vivekananda fell into his hands. He read and re-read it until the great truths of the master were seared into his soul. He declares that if he had not received the inspiration he did at that time from reading

the Karma Yoga his soul would have been lost.

Soon after securing the degree of LL.B. in 1901, Teja Singh began working as an apprentice with a lawyer. A week of legal work was about as much as he could stand, and he took leave of law. Within a week of this, he received an offer for the Head-mastership of a High School at Bhera, which he accepted, going at once to Bhera with his wife and mother. He worked at this post for 7 months and then received nomination in the Superior Grade Service of the Northern India Salt Revenue Department. He entered this department and served there as an Assistant Superintendent for 2 years. The workings of the Salt Department disgusted him and he also felt that he should devote his life to the betterment of the Sikh community, which was extremely backward in educational matters. He offered his services to the Khalsa College at Amritsar, his offer being accepted. He took one year's leave without pay from the Salt Department and joined the Khalsa College in July, 1904, as the Vice-Principal and Senior Professor of English Language and Literature, and also the Superintendent of the Boarding House attached to the College.

So far Teja Singh's education had been strictly secular. He was a Sikh in mere name, but at the Khalsa College his religious life was quickened. Within his soul was born a desire to lead the life spiritual—a much more full life than he had been leading. He had joined the Khalsa College to try himself out in the new position and he had taken the precaution of obtaining a year's leave from the Salt Revenue Department in case he might wish to go back to the Government post. But with the quickening of spiritual life came the desire to cut his moorings from the Salt Revenue post. He resigned his appointment fully with a view to devoting his whole life to the uplift of the Khalsa College. During his second year's stay at the Khalsa College he gave a great deal of his time to the study of the Guru Granth Sahib—the sacred scriptures of the Sikhs. This brought about within him a phenomenal change—a veritable change of spirit. He was uplifted into a sphere of love, devotion and service and thus converted, he was baptized a Sikh—this time a Sikh not only in name, but also

inspired to be so in the best sense of the word.

Along with Teja Singh were baptized his mother, wife and little boy. His name, until then, was Niranjan Singh Mehta, but after the Sikh baptism was administered to him by Sant Attar Singh and party, he was named Teja Singh. With the quickening of religious life came a call to go out into the world to preach the religion of Guru Nanak, and also study the educational systems of the occident in order to evolve a sound scheme of education for his people. With this object in view, Professor Singh, with his wife and children and three students, sailed from Bombay for Marseilles on the 8th of September, 1906, intending to go to Harvard, U.S.A., but the party was detained in England.

Professor Singh stopped in London for 3 months and attended a course of lectures at the University College, London. Then he went to Cambridge in January, 1907, and worked for the Natural Science Tripos for 5 terms. In June, 1908, he left England for America, reaching New York on 7th of July, where he had been selected as a Graduate Scholar in the Teachers' College at Columbia University. There he attended the Summer School and delivered 2 public lectures at the University. A report of one of these lectures was published in a Punjabi newspaper to which the Sikhs in Canada subscribed. They already knew Teja Singh to be one of their religious workers, and they invited him to come to Canada. His Summer School term being over, he went to Vancouver and thence to Victoria, Portland, San Francisco, finally returning to New York, on the 22nd of September, to resume his work in the Teacher's College.

On the 16th of October he finally left New York to engage himself in uplifting

his countrymen in Canada and the United States. He has been engaged in this work ever since, labouring with a remarkable singleness of purpose. He has already accomplished much. He has founded the Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company Limited, with an authorized capital of Rs. 1,50,000; purchased 180 acres of land for Rs. 96,000, to be paid for within two years and a half; planned a building for a Sikh Temple at Victoria, land for which has already been secured, and organised the Indians there; and is arranging to purchase a lot for a Sikh Temple and Guru Nanak Home for students at Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. But this is not all that he is intending to do. He is planning to organize his people and establish them on a sound religious, moral, social, educational and economic basis.

Teja Singh is ably assisted by his wife in the noble work of uplift that he is doing. The Professor thinks highly of his wife, and pays her the following tribute:

"My divine partner, Bishn Kor, blessed was the day and the moment when I was united to thee. No doubt thou hast, like all other mortals, many superficial faults, but thy unfathomable divinely unselfish love has converted me from a stone to a delicate instrument which can respond to any vibration of love. The world judged thee by thy defects. Thy quick temper has annoyed many a one. I too, like the world, got annoyed with thee. Blessed be the day and blessed be thou who brought that change in me, and now, as Guru Nanak in his own way has purged thee of thy superficial faults, and has coupled a calm, sweet temper with thy unfathomable love, the whole world shall revere thee in thy virtue and love."

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

SIR CHARLES MALET

(Concluded from the Last Number).

THE long-thought-of visit of Malet to the Carnatic after much discussion and some hesitation was at last undertaken and Malet in company with Bahiro Pant—left

Poona for Nana's camp. On the 13th May 1788, Nana and Malet met each other at Badami. Malet was received with very great honours and rich presents of valuable clothes

and jewels were made to him and his companions, Messrs Renuel (author of the Map of Hindustan), Utaff and Horne and Dr. Crusso. The presents made to Malet's companions alone amounted to Rs. 1330. Malet was well impressed with this gorgeous reception and generous conduct of the Peshwa's Minister.

Just about the time when Malet arrived at Nana's camp, the Mahrathas captured the fort of Badami and the Mahratha *Bhagwa Jhenda* (ochre-coloured flag) was hoisted over its parapets. When a messenger from the Mahratha camp came to communicate to Malet these gladsome tidings Malet rewarded him with a turban and a "shella" and despatched a special messenger to offer his congratulations to Nana on this glorious victory. I have mentioned this with a view to show how well-versed the English officers of those days were in observing proper courtesies.

Shortly after the capture of the fort of Badami Nana and Malet returned to Poona. In his despatches Malet has given a very graphic account of his tour in the Carnatic and it is to these despatches that Grant Duff has made allusion in his work.

At this juncture, the correspondence of Bahiro Pant ceases, the only occasion for it having been Nana's absence in the Carnatic. It is to be regretted that no similar documents are available wherein may be found a detailed description of the events that occurred at Poona during the period of Malet's Residentsip. The period was, as all students of history know, full of important events and it is very much to be wished that some such papers as those of Bahiro Pant should be forthcoming to tell us of the times in a similarly interesting and readable manner.

There are, however, a few other letters which I have been able to secure and which though not forming such a continuous narrative as the one given above, are sufficiently informing. Among these is a letter from Hari Pant to Nana Fadnavis during the time of the war with Tippu. Tippu had in those days become very powerful and his progress was dreaded both by the Mahrathas and the English. It need not be repeated here how the diplomatic genius of Malet had, in order to check this constantly growing strength of Tippu, suc-

cessfully brought about the important triple alliance between the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the English, which was entered into on the 1st of June 1790.* The three great powers having combined carried on a successful war against Tippu. There occurred during this war some delay on the side of the Peshwa to despatch in time sufficient forces in accordance with the terms of the Alliance and Malet on behalf of the English took severe notice of it and kept constantly dinning into the ears of the Mahratha authorities about the same. Grant Duff in his work observes that to a certain extent the conduct of Parshuram Bhow in this campaign against Tipu was a theme for just censure, and he does not exempt even Nana from a share of the blame. On a reference, however, to the papers relating to those times, any one will be convinced that this blame is incorrectly laid and that the delay on the Mahratha's part was not due to any wilfully improper motive on the part of Nana and Hari Pant (as is attempted to make the reader believe). The letter to Nana by Hari Pant given below ought to afford abundant proof for any dispassionate critic to dispel this notion about there having been any faithlessness on the part of Nana and Hari Pant. The letter is intended for Nana himself and despatched by his own officers, and if, therefore, there was any improper motive on the part of Nana, Hari Pant and Purshuram Bhow, as Grant Duff believes, some indication of it would be found there. But as the reader will see, the letter shows almost conclusively that Nana was earnest in his orders to Hari Pant to despatch the requisite forces, and Hari Pant on his part equally anxious to carry out the same. It was, however, due to the circumstances mentioned by Hari Pant in his letter that the Mahrathas could not strictly observe the terms of the Triple Alliance. "May it be known," Hari Pant observes in his letter just referred to,

"Chandra 20. The state of affairs is well. Your honour sent a letter on Chandra 9 which reached on the 14th. 'Calcuttavalas' have come after crossing the

* "Mr. Daniell's fine pictures of the Poona Durbar is unrivalled perhaps in oriental grouping, character and costume. . . . It was painted for Sir Charles Malet from sketches by the late Mr. Wales, and our artist has shown the time when Sir Charles then our ambassador at the Court of Poona, attended by his suite, delivered to His Highness Shrimant the Peshwah in full Durbar, the treaty of alliance ratified by His Majesty between Great Britain and His Highness, made preparatory to the war between the Tripple Allied Powers and Tipu"—Moor's Hindu Pantheon (1810) p. 174.

ghauts and will encamp at Bangalore. It does not appear that the assistance from the Shrimant will be forthcoming. You had written that Tatya should cross the Tungbhadra and join, that our forces should come across the Ambur ghauts, and should join the forces under Tatya. According to that arrangement we have come crossing the ghauts with heavy baggage. There was delay in the arrival of the Peshwa's forces. To the above effect was a letter received by Malet from Calcutta. He brought this letter to us. Bitter conversation took place on the subject of the time when our forces should have joined the English (too bitter to be written here). We urged much, but Malet could not be brought round. At last it was settled that a force of ten thousand should start soon. But the army could not be gathered. Hence the delay of so many days. This is not an ordinary matter, four to five thousand have been sent. This is a matter of great distance. The enemy is very strong. Nothing less than ten thousand can do. Hence so many days have passed. Your pressing letters are received. On reading this, we find no ease. Till now there has never been any shortcoming in carrying out your Honour's orders. But on this occasion, nothing could be arranged. I am helpless there. The provisional arrangements I am writing here, from which your Honour will see. Now Your Honour's writing has reached an extreme. Anyhow I shall send forces. I shall myself go. I shall not allow any ill to be spoken about the Peshwa. How much will your Honour write on the subject and how much can I write in reply? Limits have been reached. Do not, pray write any more. I am sending forces. By the favour of God I shall not allow Your Honour's words to be unfulfilled. What more can I write? May this be known to your Honour. This is the request."

The war with Tipu over, the English army returned to Bombay. Malet was successful in making the Peshwa bear the whole costs of the English army in this war which came to Rs. 7,59,333 in the aggregate. This great stroke of diplomacy on Malet's part in curbing Tipu's power won Malet a Baronetcy in 1791.

Sir Charles had keenly observed the strength of the Mahratha armies and watched their tactics. He gained a still closer insight into Mahratha Warfare on the occasion of the battle of Khurda that took place between the Nizam and the Peshwa in the year 1795. He seems to have formed a very poor estimate of the Mahratha militia as will appear from his observations in the concluding part of his despatch from the scene of that battle.

"From my observations," says Sir Charles, "of the manners of the Mahrathas and their extreme looseness of particular discipline and general arrangement, I am strongly of opinion that they would afford a very easy conquest to an army of a more vigorous composition, which would bring a sufficient number of cavalry to prevent their making sport of war, and retreating when

they are no longer disposed to maintain the contest in safety and leisure."

If these observations of the English Resident were true and there is no reason why they should be otherwise—it is not to be wondered at that the Mahrathas, not many years after, lost their great empire.

It was not the English Authorities alone that recognized the greatness of Malet's abilities. The Mahratha officials had realized it no less. In one of his letters to Nana, Govindrao Kale, the Peshwa's Vakil at the Nizam's Court, so well known in history for his political ability, has aptly described the shrewd character of the British Resident with the Peshwa and the British Resident Kennaway who was at the Nizam's Court.

"This is the request," says Govindrao Kale to Nana Fadnavis."

"Malet with the Peshwa Government, Kennaway with the Nawab. People used to say that they are costing lacs of rupees and doing no useful work. They were spending moneys of their own (Governments) and doing no useful work. This is not true. They were not useless. Every one was speaking as he liked. Subsequently the plan of campaign was arranged. What was not agreeable to us had to be accepted, and it had to be done. Now it becomes necessary to act according to agreement. If the agreement is to be construed properly, this is the written condition that Dasera (10th day of Aso Sud) being over, sufficient baggage should be despatched. Dasera has passed and Dewali is on. Whatever has passed has passed. But a single day is like a cycle now. Our people would say "What is Dasera, what is Dewali, it is the same thing." But this is the view of our people. It will not do with Topiwalas (Europeans). When they take to weighing every word in golden scales and construing the agreement, they will not allow any one to speak. They will say "You have been mere spectators, have obtained territories and fortresses for doing nothing. It was our lives that were lost. Company's coffers have become empty. Why do you claim a share?" This is how they will clearly say. When they will turn their eyes and begin to speak, they will not take anything into consideration."

In another of his letters the same Mahratha diplomat writes to Nana thus:—

"From now the times are very difficult. Malet there, Kennaway here, both servants of the same master, proficient in their work. The former writes from there, the latter from here. Both are one. He questions us, and it becomes very embarrassing to answer. Endeavours to discover what is true and what is false. The position of him who is between (thus bombarded by) these two is very precarious. It is with God to save our reputation or with your honour, our Lord."

The great body of merchants which has made itself known to history as the East India Company, though it had, not long

after its formation, entered upon a career of political aggrandisement, had not lost sight of the original object and was always on the look out for new fields for English commercial enterprise. Soon after Malet's appointment to the Peshwa's Court, he was asked to ascertain and report as to how far the Mahratha province could afford a market for the English merchants. His despatch in 1788 to Lord Cornwallis, who was then in Central India, in response to this inquiry is worthy of study as containing reflections on the then condition of the Mahratha population by one who was an eye-witness, and whose shrewdness of observation was very great. His evidence was given to a Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company. He says :—

"The Peshwa's administration is, in every act, more or less, influenced by that parsimony which so invariably and so strongly marks the Brahmin character, while, narrow in its genius, and grasping in its policy, it frequently mistakes the mode of gratifying its ruling passion; averse from, and probably ignorant of, the systematic and equitable principles on which alone commerce can be rendered flourishing by encouraging industry in the security and happiness of the subject, its chief attention seems directed to conquest and depredation, giving employment at once to the desultory military spirit of the Mahrathas, and supplying the State and chief individual Brahmins with wealth and power."

"Commerce, but more especially foreign, less understood, would be more slow and precarious in its operation. The arrangements necessary for its effectual protection, are incompatible with that spirit of expending and venality by which every thing is influenced at Poona; they would in some measure trench upon the arrogant principles of aristocracy, by general diffusion of wealth; and interfere with the system of farms, which is universally adopted from the smallest branches of the customs, to the disposal of provinces; while the subject, instead of experiencing the uniform and vigorous protection of a wise government, is cruelly sacrificed to the rapacity and oppression of the highest bidder."

"The state of the numerous ports of the Mahratha Empire, on the coast of Malabar and Guzerat, but more especially the former evinces a spirit hostile to commerce; and I have not a doubt, were its fleet equal to the end, but that would be instantly converted to the same predatory purpose at sea, as its armies are by land; as it now is against all those whom it can master. This perhaps, is fortunate for us, as presenting a bar to the admission and rivalship of our European neighbours; though certainly the customs of a single year in a well frequented port, not to mention the numberless advantages of population, &c. would greatly exceed the profits of plunder, after deducting the expense which must be great, in keeping up a number of piratical vessels."

"The rich and commercial kingdom of Guzerat (every town of which is or was inhabited by rich

Brahmins, a tribe as attached to commerce as any other tribe of Hindoos to its hereditary pursuits) flourished infinitely more by its traffic, even during the violent convulsions of the Moghul Government previous to the establishment of the Mahratha power, than it ever has done since that event; though time and tranquility have given ample leisure for doing away with the effects of conquest and the transfer of dominion.

"The Moghuls, magnificent and ostentatious, required every article of luxury; towns and villages grew out of this spirit; the Brahmins and Marathas, less refined and more parsimonious, are averse from and ignorant of those costly modes of expense; hence those towns and cities, deprived of the cause of their existence, are mouldering fast into ruin, and wealthier inhabitants have sunk under or fled from the rapacity of their new masters.

"To this cause might probably be traced the seeds of the present drooping commercial state, of all those provinces of Hindostan that have been subjected to the Mahratha power; under which the provincial monied men, not to mention the substantial landholders, have been subjected to oppressions and exactions; personal property has become insecure; industry has failed; an aristocratical wealth, arising from the soil and the labours of the peasantry, has succeeded, but is confined to the conquerors, and Poona has become an insatiable sink, into which vast treasures have been poured, scarce ever again to circulate. This was not the case under the Moghuls; the riches carried annually to Delhi, did not stagnate there; the internal commerce of the empire, and the spirit of the people, gave full employment to the foreign influx of wealth: the productions of each province, and the performances of every art, were in high demand; and the pay of the vast armies of the empire kept pace in magnificence with every other article of expense: hence arose numberless channels through which the wealth of the empire was again circulated to its extreme branches.

"The mere accumulation of riches by the inhabitants of an empire, is vicious and sordid; but much more so, when it becomes the sole object of the rulers. A wise legislator studies to make them stimulatives of genius, of science, of agriculture, and of commerce; to convert them to the consumption of the produce of industry, and so to arrange them that the coffers of the state may be replenished from the superabundance of those of the subject; but, my Lord, this system is not known at Poona.

"The fixed and grand source of this State's revenue, is agriculture; the best, perhaps, on which a nation can depend: that it has such a revenue, is the necessary consequence of possessing an immense tract of productive domain; that it is not more productive, but on the contrary, that it labours under every disadvantage, proceeds from a faulty constitution; the second source of revenue is its tribute, fixed by various denominations of the greatest part of Hindostan: The third source is, the predatory collections of its armies: The fourth, its domestic sequestrations; and the last, its imposts on the commerce of the empire; which I am inclined to think are comparatively trifling and insignificant.

"Poona is still a large village, to which people of all denominations and professions are now beginning to resort, from the other parts of Hindostan, particularly

from the decayed Moghul cities. Its reputation for security, since the two abortive expeditions from Bombay, has greatly tended to promote its increase of population; and the wealthier Bramins have in consequence begun to employ some part of their hidden riches in buildings, which single circumstance necessarily gives employment to a great number, and a great variety of artificers, as the requirements attendant on large buildings are endless.

"The circumstances which are enumerated, of the great wealth of the Brahmins and the great increase in Poona of buildings and inhabitants, must, I should imagine, cause a greater demand than heretofore for the articles, which can be furnished only from Bombay, but from what I can observe of the present genius of this government, I confess that I am inclined much to doubt the practicability of improving or extending our commerce, by any extraordinary means adopted for that purpose; and I think, that an endeavour to improve or extend them, would tend to awaken jealousy and suspicion of our intentions, rather than to answer the liberal end proposed by your Lordship in Council."*

Malet's work at Poona was not, however, confined to merely promoting his nation's political and commercial interests in the country. The influence of such an accomplished and amiable person was bound to be felt among the Indian communities and proved in no small measure conducive to the introduction of western science and appliances among them. The medical science of the West had come to be appreciated, and to be freely resorted to, whenever its aid was possible to be obtained. The services which the English surgeons and physicians often rendered to the Indian rulers and other important personages had, in not a small number of instances, been instrumental in getting them great privileges and concessions. The presence of Dr. Crusso, and Dr. Findlay at Poona as the companions of Malet, contributed to the spread of English medical treatment there. Except the principal Brahmins who, "between political and religious jealousy and distrust" were unwilling to avail themselves of the services of English medical men with the poor, almost all the rich men including Shivajee Vithal Vinchurkar, Hari Pant Fadke, Mahadaji Scindia, Parshuram Pant Bhow and similar personages of rank and distinction took English medicines prescribed by these doctors regardless of any nice religious scruples. The news-writer posted by Nana Fadnavis to note down the daily life and doings of Malet

has recorded numerous instances of Dr. Crusso and Dr. Findlay (whose names were twisted into Kurus and Findlay by the news-writer in his diary owing to his imperfect acquaintance with English names) having medically treated many of the people of Poona. One such instance as recorded in that diary is noted below.

"This is the request of Mahadaji Chintaman to Your Honour. Rajeshri Bahiro Pant said that according to instructions of Rajeshri Nanasaheb, Rajeshri Shivaji was shown to him. He made a diagnosis of the disease. It is settled to take medicine. * * * A man of doctor's position having come to the house, presents were made to him of a pair of shawls of the value of about Rs. 1000 to 1500. A piece of gold cloth, a piece of cloth of the value of half a hundred rupees. Paithani worth up to rupees fifty and a mehemudi. May this be known to your Honour. This is the request."

The same influence which had more largely introduced English medical appliances at Poona served also to introduce the English art of painting at the Peshwa's Court, for among the many qualified persons who came to reside at Poona in consequence of the appointment of an English Resident there, was one James Wales, an artist of some fame. This James Wales came to Poona in 1790, and during the time he stayed there, he had painted portraits of the Peshwa and many other aristocratic personages and also taken excellent sketches of picturesque places in and around Poona. As James Douglas in his "Bombay and Western India" has given full information about this artist, reference would not have been made to him here, had it not been for the memorable result to which his presence led in the matter of Indian art at Poona. As usual with Englishmen of culture, James Wales left a permanent memento of history at Poona, and it is not, perhaps, generally known that while he was there, he succeeded in inducing the Peshwa to establish a school of drawing, which produced two good Indian artists, Bakhatram and Gangaram by name, who have immortalized their names by their proficiency, the former in sculpture, and the latter in painting. Malet speaks of this Gangaram in one of his letters as "a very ingenious native in my service."†

Sir Charles Malet also introduced into the Peshwa's Court a freer use of the English telescope and of clocks. Savai Madhawrao

* Malet's account of the commercial policy and condition of the Maratha Empire is very unfavourable. One would like to see the other side of the shield. Ed., M. R.

† Are any works of these English and Indian artists extant? Ed., M. R.

Peshwa was indeed so much taken with the telescope that he used to pass much of his time in viewing from the terrace of his palace, the temple of the Parvati, the festivals in the city and at night the stars and the planets. This love for the telescope had excited in Savai Madhavrao's mind a curiosity to know something about the geography of the globe he inhabited, and Sir Charles and Dr. Findlay used to give him lessons in geography. In fact the Peshwa was taught by these two Englishmen the map of the world; and in one of the papers there is mention of a present of Rs. 500 having been made to them for the same.

The present paper would not be complete without a mention of the following interesting fact in connection with the charming hills of Mahabaleshwar which is deemed the paradise of the Western Presidency. It is generally believed, that Colonel Lodwick in 1832 was the first English gentleman to discover and set foot on this hill, and this is recorded on the memorial at Lodwick point there. It appears, however, that this is not quite accurate. Sir Charles Malet has the honour of being the first Englishman to visit these hills, as the following letter will clearly show :—

"The Shrimant Peshwa arrived at Wai, and after the eclipse was over, went on the 3rd day of Ashvin Vad to Mahabaleshwar. He visited the surrounding places on the 4th. Malet has accompanied him. He goes for hunting daily for about 8 or 10 miles. There are many forts on this side which Mr. Malet inspects through his telescope and sketches. Messages have come from the Maharaja, his mother, and others, asking the Peshwa to visit Satara as he had now already crossed the Salpa Ghauts. If the Peshwa now goes to Satara he will of course be accompanied by Mr. Malet. Satara being the capital of the country it is not advisable that Mr. Malet should see it personally. With this view it was settled that the Peshwa should pay a flying visit to the Maharaja at the Satara fort staying there only for a day, so that Mr. Malet would not accompany him. Accordingly the Peshwa saw the Maharaja at the fort of Kartik Shubh 8th and made presents of one elephant, one horse, and clothes. The Maharaja also made similar presents in return. The Peshwa stayed in Satara below the fort for the night and left for Wai next day. Aisaheb, the mother of the Maharaja, spoke to me about the allowances given to her and her relations but I satisfied her with sweet words."

Before concluding this paper, which has perhaps grown too long, I should mention that Malet was not only a diplomat and an accomplished officer, but was besides very scholarly and took a keen interest in

the publication of the history of this country. He had very great respect for Shivaji and made it his object to secure information for a complete life of this great Mahratha empire-builder. His zeal in this direction is to be seen in one of his letters to Orme relating to the controversy as to who wrote that famous protest against that most detestable of taxes the Jazia tax published by Orme. Orme attributed this letter to the pen of Raja Jaswat Singh of Jodhpur while Colonel Todd fathered it on Rajsingh of Udeypur. It was, however, reserved for Sir Charles to trace this memorable manifesto to its real author Shivaji. The following is the letter which he had written to Orme on this matter.

"The very interesting account of that extraordinary man Sewaji Raja with which you have favoured the world, made me anxious to gain some knowledge of his ancestors, and I now do myself the honour of forwarding to you some account of his father Sahu collected from a very authentic history of the Reign of Shajehan compiled by Enaietkhan, an Ameer of the empire and contemporary of that prince.

"I need not point out to you the particular circumstance, that by these extracts the period of the entrance of this branch of the Bhonsla family into the service of the Royal House of Bejapore is ascertained to have happened in the eleventh year of the Reign of Shajehan.

"I have continued my perusal in quest of further information to the twentieth year in which times from that of its reduction Saou is not again mentioned. I shall endeavour to procure materials for a regular continuance of my enquiries, and should they produce anything worthy of your notice as tending to promote your very laudable intention of elucidating so interesting a part of the History of Hindustan my end will be fully answered.

"I lament that a want of leisure should have put it out of my power to pay more attention to the style of the extracts now remitted to you, the obscurity of which is increased by the unskillfulness of my amanuensis. But my concern is lessened on recollecting that I am sending them to Mr. Orme whose candor will forgive and whose genius can correct my imperfections.

With the assistance of the Hon'ble R. H. Boddam, our Governor, who is solicitous for the success of my researches, I am sanguine in my expectation of being able to collect a particular and authentic account of the Bhonsla family of which Sewajee was undoubtedly the most illustrious character, and the Governor's Agent at Poona, a well informed Mahomadan is directed to collect and is employed in translating into Persian the Hindoo manuscripts on this subject. My endeavours have hitherto been unsuccessful to procure any picture of Sewajee.

"The information I have been able to collect induced me to think that the Letter translated by Mr. Rous in your fragments and attributed to Jaswant Sinh was composed by order of Sewajee. For Mr. Rous's translation differs in some points from a Persian copy

that was furnished me as Sewajee's. Yet from the general tenor of it, I am persuaded that it must be meant for the same. I have also another very extraordinary specimen of Sewajee's style in a *Sunnad* of one of his officers about tribute from the town of Surat and composed in terms not only of enmity but extreme contempt of the power of Aurungzeb. Should time permit I will do myself the honor of enclosing translations of both; if not I will trouble you with Persian copies."

Sir Charles was one of the oriental scholars who, in co-operation with Sir William James, Warren Hastings and other persons of literary attainments, had taken an active part in the formation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and he largely contributed to the promotion of its cause. He had a great love for travel and for visiting new places, in the course of which he came across much that would interest scholars. This he used to communicate to the Society and thus lay before it much original information on oriental subjects. To him is also due the honour of being the first Englishman who discovered the famous Ellora caves and his paper on these which he sent to Sir John Shore was published in the "Asiatic Researches," a journal conducted by the Bengal Asiatic Society.

Sir Charles was also a man of great taste. He was very fond of the arts and was very partial to music. Unlike many Englishmen he very much loved and appreciated Indian music and dance, and was always to be seen in nautch and other parties on festive occasions. He used to mix very freely with the people and always attended on ceremonial occasions whether at the houses of Mahomedans or of Hindus. His place of residence was very pleasant and was a splendid monument of its owner's fine taste. It had a well laid garden attached to it and was considered the finest house in the city. It was destroyed during the battle of Kirkee, but the site on which it stood is well known and the reader may be agreeably surprised to know that the site now occupied by the bungalow of the District Judge at Poona is on the site where the English Resident dwelt in days gone by. It is situated at the Sangam where the rivers Moola and Moota meet. Captain Little in his narrative has given a very nice description of the house of Sir Charles, and the reader is referred to that work at p. 364.—

"The residence of Sir Charles Malet is known by the name of the Sangam, being situated, as the word

denotes, at the confluence of two rivers, the Moota and the Moola; after which mixture of waters their names join, and the Moola-Moota falls into the Beemah, about fifty miles to the eastward. Sir Charles's former residence was in the city, but not being in a pleasant situation, he was permitted to build on this spot, which until that time had no buildings of any kind, save the ruins of an old neglected pagoda, still remaining in the gardens, in marked contrast to the neatness of the buildings created at a great expense by him, and the gentlemen of his suite. The Sangam is a little town quite detached from the city, being divided from it by the Moota and inhabited entirely by the gentlemen, their attendants, and two companies of sepoy, stationed here as the resident's honorary guard."

"Sir Charles's garden is watered by both rivers, by means of aqueducts: it produces all the fruits and vegetables of this country; here is an excellent vineyard; apple and peach-trees thrive well, and promise to be a great acquisition to the horticulture of these parts. Stately cypress and other ornamental trees contribute to make this a charming retreat and we readily declare that with the advantages of society and situation, the Sangam is the most enviable residence we ever saw in India. Sir Charles's stud is elegant, consisting of forty or fifty noble animals from Arabia, Persia, &c, several elephants for State visits compose part of the retinue. This show is requisite at Eastern Courts, where there is always considerable pomp, and it is necessary for ambassadors to assume an appearance of ceremonious dignity."

Sir Charles's love of self-respect was as great as his taste was fine. He would not allow any one to outdo him in the exchange of formalities and in making presents and returning the Nazarana on State visits and ceremonial occasions. His reception of Scindia when he came to pay him a return visit is thus described by Mahadaji Chintaman.

"This is the request of Mahadaji Chintaman to your Honour. Rajeshri Patilbava (Scindia) arrived at the residence of the Englishman Malet when three *ghutkas* of the day remained. Entertainments took place. Thirty-two pairs of shawls were presented. Ten shellas and turbans were presented. To Scindia, pair of shawls, kinkhab, tivat, mehemudi shella, a tiara of precious stones, head-dress, gown, a toy working by spring, swords, Rs. 3000 for an elephant, and horse of the value of Rs. 900 were presented. May this be known. This is the request."

About the last important incident in the Mahratha history in which Malet took part was the battle of Khurda, where he finally formed his estimate of the Mahratha Militia given above. Shortly after his return to Poona from the battle he went to Bombay in 1795, and from this time his connection with the great centre of Mahratha activities can be said to have ceased. The only occasions on which he went to Poona thereafter was on the occasion of the death of the

Peshwa Savai Madhawrao by a fall from the Shaniwar palace, and secondly on the occasion of his final departure for England. I have already said he was very popular in Poona. The people there loved him and when, prior to his departure from India, he went to pay to his beloved place his farewell visit, in February 1797, Bajirao, the then Peshwa and the people of Poona greeted him with unprecedented honours. The Peshwa presented to him a dress of the highest honour, and gave him to present to George the Third very valuable articles of dress, jewellery, swords, guns, etc. aggregating in value to about Rs. 15000—and also sent with him a letter describing the cordiality of feelings the Mahrathas had for the English. The letter is very interesting and is a very good specimen of the oriental style. It runs thus:—

"May the August assembly of spiritual and temporal Majesty; may the congregation of glory and royalty long derive splendour from the princely virtues of your Majesty, pre-eminent among the inheritors of grandeur and magnificence, supporter of the mighty and illustrious, chosen of tribunal of the Almighty, elect of the judgment seat of infinity.

"Some time ago, exalted Sir Charles Warre Malet was appointed by the mighty chief of Calcutta to reside at the Court of your well-wisher, in the character of the minister, which respectable gentle-

man being endowed with foreseeing experience in business, was always employed in, and devoted to strengthening the mutual friendship, and increasing the cordiality between the two States; but having, at this season, adopted the resolution of returning to England, he has taken leave, and proceeds towards that quarter; which opportunity has been embraced to transmit, under his care, for your Majesty's gracious acceptance, sundry pieces of cloth and articles of jewellery, agreeably to the accompanying catalogue, which he will have the honour of presenting to your Majesty; and we have a firm hope they will be honoured with your Majesty's approval.

"Your Majesty, looking on your well-wisher (the Peshwa) as one of those sincerely studious of your good-will, will be pleased to honour him with your exalted letters, which will be deemed a gracious proof of your Majesty's kindness and attention. May your Empire and prosperity be ever-lasting."

Having received these great honours from the then Peshwa and his subjects and laden with rich presents he returned to Bombay and left the shores of India for good in 1797. His subsequent career besides being mostly one of retirement does not concern us here. We here bid good bye to this great English diplomat whose tact and statesmanship contributed in such large measure to the advancement of the English power in the East.

PURSHOTAM VISHRAM MAWJEE.

THE SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

THE Indian nation awakening from the trance of ages found its industries crippled and for the most part destroyed, its markets flooded with foreign goods, its ideals gone, its institutions, which had caused the nation to survive foreign invasions and political revolutions for over ten centuries, vanished or rather banished from the land of their birth and in their stead everything foreign was being tried to be forced on it. What caused the awakening of the nation from the trance? Narcotic poisoning as typified by that of opium causes slumber, produces a comatose condition of the unlucky consumer, who is sure to die if he be not aroused in time. Stimulation of all sorts, including galvanization, has to be resorted to to awaken the

patient. In that lies his safety. That removes the comatose condition.

The Indian nation was aroused from its trance by the application of a very strong stimulant—no less than the Partition of Bengal. The present Secretary of State for India—the "settled fact" Viscount Morley of Blackburn, who has recently told the world that he would not be a party to the reversal of the Partition—declared when the Partition was not even six months old that it had been carried out against the wishes of the majority of the people affected by it. His lordship, in those days a plain Mr. Morley, was known as a philosopher to whom, the ordinary people of the world thought, did not apply the following verdict on politicians pronounced by

the author of the *History of European Morals*:—

"It is probable that the moral standard of most men is much lower in political judgments than in private matters in which their own interests are concerned. There is nothing more common than for men who in private life are models of the most scrupulous integrity to justify or excuse the most flagrant acts of political dishonesty or violence; and we should be altogether mistaken if we argued rigidly from such approvals to the general moral sentiments of those who utter them. Not unfrequently, too, by a curious moral paradox, political crimes are closely connected with national virtues."

Those who have read the writings of the Blackburn Lord must have noticed how he has tried his utmost to give the lie to the following utterances of the author already quoted above:—

"The object of the politician is expediency. * * * The object, on the other hand, of the philosopher is truth, and his duty is to push every principle which he believes to be true to its legitimate consequences regardless of the results which may follow. Nothing can be more fatal in politics than a preponderance of the philosophical; or in philosophy, than a preponderance of the political spirit. * * * A disinterested love of truth can hardly co-exist with a strong political spirit. In all countries where the habits of thought have been mainly formed by political life, we may discover a disposition to make expediency the test of truth, to close the eyes and turn away the mind from any arguments that tend toward a radical change, * * * It is probable that the capacity for pursuing abstract truth for its own sake, which has given German thinkers so great an ascendancy in Europe, is in no slight degree to be attributed to the political languor of their nation."

Because the writings and speeches of the noble Viscount did not support statements like the above, therefore he earned amongst his own people, whose habits of thought have been mainly formed by political life and hence in whom there is a disposition to make expediency the test of truth, the sobriquet of "honest John." However, one can not resist to any appreciable extent the influence of his environment. At one time in no measured terms did "honest John" condemn the principles and doctrines promulgated by Macchiavelli. But the future historian when writing of the Morleyan period of Indian history will be compelled to admit that his Lordship's Indian policy in the main did not differ markedly from being "Macchiavellian."

His lordship's obstinacy in not revoking or modifying the Partition of Bengal has given permanency to the national movement of Swadeshi and Boycott which the

"greatest blunder since the days of Plassy" brought into existence. Even before the Partition, the germ of Swadeshi was in the atmosphere of India and so was also that of the boycott of foreign goods. But a suitable soil was needed for the fructification of that germ and its assuming an epidemic form. The Partition supplied that *nidus* and the blessed contagion spread from village to village, town to town, province to province and presidency to presidency, till the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the shores of the Arabian Sea to those of the Bay of Bengal has been affected with its influence and placed in its tight grasp.

Swadeshi and Boycott are the two necessary aspects of one and the same thing. One cannot flourish and strive without the help of the other. History does not furnish a single instance of one existing without the other. Whenever any independent nation has tried to foster and develop its home industries—that is "Swadeshi"—it has not been able successfully to do it without practising at the same time the "boycott" of foreign goods. The word "boycott" may not be even 30 years old, but the spirit which it expresses is as old as when man appeared on the face of this planet. When England, now the foremost free trade country in the world, was struggling to build up her industries, she did it by means of the economic "boycott", which means the displacement of foreign goods. Writes the Irish historian Lecky.—

"It was only when England had taken her gigantic strides in the direction of manufacturing ascendancy, that the pressure of population on subsistence became seriously felt, and the manufacturers gradually assumed the attitude of free trade. No transformation could have been more astonishing or more complete. Scarcely a form of manufacturing industry had ever been practised in England that had not been fortified by restrictions or subsidised by bounties. The extreme narrowness and selfishness of that manufacturing influence which became dominant at the Revolution had alienated America, had ruined the rising industries of Ireland, had crushed the Calico manufactures of India, had imposed on the consumer at home monopoly prices for almost every article he required. As Adam Smith conclusively shows, the merchants and manufacturers of England had for generations steadily and successfully aimed at two great objects—to secure for themselves by restrictive laws an absolute monopoly of the home market, and to stimulate their foreign trade by bounties paid by the whole community. The language of the great founder of English political economy illustrates with curious vividness how en-

tirely modern is the notion that the manufacturing interest has a natural bias towards free trade. 'Country gentlemen and farmers,' he wrote 'are, to their honor, of all people the least subject to the wretched spirit of monopoly. The undertaker of a great manufactory is sometimes alarmed if another work of the same kind is established within twenty miles of him.

* * Farmers and country gentlemen, on the contrary, are generally disposed rather to promote than to obstruct, the cultivation and improvement of their neighbours' farms and estates. * * * Merchants and manufacturers being collected into towns, and accustomed to that exclusive corporation spirit which prevails in them, naturally endeavour to obtain against all their countrymen the same exclusive privileges which they generally possess against the inhabitants of their respective towns. They accordingly seem to have been the original inventors of those restraints upon the importation of foreign goods which secure to them the monopoly of the home market. It was probably in imitation of them, and to put themselves upon a level with those who, they found, were disposed to oppress them, that the country gentlemen and farmers of Great Britain so far forgot the generosity which is natural to their station as to demand the exclusive privilege of supplying their countrymen with corn and butcher's meat. They did not perhaps take time to consider how much less their interest could be affected by the freedom of trade than that of the people whose example they followed.'

"Such was the relative attitude of the two classes towards the close of the century. But during the French war a great change took place. On the one hand, the necessity of supplying England with food when almost all Europe was combined against her, brought into costly cultivation vast portions of land, both in England and Ireland, which were little adapted for corn culture, and on which it could only subsist under the encouragement of extravagant prices. On the other hand, the growth of the manufacturing towns produced an extreme pressure of population on subsistence, and a great reduction of the corn duties became absolutely inevitable. Under these circumstances, the manufacturing leaders strenuously supported the agitation for their total repeal. As great employers of labor, it was to them a class interest of the most direct and important character; and, by a singular felicity, while they were certain to obtain an enormous share of the benefits of the change, the whole risk and loss would fall upon others. *The movement was easily turned into a war of classes; and the great, wealthy and intelligent class which directed and paid for it, conducted it so skilfully, that multitudes of Englishmen even now look on it as a brilliant exhibition of disinterested patriotism, and applaud the grators who delight in contrasting the enlightened and liberal spirit of English manufacturers with the besotted selfishness of English landlords.*"

That England boycotted Irish goods is well-known. But it is not so well-known that she tried a similar trick with Scotland. Lecky says:—

"The national poverty and the unhappy position of Scotland could not save it from the commercial jealousy of its neighbour. Though part of the same

empire, it was excluded from all trade with the English colonies; no goods could be landed in Scotland from the plantations unless they had been first landed in England, and paid duty there and even then they might not be brought in a Scotch vessel. The trade with England itself was at the same time severely hampered."

But the Scotch people did not submit tamely like the Indians and the Irish. Says the same historian:—

"Though members of the British Empire, though they bore their part of the burdens and the dangers of the British wars, the Scotch were excluded by their neighbours from all trade with the colonies; and they now resolved to consult exclusively their own interests and dignity. An Act was passed declaring that after the death of the reigning Queen, the Sovereign of Scotland should have no right of declaring war without the consent of the Parliament. Another and still more startling measure, called the Bill of Security, provided that on the death of the Queen without issue, the Estates should meet to name a Protestant successor; but that this should not be the same person who would succeed to the crown of England unless a treaty had been first made securing 'the honor and Sovereignty of the Scotch crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and power of parliaments, the religion, freedom, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence.' * *."

"These were bold measures, and they showed plainly that the spirit of the nation could no longer be trifled with. Scotland could not directly compel England to grant her free trade, but she could proclaim herself a separate kingdom, and by the assistance of France she might have maintained her position..... 'The whole nation,' said an observer, 'was strangely inflamed, and a national humor of being independent of England fermented strongly among all sorts of people without doors.'"

India was as great a manufacturing country as an agricultural one. Why, she used to clothe the men and women of the Christian countries of the West. It is a historical fact that when Queen Mary came to England with her husband after the English Revolution of 1688, she brought "a passion for colored East Indian calicoes, which speedily spread through all classes of the community."* But this did not suit the English philanthropists of those days. They proclaimed a boycott of Indian goods. To quote Lecky again:—

"At the end of the seventeenth century great quantities of cheap and graceful Indian calicoes, muslins, and chintzes were imported into England, and they found such favour that the woolen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed. Acts of Parliament were accordingly passed in 1700 and in 1721 absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England,

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II., p. 158.

either in dress or in furniture, and the use of any printed or dyed goods of which cotton formed any part."^{*}

In Christian England, it was "penal for any woman to wear a dress made of Indian calico. In 1766 a lady was fined £200 at the Guild Hall because it was proved that her handkerchief was of French cambric."[†]

But England did not then possess political sway over the destiny of India. When she came to possess that power, she not only boycotted Indian goods but strangled Indian industries by means which no one can pronounce to be fair and just. Wrote an English Historian:—

The history of the trade of cotton cloth with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article, in place of protecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period [1813] could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacturer. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty; and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." *The History of British India*, by Horace Hayman Wilson, Vol. I, p. 385.

Another English officer wrote:—

"Every one knows how jealously trade secrets are guarded. If you went over Messrs. Doulton's Pottery Works, you would be politely overlooked. Yet under the force of compulsion the Indian workman had to divulge the manner of his bleaching and other trade secrets to Manchester. A costly work[‡] was prepared by the India House Department to enable Manchester to take 20 millions a year from the poor of India: copies were gratuitously presented to Chambers of Commerce, and the Indian ryot had to pay for them. This may be political economy, but it

^{*} Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. VII, pp. 255-266

[†] Do. Do., pp. 320.

[‡] See the article "Specimens of Indian Textiles, where are they?" in the *Modern Review* for December, 1908.

is marvellously like something else." Major J. B. Keith in the *Pioneer*, September 7, 1891.

Imitation is the most sincere form of flattery. Those who think that everything English is good should take a leaf out of the politico-economical philosophy of the English and practise what they do in the matter of encouraging their home industries. Even in the lower house of Parliament which enacted Free Trade, the following remarkable passage at arms took place some thirteen years ago, between a Minister of the Crown and a Commoner.

"*Foreign-made goods.* In the House of Commons, on August 11, 1896

"Mr. McClure asked the First Commissioner of Works whether the chairs in the Reporters' Gallery and furniture in other parts of the House were of foreign manufacture, and why preference was given to foreign over British and Irish trade.

"Mr. Akers-Douglas. The only furniture of foreign manufacture in the House of Commons is limited to a number of chairs supplied to the Press Gallery and this was done some years ago. With this exception, all the articles in use are of British manufacture."

England built up her cotton industry at the expense of India. It was this industry more than any other which immensely contributed to the national wealth of that country. In "The Government of India under a Bureaucracy" written by John Dickinson, *Jun.*, and published as No. VI India Reform Tract in 1853, it was stated:

"Our cotton manufacture now employs one-eighth of the population of the United Kingdom, and contributes one-fourth of the whole national revenue, or more than twelve millions sterling per annum." (p. 67).

It was not the steel or any other industry which has made England so rich and prosperous as the cotton one.

Professor Horace Hayman Wilson was a great friend of Dewan Ram Comul Sen—the grandfather of the famous leader of the Brahmo Samaj and orator, Babu Keshab Chandra Sen. In the course of a letter dealing with the death of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in England, Wilson wrote to Dewan Ram Comul Sen, that "an Englishman will sooner lose his life than his money." It is this love of money that made England so unscrupulous in her dealings with India.

The English people, to whom has been entrusted the Government of India, have been always indifferent to Indian affairs. So much so that even Macaulay had to

commence his famous Essay on Clive by complaining that—

"while the history of the Spanish Empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Shuja Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman."

Since Macaulay's time, matters have not improved. The English are culpably neglecting the interests and welfare of the Indian people. To rouse them to their sense of duty and responsibility regarding India there was no other method surer of success than that of touching their pockets. This accounted for the genesis of the "Boycott" movement and that it has succeeded is proved by the fact of the closure for a time of over 500 cotton mills of Lancashire. Of course, Englishmen have not yet turned their attention to Indian affairs or tried to right India's wrongs or redress her grievances.

Wherever the growth of nationalities has taken place, the first step necessary for its accomplishment has been without fail, the Boycott *cum* Swadeshi movement. We may turn to America. The Colonists on the eve of the revolution and the subsequent formation of a nation had to practise "boycott." That story is so well known and so often told that it need not be repeated here.* Only one extract from Lecky will suffice:—

"The merchants of the chief towns entered into agreements to order no more goods from England, cancel all orders already given, in some cases even to send no remittances to England in payment of their debts, till the Stamp Act was repealed.** In order that the colonies might be able to dispense with assistance from England, great efforts were made to promote manufactures. The richest citizens set the example of dressing in old or homespun clothes rather than wear new clothes imported from England; and in order to supply the deficiency of wool, a general agreement was made to abstain from eating lamb.†

The same story is told by Italy also. Italy was not united; half a century ago, there was no Italian nation in the modern

sense of the term. But when there came the awakening of the national consciousness, the Italians, who were smarting under the foreign yoke, forbade their countrymen the purchase of Austrian cigars and lottery tickets, the profits of which went to the Austrian exchequer.‡

Dr. Heinrich Friedjung truly observes in his preliminary remarks on the unification of Italy and Germany :

"We must carefully notice that the supporters of the movement for unification both in Germany and Italy were drawn exclusively from the educated classes; but their efforts were powerfully supported by the establishment and expansion of foreign trade, and by the construction of roads and railways, since the separate elements of the nation were thus brought closer together. The scholar and the author were joined by the manufacturer, who produced goods for a market outside his own small country, and by the merchant who was cramped by custom-house restrictions."||

The country of the Indian manufacturer is not a small one and so he has not yet to produce goods for a market outside his own country.

The Swadeshi spirit which brought about the national unity of Germany and Italy has been evoked in India by causes patent to all who can read the signs of the times. The boycott movement which is necessarily a counterpart of Swadeshi is sure to achieve the same end for the cause of Indian nationality as it has done for America and Italy. It is difficult to measure the possibilities of the Swadeshi movement. Even the author of "National Life and National Character" says:—

"The supremacy of the inferior races in the future is likely to be achieved by industrial progress rather than by military conquest."¶

Let the prayer go out of the heart of every patriotic Indian that success be to the cause of Swadeshi in India, that the Motherland again rise in prosperity and win the esteem and respect of other nations by the skill of her manufacturing sons and daughters. May Swadeshi and Boycott take such a firm root in the land of the holy rishis and sages, whose productions both material and spiritual still excite the admiration of all peoples of the world, that

‡ The World's History, (Edited by Dr. H. F. Helmholtz). Vol. VIII, p. 190.

|| Ibid, p. 255.

¶ Pearson's National Life and National Character, p. 99.

* See the *Modern Review* for June 1907, page 534 et seq. "Contemporary India and America on the eve of the Revolution."

† Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV., p. 83.

nothing may be able to uproot them. God of all nations, give strength to the people of India to carry on with vigour the cam-

paign of Swadeshi and Boycott till all their efforts be crowned with success and the formation of a United Indian Nation.

AURANGZIB

(Concluded).

THE last few years of his life were inexpressibly sad. On its public side there was the consciousness that his long reign of a half century had been a colossal failure. "After me will come the deluge!" this morose foreboding of Louis XV. was repeated by Aurangzib almost word for word (*Az ma-st hamah fasad bâqi.*) His domestic life, too, was loveless and dreary, and wanting in the benign peace and hopefulness which throw a halo round old age. One daughter, Zinat-un-nisa, already an old maid, looked after his household, and his youngest concubine, Udaipuri, smoothed his aged pillow. But he had, at one time or other, to imprison all his five sons except one! By his own conduct in the War of Succession he had raised a spectre which relentlessly pursued him: what if his sons should treat him in his weak old age as he had treated Shah Jahan? This fear of Nemesis ever haunted his mind, and he had no peace while his sons were with him! Lastly, there was the certainty of a deluge of blood when he would close his eyes, and his three surviving sons, each supported by a provincial army and treasury, would fight for the throne to the bitter end. In two most pathetic letters written to his sons when he felt the sure approach of death, the old emperor speaks of the alarm and distraction of his soldiery, the passionate grief of Udaipuri, and his own bitter sense of the futility of his life, and then entreats them not to cause the slaughter of Musalmans by a fratricidal war. A paper said to have been found under his pillow after his death, contained a plan of the peaceful partition of the empire among his three sons. Meantime death was also busy at work within his family circle. When Gauharara, the last among Aurangzib's brothers and sisters died, (about March 1706,) he felt that his own turn would come soon.

Some of his nephews, daughters, and grandsons, too, were snatched away from him in the course of his last year. In the midst of the darkness closing around him, he used to hum the pathetic verses:—

When you are 80 or 90 years of age,
You will have felt many hard blows from Fate;
And when you advance to the stage of a 100 years
Life will be the image of death to you.

And also,—

In a moment, in a minute, in a breath
The condition of the world may become different.

His last illness overtook him at Ahmadnagar late in January, 1707; then he rallied for 5 or 6 days, sent away his two sons from his camp to their provincial governments, and went through business and daily prayers regularly. But that worn-out frame of 91 years had been taxed too much. A severe fever set in, and in the morning of Friday, 20th February, 1707, he gradually sank down exhausted into the arms of death, with Muslim confession of faith on his lips and his fingers on his rosary.

The corpse was despatched to Khuldabad, six miles from Daulatabad, and there buried in the courtyard of the tomb of the Saint Shaikh Zainuddin, in a red sandstone sepulchre built by Aurangzib in his own lifetime. The tomb-stone, 9 feet by 7 feet, is a few inches in height, and has a cavity in the middle which is filled with earth for planting fragrant herbs in.

Aurangzib's wife, DILRAS BANU BEGAM, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safwi, died on 8th October, 1657, after bearing him Zebunnissa, Azam and Akbar. A secondary wife (*mahal*) NAWAB BAI, the mother of Sultan and Muazzam, does not seem to have been a favourite, as her husband seldom sought her society after his accession. Of his three concubines (*paras-tar*), Hira Bai or ZAINABADI, with whom

he was infatuated almost to madness, died very young; AURANGABADI, the mother of Mihrunnisa, died of the plague in November 1688; UDAIPURI the favourite companion of Aurangzib's old age and the mother of his pet son Kam Bakhsh, entered the harem after his accession. She is said to have been a Circassian slave-girl of Dara, gained by Aurangzib among the spoils of victory. But another account which describes her as a Kashmiri woman, is more likely to be true, because the *Masir-i-Alam-giri* calls her *Bai*, a title which was applied to Hindu women only. Her descent from the royal house of Mewar is a fanciful conjecture of modern European writers.

Aurangzib's eldest son, SULTAN, chafing under the restraints of his father's officers, during the war in Bengal, fled to Shuja and married his daughter, but in a few months returned to his father. The foolish youth, then only 20 years old, was kept in prison for the rest of his life. (Died 3rd December, 1676.)

The second son, MUAZZAM, (also *Shah Alam*) who in 1707 succeeded his father on the throne as Bahadur Shah I., incensed Aurangzib by intriguing with the besieged kings of Bijapur and Golkonda, and was placed in confinement (July or August, 1687.) After his spirit had been thoroughly tamed, his captivity was relaxed little by little (in a rather amusing fashion) and at last on 13th July 1696, he was sent to Multan as Governor, (afterwards getting the Panjab to govern).

The third prince, AZAM, stepped into the vacant place of the heir apparent (*Shah-i-alijah*) during Muazzam's disgrace, and was made much of by his father. But he was extremely haughty, prone to anger, and incapable of self-restraint.

The fourth, Akbar, rebelled against his father in 1681, and fled to Persia where he died an exile in November 1704. His presence at Farah, on the Khurasan frontier, was long a menace to the peace of India.

The youngest, KAM BAKHSH, the spoilt child of his father's old age, was worthless, self-willed, and foolish. For his misconduct during the siege of Jinji he was put under restraint, and again for his fatuous attachment to his foster-brother, a wretch who tried to assassinate an excellent officer. The third and fifth brothers fell fighting in

the struggle for the throne which followed Aurangzib's death, (1707 and 1709.)

Aurangzib's Character.

So lived and so died Aurangzib, surnamed Alamgir Shah, the last of the Great Mughals. For in spite of his religious intolerance, narrowness of mind, and lack of generosity and statesmanship, he was great in the possession of some qualities which might have gained for him the highest place in any sphere of life except the supreme one of rule over men. He would have made a successful general, minister, theologian, or school-master, and an ideal departmental head. But the critical eminence of a throne on which he was placed by a freak of Fortune, led to the failure of his life and the blighting of his fame.

Pure in his domestic relations, simple and abstemious like a hermit, he had a passion for work and a hatred of ease and pleasure which remind one of George Grenville, though with Grenville's untiring industry he had also got Grenville's narrowness and obstinacy. European travellers observed with wonder the grey-headed emperor holding open court every day, reading every petition and writing orders across it with his own hand. Of the letters dictated by him, those that are known to exist in Europe and India, number about two thousand. (I have got copies of all but a few of them.) Many more must have perished.

In matters of official discipline and court etiquette he was a martinet and enforced the strictest obedience to rules and established usages: "If I suffer a single regulation to be violated, all of them would be disregarded," was his frequent remark. But this punctilious observance of form must have led to neglect of the spirit of institutions and laws.

His passion for doing everything himself and dictating the minutest particular to far off governors and generals, robbed them of all self-reliance and power of initiative, and left them hesitating and helpless in the face of any unexpected contingency. His suspicious policy crushed the latent ability of his sons, so that at his death they were no better than children though turned of sixty years of age.

His coolness and courage were famous through India: no danger however great, no emergency however unlooked for, could shake his heart or cloud the serene light of his intellect. Indeed, he regarded danger as only the legitimate risk of greatness. No amount of exertion could fatigue that thin wiry frame. The privations of a campaign or forced ride had no terror for him. Of diplomacy he was a past master, and could not be beaten in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation. He was as much a "lord of the pen" as a "lord of the sword."

From the strict path of a Muslim King's duty as laid down in the Qurani Law nothing could make him deviate the least. (And he was also determined not to let others deviate too) ! No fear of material loss, no influence of any favourite, no tears or supplication could induce him to act contrary to the *Shari* (Cannon Law.) Flatterers styled him "a living saint," (*Alamgir zinda pir*). Indeed from a very early period of his life he had chosen "the strait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life"; but the defects of his heart made the gate straiter and way narrower.

He lacked that warm generosity of the heart, that chivalry to fallen foes, and that easy familiarity in private life, which have made the great Akbar win the love and admiration of his contemporaries and of all posterity. Like the English Puritans, Aurangzib drew his inspiration from the old law of relentless punishment and vengeance, and forgot that Mercy is an attribute of the Supreme Judge of the Universe.

His cold intellectuality, his suspicious nature, and his fame for profound statecraft, chilled the love of all who came near him. Sons, daughters, generals, and ministers, all feared him with a secret but deep-rooted fear, which neither respect nor flattery could disguise.

Art, music, dance, and even poetry (other than "familiar quotations") were his aver-

sion, and he took recreation (!) in his leisure hours by hunting for legal precedents in Arabic works on Jurisprudence.

Scrupulously following the rules of the Quran in his own private life, he considered it his duty to enforce them on everybody else; the least deviation from the strict and narrow path of Islamic orthodoxy in any part of his dominions, would (he feared) endanger his own soul. His spirit was therefore the narrow and selfish spirit of the lonely recluse, who seeks his individual salvation, oblivious of the outside world. A man possessed with such ideas may have made a good *faqir*,—though Aurangzib lacked the *faqir*'s noblest quality, charity,—but he was the worst ruler imaginable of an empire composed of many creeds and races, of diverse interests and ways of life and thought.

"The nature of man is intricate; the objects of society are of the greatest possible complexity; and therefore no simple disposition or direction of power can be suitable either to man's nature, or to the quality of his affairs.....Political reason is a computing principle; adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing true moral denominations.....The true lawgiver ought to have an heart full of sensibility. He ought to love and respect his kind, and to fear himself. Political arrangement is to be only wrought by social means. There mind must conspire with mind." (*Burke*).

Aurangzib utterly lacked sympathy, imagination, breadth of vision, elasticity in the choice of means, and that warmth of heart which atones for a hundred faults of the head. These limitations of his nature completely undermined the Mughal empire, so that on his death it suddenly fell in a single downward plunge. Its inner life was gone, and the outward form could not deceive the world long. Time relentlessly sweeps away whatever is inefficient, unnecessary, or false to nature.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE FATAL GARLAND

BY SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

GANESH Dev did not join the throng of merry-makers in the woods that day.

Returning to the palace in the dead of the night, the Prince was sad, he did not go to Nirupama, but sat in the verandah gazing at the starry sky above. Disturbing thoughts coursed madly through his brain, his heart was crushed with sorrow. His conscience knew but one recurring thought which stung him like an adder. "What have I done?" cried out his soul, "Great God, what have I done? This curse has fallen on her through my fault. She gave her heart to me and I cast her adrift. Ye gods, have mercy on me for the sin I did."

The *Bou Rani* was alone in her chamber. She grew anxious on account of her husband's long absence. She went out on the verandah and saw him sitting there alone. Softly in her sweet way she stepped up to him and from behind playfully put her little hands upon his eyes. The Prince knew but one name and that pervaded his whole being, he was absorbed and absent-minded; so when he spoke, what wonder he called out "Shokti?"

This stung her heart. Hurt and surprised she answered, "It is I, Nirupama."

Her husband looked at her embarrassed and asked her to be seated by him. Yet his strange manner betrayed the change in his mind, he spoke not in his usual warm affectionate tone. Her eyes grew moist, and she remained standing. She was sixteen years old now, and all the trusting simplicity of a child clung to her still. Her young heart's passionate love, blending with her timid self-effacing nature, had retained all the tenderness, freshness and sweetness of childhood.

Ganesh Dev was absent-minded still, but he realized that she was standing, and prompted by his inborn spirit of chivalry,

he took her hand and drew her down beside him on the marble couch. Nirupama rested her head against her husband's shoulder, she buried her face in the folds of his garment and wept quietly. Seeing his young wife in tears, Ganesh Dev banished his own sorrows and putting his arm around her asked tenderly, "Why does my Nirupama weep?" Nirupama answered not, but when he tenderly repeated his questions she fixed her tearful eyes upon him and replied, "Rajkumar, tell me you love me."

He gently stroked her raven hair and softly said, "Have I not told you so a thousand times? And yet you ask me? How often must I tell you so, beloved?"

"If you, if you," she stammered. But when her husband fondly kissed her quivering lips, she put her arms around his neck and said, "If Shoktimoi were here, then, I fear, you would forget me."

The Prince looked silently upon her tear-stained innocent face.

"Say, you will not forget me, tell me you are mine," she pleaded.

"If not yours, then whose am I?" answered Ganesh in an evading tone.

"I know not, I only know my heart feels heavy" and hiding her sweet face once more against his shoulder, the poor child gave way to copious tears.

How trying was this hour to him. His tender loving wife wept tears of deep misgiving, and yet still trusting him, she clung to him. His thoughts were dazed. If he married Shoktimoi and brought her home, Nirupama's tender heart would break. But if he forsook Shokti, he would force her to commit a great sin; she would be forced to marry while in her heart she called him husband. The night that followed brought no sleep to him, his thoughts disturbed him, and ere the dawn broke he rose from his couch, stole noiselessly away from his sleeping wife and left the house. He now sought

Shokti and would have a final understanding with her. Crossing the woods he heard the sound of drums and on the highroad saw mounted officers and foot soldiers around a crowd of curious towns-people. A soldier beat upon a drum and proclaimed aloud, "Nawab Gaias-ud-din has rebelled against the Sultan. The Badshah has declared war against him. Let all come forth who will fight for the Badshah."

Ganesh Dev approached one of the mounted officers and asked, "what offence has the Nawab committed?"

The officer replied, "the Sultan wished to wed a certain Hindu maiden whom he saw yesterday at the sports, but the Nawab, who was deputed to negotiate the matter, has married her himself."

The Prince stood as if struck by a thunder bolt.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Prince heard his name called, and this roused him from his stupor. It was a woman's voice that called, and it rang like distress and mad defiance. "Is that Maharaj Ganesh Dev I see there? Ganesh Dev, you stand unconcerned while a woman is insulted in your presence, you are unmoved by the sight of oppression and injustice? Shame on your honour, Maharaj, are you a true descendant of those heroes, your fathers, that once made Bengal great? No wonder then our motherland lies low, when thus her sons behave."

Glancing in astonishment in the direction of the voice, the Prince saw standing near a holy Sanyasini, her hands bound together and surrounded by soldiers. Startled by the sight he hastily drew near and asked the guards,

"Who is this woman, and why is she bound?"

The soldiers saluted him and one replied, "Salam Huzoor.* The Fauzdar Sahib† informed the Sultan that the Crown Prince had stolen the Begum from the Mataji's house. The Sultan has demanded her arrest. We have but carried out his orders."

The Sannyasini smiled defiantly and full of scorn replied, "one man commits a theft,

and another is hanged for it. A noble justice has been brought upon us."

Ganesh stepped forward, he unsheathed his sword and held it high in his right hand, then called out loudly to the guards, "stand aside and make a path for me if you value your lives."

The soldiers understood his design, and one said, "For God's sake, Maharaja, do not set her free, if you don't want that we should lose our heads. The wrath of the Faujdar Sahib will fall on us."

Yet they retreated before his flashing sword while still entreating. And the Prince after severing the Mataji's bonds, addressed the frightened men and said, "Fear not. I will myself inform the General what I did, and that no blame must fall on you. And if he still insists on punishment then come to me, and I will enroll you in my regiment. Where is the General?"

"After issuing his orders to us he went to your Highness' palace."

The drum ceased, the curious crowd thronged round the soldiers. With a wave of the hand Ganesh Dev cleared the way and said to the now liberated priestess, "Come with me, mother, none of these men will dare to harm you."

The Mataji replied, "I know my son, that while I am with you, I need fear nothing. But let me lead the way, you follow me. The roads around here are well known to me."

The astonished crowd stood motionless, and the soldiers uttered not a word as the Maharaja and the priestess gradually disappeared from view among the woods.

CHAPTER XIX.

They went a short distance, then the Sanyasini stopped and said, "Take the road to the right, and you will reach the boundary of your garden. Go home now, and I will join you presently."

On nearing his palace the Rajkumar met Azim Khan, the Commander-in-chief of the Army, who addressed him saying, "Maharaja, I have come to you on an important errand. War has been declared between father and son. Prepare yourself to join the Sultan."

Ganesh Dev did not answer to the challenge, but asked instead, "General,

* Salutations to His Lordship.
† Commander-in-Chief.

what do your actions mean, why have you arrested an inoffensive Sanyasini?"

"I was obliged to do that, Maharaja, I only carried out the Badshah's orders. He wants this woman in place of the other. If one can't get the rose, then let him be content with the carnation." He added this as a joke, hoping the Maharaja would take up the spirit and drop the matter there.

But to Ganesh this vulgar speech was revolting. "Azim Khan," he replied firmly, "speak not slightly of woman. Who passed the order of her arrest concerns me not. I have set the Sanyasini free."

"Set free the Sanyasini? What do you mean Maharaja?"

"I severed her bonds."

"That does not go against the law as long as she is captive yet."

"I have let her go away, else why should I have cut her bonds?"

"Maharaja, do you mean to say you set the woman free, allowed her to escape?"

"Why else did I release her?"

"You must be jesting. How could she escape? I left her guarded by a troop of soldiers."

"The soldiers did their duty, blame not them. I set her free by force and took her with me to a place of safety."

The General stood aghast. "What have you done? The Badshah wished to hear the story from her lips. But tell me, Maharaja, where she is. Give up the woman now, without delay, or you will be arrested as a rebel."

"If the Badshah passes an unjust order, I cannot be considered a rebel for violating it. If it pleases him to call me so, however, tell him from me that for the service rendered by my grandfather to his father, I humbly beg this woman's liberty and exemption from all further molestation."

The General laughed. "Maharaja, you are young, you do not know the world. If you wish to make an enemy of a man, remind him of a service rendered to him. Unless you wish to incur the Sultan's displeasure, give up the Sanyasini."

"Never! You are a man, General. Tell me honestly, would you have acted otherwise if placed as I was? If a helpless innocent woman sought your protection, would you not then have braved the Sultan's wrath?"

"It is useless for us to argue, Maharaja. But bear in mind one thing,—I shall return shortly to take you prisoner. The devil has entered the Sultan. This is not the time to remind him of past benefits and talk theories with him."

"And may the Sultan bear in mind the fact that unless he abstains from molesting unprotected women, I shall cease to be a feudatory chief of his."

The General withdrew. He knew he should by rights have arrested Ganesh Dev on the spot, but he had yet some of the traits of manhood in him, and his better nature prompted him to give the young man a chance to save himself, still hoping that the Badshah might be amenable to reason.

No sooner had the General left, than the Sanyasini stepped up to the Prince. "We must stay here no longer", she said. "If we delay, the enemy will seize us. I have told your captain to prepare the troops. Bring the inmates of your house and with your family follow me at once. A battle is imminent, and you must prepare your camp immediately in a safe place."

An hour later Ganesh Dev and the members of his household left the palace at Pandua which they had occupied during their sojourn there. When later Azim Khan returned with orders to arrest the Maharaja of Dinajpore, he found the palace deserted.

CHAPTER XX.

The flame of war was kindled in Bengal. Foiled and angered at the treachery of his son, the Sultan became still more enraged at the news of the Sanyasini's release. Infuriated he exclaimed, "This is adding insult to injury. First the knave releases the woman, and then he makes bold to petition her release. Does he think he can play with me? You should have arrested the fool-hardy boy before coming here. General, you have failed in your duty."

Shocked at this reproach, Azim Khan replied, "Protector of the World, your humble servant admits he is to blame. But conditions are against us. We are at war with Nawab Shah, and if we arrest the Maharaja of Dinajpore, we shall have to fight him as well. It will be no easy task to take him prisoner. It would mean loss of

what do your actions mean, why have you arrested an inoffensive Sanyasini?"

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strength, and that would be most fatal at the present moment. Dinajpore has strong forces, and if we win him to our side, we could defeat the enemy without difficulty."

The Sultan was in no mood to listen to reason. His anger was roused all the more by Azim Khan's explanations and he replied madly, "Azim Khan, do you mean to imply that without that stripling's help I cannot overcome my foe? Do you think I am calmly going to take such insult from that boy?"

Azim Khan knew his master too well to say more on the subject. "No, Your Majesty," he stammered, "I did not mean that, I only await my Lord's orders."

"My orders are already given. Go, arrest this insolent scoundrel and bring him before me."

The General went but to find that Ganesh was gone. On his return from the deserted palace he met Gaias-ud-din's General with his troops. A fight ensued. There was some loss on either side, and then, as evening fell, they disappeared in the forest. The next day by order of the Badshah, troops were sent to explore the woods. Ganesh Dev was encamped there. His troops gained daily in strength, new recruits came in from Dinajpore and other places in larger numbers. The Sultan had to contend with two foes, the forces of his son and those of Ganesh Dev.

CHAPTER XXI.

And now let us return again to the day when the feat of arms was performed at Pandua, the day on which Shoktimoi's fatal garland was thrown for the last time, that garland that had crushed the maiden's heart but caused the hearts of men to flame with mad desire and blood to flow from many wounds.

Sultan Sekander Shah, charmed by the beautiful Bengali, desired to win her for his harem. So in the evening he took Azim Khan aside and in a retired spot in the garden gave him instructions. He was to find the girl and to bring her thither. Just then the Crown-prince, Nawab Gaias-ud-din, came up to give his salutation to his father ere retiring for the night. Azim Khan acquainted him with what his father wished,

and asked him as an obedient son to help in carrying out the plan.

Gaias-ud-din became amazed as the truth dawned upon him. He did himself desire the beautiful Hindu girl. What should he do, face his own father as a rival? To do this meant that he must stake power, wealth and kingdom, or perhaps even life itself. Should he withdraw or risk all this? For a moment he knew not which way to turn, but finally decided he would not withdraw. The fascination of the affair grew upon him with each fleeting minute, and he would sooner risk his life than yield. Gaias-ud-din had never yet checked his desires, he had been trained to give full sway to youthful impulses. Then now give up the maiden his heart craved to please his father? Never!

The Nawab Shah was Governor of the presidency of Subarnagram, where he resided and had come to the capital to attend the fete. In his own dominion his rule was supreme, the very currency was struck in his name. The Badshah gladly granted him this power. Gaias-ud-din would succeed him to the throne, so there could no harm ensue from the exercise of power on the part of the heir apparent. He grudged him not this influence in his own jurisdiction. But Sekander Shah discovered to his cost the fatal consequences to himself of having given all this power to his son.

Having learned his father's intentions Gaias-ud-din began his task with caution. He went to his own quarters and prepared for his return to Subarnagram. That very night his household and a certain portion of his troops were despatched. The remaining portion he accoutred to accompany him, and now he awaited the coming of Kutab.

And who was Kutab? He was the man the young Crown-prince trusted in all things, the man who helped to carry out all his plans, and had no pangs of conscience as regarded the nature of these plans. The whole nature of the young Mussulman Prince was a desire to have all his wishes gratified, and Kutab not only helped to fulfil them but prompted them as well. Therefore he was indispensable to him. As soon as he had seen the beautiful Shokti, desire seized the young prince, and Kutab knowing him as he did, had divined his feeling from his glance and now was busy in tracing the girl to win her for his

master. That he would return with his task accomplished, the Crown-prince doubted not, for when had Kutab ever failed to carry out a plan he undertook? So he sat in eager expectation and counted the minutes till his counsellor's return. His only thought now was to reach his own domain in safety with his prey. Once there, protection was assured. It was nearly midnight when Kutab at last arrived with the welcome tidings that the bird was in the net. There was no need for further anxiety, they had only now to go and take their prey.

Gaias-ud-din then related what happened in the meantime, and Kutab considering the Nawab's action suitable to the occasion, praised him accordingly. Being now reassured, the prince sought his friend's counsel further. He desired to have the marriage solemnized before carrying the girl off and then to receive her as his bride with the usual royal ceremonies. But there was a difficulty. Since war was sure to come, there was no place safe enough in which to deck Shokti in the Begum's apparel and welcome her with the honours fitted to the occasion. What could Kutab suggest? Gaias-ud-din was so blinded by his passion that he absolutely ignored the sword that hung suspended over his head, the frightful danger he was incurring. He was accustomed to yield to his desires, and he was led astray by passion and bad counsel.

Kutab was as ever equal to the situation. His father, the Prime Minister, possessed a princely garden house situated in a quiet spot. This was a suitable place for the purpose, and he immediately despatched messengers to the Manager to have all in readiness. The Commander of Gaias-ud-din's troops, Hossein Khan, was sent on this errand, accompanied by the remaining escort and two palanquins bearing female attendants.

That done, the Nawab Shah and his adviser with an empty palanquin and half a dozen soldiers, went to fetch their prey, the unfortunate unsuspecting Hindu girl. As they approached the temple, the soldiers and the palanquin bearers upon orders from Kutab, hid in the woods. Then the two friends surreptitiously entered the shrine that profane feet may not tread. Hidden by the cover of darkness they defied the law with impunity. Kutab had previously made himself acquainted with the temple. He had followed the girl as far as its gate. Then seeing her enter one apartment, he entered the shrine room and there overheard part of the conversation between her and her aunt. He had worn the garb of a Mohammedan dervish while in the woods, but now he saw fit to don another garb. After entering the house of Kali he divested himself of his Mussalman's robes, he removed his turban and wound it round his body as a loin-cloth. Taking from Kali's throat some garlands of red hybicus, he twined them round his head and shrunk not from taking a hideous garland of skulls which hung on the wall and adorned himself with it. With the red sandal paste from a secret vessel in front of the image he made marks on his forehead and over his body. He now appeared like a Hindu *kâpâlic*, which is the most cruel of the many sects that worship Kali.

"Now then, your Highness," he exclaimed, "we shall see what is to be done next."

Looking through a hole in the wall into the *yogini's* apartment, he whispered cautiously, "Nawab Shah, remain concealed behind the image, the girl is coming here." Then both hid behind the goddess, and when the time came, Kutab in a feigned voice responded to Shokti's words. The rest is known to the reader.

(To be continued.)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY—A LESSON FOR INDIA

THREE thousand representative chemists recently met together in London to discuss "the many topics of interest

and importance that are continually arising owing to the marvellous discoveries which the science of chemistry, both

pure and applied, is making from day to day."

Every civilized nationality, except of course India, sent delegates to take part in the deliberations of the monster gathering. As regards the subjects discussed it is enough to present below a bare list of the sections with their Presidents.

PRESIDENTS :

I. Analytical Chemistry, Professor T. E. Thorpe, F. R. S.

II. Inorganic Chemistry and Allied Industries, Dr. Ludwig Mond, F. R. S.

III. (a) Mining and Metallurgy, Sir Hugh Bell, Bart.

III. (b) Explosives, Sir Andrew Noble, Bart., F. R. S.

IV. (a) 1. Organic Chemistry and Allied Industries, Professor W. H. Perkin, F. R. S.

IV. (a) 2. Physiological Chemistry and Pharmacology, Professor Cushny (Vice-President; the late Dr. Gamgee was President).

IV. (b) Colouring Substances and their Uses, Professor R. Meldola, F. R. S.

V. Industry and Chemistry of Sugar, Sir Richard C. Garton.

VI. (a) Starch, Sir Walter Palmer, Bart.

VI. (b) Fermentation, Colonel John Gretton, M. P.

VII. Agricultural Chemistry, Dr. J. A. Voelcker.

VIII. (a) Hygiene, Sir James Crichton-Browne, F. R. S.

VIII. (b) Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Mr. N. H. Martin, F. R. S. E.

VIII. (c) Bromatology, Mr. R. R. Tatlock.

IX. Photo-Chemistry and Photography, Sir William Abney, K.C.B., F.R.S.

X. Electro-Chemistry and Physical Chemistry, Sir John Brunner, Bart.

XI. Law, Political Economy, and Legislation Affecting Chemical Industry, Lord Alverstone, F. R. S.

The world, we mean the world of science, is progressing. India alone refuses to move. It is true there are signs of awakening which presage a hopeful future; but the stupor of ages which overwhelmed her has paralysed her limbs and she finds herself a laggard in the race for life. A fair estimate of the progress of chemical science and of the number of persons engaged in its investigations may be made by looking over the index of authors' names, in any issue of the Journal of the Chemical Society, say of the month of May last. The total number amounts to 590. It means that as many as 590 chemists have been silently but steadily working in England and the continent in the laboratories. But this represents a record of a month's work only. In order to arrive at a proper estimate we should strike an average from a year's index. The number of

chemists actually engaged in original investigations in pure and applied chemistry would appear to be simply appalling.

Let us now pause for a moment and take stock of all that India is doing—all the preparations she is making—to make herself abreast of the requirements of the times. Judging by the number of the ever-increasing students of the Science Courses in the Colleges of Bengal at any rate one would be inclined to think that a change for the better is in store for us. There is, however, danger lurking ahead and it is incumbent upon us to take timely note of it.

The rush for the Science Courses is simply bewildering. Some colleges, I understand, are going to divide their junior science classes—especially chemistry classes—into two sections, each consisting again of as many as 80 to 100 students. The country is thus going to be flooded with a heavy output of graduates in science. The question now arises: what are we going to do with these potential B.Sc.'s and M.Sc.'s? In what manner are they going to be absorbed? What sort of career are we prepared to offer them?

I am afraid the country has as yet made no provision for these prospective graduates in science. Any one who has carefully studied the progress of the European countries during the last three centuries must have realised that their activity has never been confined to any particular sphere. They have advanced all along the line. It is a necessary condition of the real prosperity of a country that science must make headway *pari passu* with industrial and commercial activity. The Anglo-Saxon race, for instance, has been foremost in navigation, exploration, colonisation and in commercial and industrial activity. The age and country which produced a Raleigh, a Drake; a Shakespeare, a Spenser; a Hooker, a Bacon did not wait long in bringing forth a Newton, a Robert Boyle. There has thus been always a demand for the man of science. But the most striking object-lesson is afforded by modern Germany, which is *par excellence* the land of chemical industries. There a happy and harmonious co-operation has been established between the plodding man of science immersed in his researches in the laboratory and the manufacturer the man of

business—the owner of huge factories—turning the labour and discoveries of the former to capital account. No such provision exists in our country. Society is an organic growth; it must move and advance as a whole in order to secure healthy development. The Chemist, the Geologist, the Engineer, the Electrician may be ready at hand but if the spirit of enterprise is wanting the former will have very little occupation. The law of demand and supply is inexorable. It is thus painful to contemplate the future of our young aspirants for scientific degrees.

I fear the mania, for I cannot characterise it otherwise, for the science courses is born of hasty, ill-considered notions. It is at last dawning upon us that a nation cannot live upon law, medicine, engineering and the other "learned professions;" neither can it thrive upon quill-driving. There has thus been a revulsion from the mere "Arts" education. The guardians of our boys have a sort of vague, nebulous idea of what they ought to do for them. Seeing that there is no career open to their wards if they take to a mere "literary" education, they have now conceived a sudden fancy for scientific education. "What shall we do with our boys?" is becoming a serious problem day by day. The hope is naturally entertained that an education on scientific lines with chemistry as its backbone will enable them *somehow or other* to develop the resources of the country, to create or open new industries.

But unfortunately new industries do not drop from the heavens like gentle rain. The Germany of to-day is no doubt the land of chemists and chemical industries. But we clean forget what mighty efforts she and her devoted sons have put forth to make her what she is. A century ago Prussia, for united Germany then existed only in the dreams of her patriots, was in a backward state as regards progress of scientific knowledge. In fact, her very national entity was in jeopardy as she lay prostrate at the feet of Napoleon. At the beginning of the twenties of the last century two of her noble and devoted sons, however, took to the study of chemistry. It is a remarkable fact that they could learn only the elementary principles of the science in the land of their birth. Friedrich Wöhler

proceeded to Stockholm to sit at the feet of the great Swedish Chemist Berzelius and Justus Von Liebig repaired to the laboratory of Gay-Lussac at Paris. These two great chemists after returning to their native land worked in happy and harmonious co-operation and for half-a-century startled the scientific world by their epoch-making discoveries in the province of organic chemistry, namely synthesis or artificial production of new compounds. The fire which these mighty chemists borrowed Prometheus-like from abroad set all Germany ablaze. Indeed, it is not too much to say that almost all the eminent chemists of Germany from 1827 to 1877 have been the intellectual descendants of Liebig and Wöhler. If Germany is to-day reaping a rich harvest it is because of the unselfish, devoted and whole-hearted labours of generations of chemists for nearly a century.

The silent work of the student of science at the laboratory as a rule passes unnoticed; but its results are often more far-reaching than any of the "decisive" battles of the world. To give one or two instances. Let us take the case of Turkey-red dyeing. Says Professor Thorpe:

"The story of the artificial formation of *alizarin* from coal-tar derivatives by Graebe and Liebermann in 1868, and of its successful commercial manufacture by Perkin in this country, and by Caro in Germany, is too well known to be repeated here. The synthetic formation of alizarin created nothing less than a revolution in one of our leading industries, and completely destroyed a staple trade of France, Holland, Italy and Turkey. Alizarin is one of the main products of the madder plant, the roots of which have been used from time immemorial for the sake of the dyes which they contain. Pliny tells us that in his time madder was well known "to the sordid and avaricious and this because of the large profits obtained from it owing to its employment in dyeing wool and leather." Originally it was grown almost exclusively in India, Persia and the Levant. The Moors introduced it into Spain, whence it found its way into the Netherlands. Alsace and Avignon were long celebrated for their madder. Twenty years ago it was the most important of the natural dye-stuffs used by the Calico printer and Turkey-red dyer; and the annual import of it into this country was valued at £1,250,000 sterling, the South Lanarkshire district alone consuming upwards of 150 tons weekly. The chemist has changed all these, and the cultivation of the various species of the Rubiaceæ for the purposes of the dyer, which has continued for thousands of years down to our own time, is now practically at an end. It is the remnant of a primeval vegetation that has displaced the vegetation of to-day."

Synthetic or artificial indigo, also from

coal-tar, was discovered mainly by the labours of Bayer.

Here also the stimulus imparted by the chemist at his laboratory in Germany has its reflex action painfully felt by the indigo-planters of Behar. Take again the fate of the nitre or saltpetre industry. Since the days of the East India Company up till recent years, Bengal has been foremost in the exportation of this article. But the discovery of immense deposits of sodium nitrate or Chili saltpetre has led to a considerable falling off in the exportation of Bengal saltpetre. The vast income derived by the Republics of South America in the shape of royalties on this mineral resource, amounting we believe to several million pounds sterling, is however threatened with extinction. Nitric acid and the nitrates are now being successfully manufactured from the air.

Those who wish to take to the study of chemistry must not approach it with a light heart. A life-long unflagging zeal and devotion is necessary in order to achieve anything worthy the name. This is an age of intellectual competition. That country which can produce the largest number of brain-workers will in the long run come off victorious. A

very large number of students have been attracted to chemistry from purely mercenary motives. As Emerson truly observes : "The history of man is a series of conspiracies to win from Nature some advantage without paying for it." The goddess of science does not, however, condescend to appear before a false, unfaithful worshipper. More than a thousand years ago the precursor of Indian chemists, the celebrated Nagarjuna, after years of devotion to his favourite subject, exclaimed :

द्वादशानि च वर्षाणि महाकेशः कृतो मया

* * *

यदि तुष्टासि मे देवि सर्वदा भक्तवत्सल ।

दुर्लभं विषु लोकेषु रसवत्त्वं ददस्व मे ॥

"For twelve years I have gone through severe penances [i. e. assiduously pursued the subject]. O Goddess ! if thou art propitiated, be pleased to communicate to me the rare knowledge of chemistry." *

Is it too much to expect that the Indians, the descendants of the *Rishis* of old, should take to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake ?

P. C. RAY.

* Vide "History of Hindu Chemistry," Vol. II, Introduction XI, also Page 7 and Sanskrit Texts, page 13.

THE ANCIENT DIGNITY OF AN INDIAN FARMER'S LIFE

THE noblest service in the world is undoubtedly that of producing food for our fellowmen, and thus judged by its intrinsic merit, the position that the farmer should hold, and still holds in all free countries, is one of the most dignified. We remember what we ourselves saw in England in 1888 at the New-Port Agricultural Show. The finest specimens of Hereford cattle and of Berkshire pigs exhibited at the show, were those from the herds of the then Prince of Wales, now our King-Emperor, which took away the highest prizes. In our own country to be a householder or 'grihasta' was to be a farmer, and the terms 'grihasthi' and 'griastha' are still very commonly used as synonyms for farming and farmer. Notice in what

terms of solemn respect the 'grihasta' is spoken of in the 'Sanhita of Vasistha.' "Even as the sea is the support of the rivers, so is the householder the support of the other orders of men. Even as the mother supports the life of all living beings, so does the householder support by almsgiving the mendicant classes."* Though no Sanskrit works on agriculture are now extant, there is good reason to believe that in ancient times agriculture was studied as a science (vidya) and under the name of 'Vartā' stood among the sciences, almost in the

* यथा नदीनदाः सर्वे समुद्रे यान्ति संस्थितिः ।

एवमाग्रमिणः सर्वे गृहस्थे यान्ति संस्थितिः ॥

यथा मातरमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति जन्तवः ।

एवं गृहस्थमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षुकाः ॥ अध्याय ८ ।

same rank as metaphysics and theology (‘‘आन्विकी वयौ वार्ता’’). The popular collection of aphorisms known as Khanār Bachan, seems to be the surviving remnants of an extinct agricultural science. The Amarakosha gives Vārtā* as one of the names of the Vaisya's occupation; and specifies in the order of their ranks, its three sub-divisions (I) arable farming (II) cattle rearing and (III) commerce (‘‘कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यञ्च’’). Unlike to-day, precedence was then given to agriculture over commerce. Indeed in a normal state of society, commerce appears in the field, after the development of agriculture has secured a permanent surplus of produce to be carried away for purposes of exchange. As the quantity of this surplus accumulated, commerce rose in importance, ultimately proving to be more profitable than agriculture (वाणिज्ये वसति लक्ष्मीः तदर्थं कृषि कर्मणि). But in regard to rank and dignity, the merchant was decidedly inferior to the farmer, as he is still in our own, and in all other civilized countries. In ancient India, both agriculture and commerce were the special occupation of the Vaishya caste कुषीद कृषिवाणिज्यं पाशुपाल्यं विशः स्मृतं. ‘‘Money-lending, farming, trade, and cattlerearing are reserved for the Vis’’ i.e. Vaisya (Yagnavalkya Sanhita, 119). Whatever the pretensions of a degenerate priesthood on the ground of birth, the reader of early Sanskrit literature knows that mere birth was a very negligible factor in the original division of the castes. ‘‘गुणकर्म विभागः,’’ i.e., ‘‘Distinguished according to character and occupation’’ in the Gita, and कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतं i.e. ‘divided into various castes according to occupation’ in the Santiparva of the Mahabharata, contain the whole truth about caste division in a nut-shell. The castes among the Aryas were divided according to the respective professions of the parties concerned; and the Vaisya was a Vaisya because he was *per excellence* either a farmer, a trader or a money-lender, and all who follow these occupations, whatever their birth, are, so far

in fact though not in name, Vaisyas in the eyes of our shastras.

What was the political and social status of the Vaisya or farmer in ancient India? Let us enquire. The reader of the Mahabharata and of the Ramayana knows that the most familiar form of address for the king in ancient India was *Visampati*† i.e. Protector of the Vis or Vaisya or farmer. In selecting a site for the royal residence, the king is directed to choose one where Vaisyas abound. ‘‘The king should fix his residence in jungle land where cattle and crops abound, and tenanted largely by Vaisyas and Sudras’’ ‡ (Vishnu Sanhita, III. 3). Indeed the king in ancient India as head of the Kshatriyas was somewhat in the position of the shepherd's dog in Plato's Republic, the Brahmana or philosopher being the shepherd, and the Vaisya as standing for the productive class, the sheep to be protected. The Brahmana as well as Kshatriya were rather consumers, and could not exist without the Vaisyas, any more than the shepherd or his dog, could exist without the sheep. Charity and the offering of free gifts (dāna) is acknowledged as the special privilege of the Vaisya. Says the Mahabharata: The Brahmana's hand (giving offerings to the Gods) is his thunderbolt, the Kshatriya's war-chariot is his thunderbolt, and free-gifts the thunderbolt of the Vaisya, and the service of others the thunderbolt of the youngest caste (Sudras).||

What an amount of solicitude do Yudhisthira as the representative of the Kshatriyas, and the sage Narada as representative of the Brahmanas both display for

† Thus Krishna addressing Yudhisthira said ;—

अप्रमत्तः स्थितो नित्यं प्रजाः पाहि विशाम्पते ।

पर्जन्यमिव भूतानि महाद्रुम मिव विजाः ॥

३५ । अध्याय ७२ । समा (राजसूय) ।

And Kaikeyi speaking of Dasharatha said ;—

अतिसृज्य ददामीति वरं सम विशाम्पतिः ।

स निरयं गत जले सेतुं वन्धितुमिच्छति ॥

२३ । अ १८ । अयोध्याकाण्ड ।

‡ राजाच जाह्नल पशव्यं शस्योपेतं देशमाश्रयेत् वैश्ययूद प्रायञ्च ॥

विष्णु अ ३ । श्लो ३ ।

॥ वज्रपाणि ब्राह्मणः स्यात् क्षत्रं वज्ररथं स्मृतं ।

वैश्या वै दान वज्राश्च कर्मवज्रा यवीयसः ॥

५२ । अ १८६ । आदिपर्व ।

* आजीवो जीविका वार्ता वृत्ति वर्तन जीवने ।

स्त्रियां कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यं चेति वृत्तय इत्यमरः ॥

the success and prosperity of the farmers! Asks Narada of Yudhisthira. "Are not thy subjects unmolested by thieves, by covetous persons, by the princes, by women, or by thyself? Are the farming classes contented? Does your State provide tanks large and full in different localities at suitable distances? Agriculture should not depend on the rainfall. Has the cultivator enough of corn in stock both for his food, and for seed?" (Verses 80-82, Chap. V, Sabha-parba).^{*} The same degree of solicitude for the prosperity of the farmer is displayed by Rama in his conversation with his brother Bharata, whom he asks:—"Is the country over which our ancestors ruled, well tilled to the very borders, and are there plenty of cattle? Are the people free from jealousy? Do they get on without depending on the rainfall? Are they happy and unmolested by destructive wild animals? Are they free from all fear? Is the country adorned with minerals? Is it free from evil-doers? Do the people enjoy happiness and prosperity? O Raghava, are all the arable and cattle farmers pleased with thee"[†] (Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda, Ch. 100, verses 46 and 47).

But though agriculture was admittedly the special privilege of the Vaisya, the Kshatriya is also directed to engage in agriculture.

चित्रियोऽपि कृषिं कृत्वा विजान् देवांश्च पूजयेत् ॥

(पराशर संहिता अ२ श्लो १४)

"The Kshatriya also should take to farming, and thereby worship the Brahmanas and the gods;" and as a matter of fact we find the proudest Kings, not unlike Gladstone with his axe taking glory in their feats with the plough.

* कश्चिन्न चौरैर्लुब्धैर्वा कुमारे स्त्रीवलेन वा ।
लया वा पीड्यते राष्ट्रं कश्चित् तुष्टाः कृषीवलाः ॥
कश्चिद्राष्ट्रे तटाकानि पूर्णाणि च वृहत्सी च ।
भागशो विनिविष्टानि न कृषिर्देवमाहृता ॥
कश्चिन्न भक्तं वीजं कर्षकस्यावसीदति ॥

८०—८२ समापूर्व्य अ २५ ।

† सुकृष्ट-सौमा-पशुमान् हिंसाभिरभिवर्जितः ।
अदेवमाहृको रयः श्वापदैः परिवर्जितः ॥
परित्यक्त भयैः सर्वैः खनिभिक्षोपशोभितः ।
विवर्जित नरैः पापैः असपूर्वैः सुरचितः ॥
कश्चिजानपदः स्त्रीतः सुखं वसति राघव ।
कश्चित्ते दयिताः सर्वे कृषि गोरचजीविनः ॥

For example, King Janaka of Videha proudly recounts to the sage Visvamitra in the presence of Rama—the bridegroom elect of his daughter—O, how unlike the artificialities of the cockneys of to-day,—his own manual labours on the field: "while I was ploughing my field (Sita) rose from (the furrow made by) the plough. As I was clearing (by weeding) the field, I obtained her who is well-known by the name of Sita. Though risen from the earth, she has been brought up as my daughter." (Ramayana, Adikanda, Chap. 66, verse 13 B.† We also find Queen Sita of Ayodhya in exile with her husband, proudly recounting to Anasuya, the wife of the sage Atri—O, how unlike the consort of the pettiest quill-driver of these days,—the manual labours of her thrice great father—thrice great, because he was at once the very ideal of the King, the Rishi, and the Farmer—King Janaka of Videha:—"He (i.e. King Janaka) with plough in hand was cultivating his fields, when I, a princess arose, causing a crack in the earth. The king himself was scattering (ashes) in hand-fulls when he saw me covered with ashes, and was extremely surprised."|| (Ayodhya Kanda, Chap. 118, verses 28-29). King Janaka of Videha ploughing and manuring! O, what a sight for our human leeches of to-day! Even the Brahmana of ancient India was bound to plough his fields at least upon sacred occasions. Parasara says in his Sanhita: "The five daily sacrifices (Pancha Yajna) of the Brahmana are to be performed by him with rice gathered by himself from the fields of his own ploughing"¶ (Parasara, Chap. 2, verse 7). But more than that. Every Brahmana during

‡ अथ मे कृषः क्षेवं लाङ्गलादुत्थिता ततः ।
क्षेवं शोधयता लब्ध्वा नाम्ना सीतेति विभुता ॥
भूतलादुत्थिता सातु व्यवर्धिता समात्मजा ॥

आदिकाण्ड अ ६६ श्लो १२ ।

|| तस्य लाङ्गल हस्तस्य कृषः क्षेवसङ्कलम् ।
अहं किलोत्थिता भिक्षा जगतीं नृपतेः सूता ,
समां वृद्धा नरपतिर्मुष्टिं विक्षेपतत्परः ।
पांशुगुण्ठितं सर्व्वाङ्गैर्विस्मितो जनकोऽभवत् ॥

अयोध्याकाण्ड अ ११८ श्लो २८—२९ ।

¶ स्वयं कृष्टे तथाक्षेवे धान्यैश्च स्वयमञ्जितैः ।
निर्व्विपेत् पञ्च-यज्ञानि क्रतु दीक्षाञ्च कारयेत् ॥

पराशर संहिता अ २ श्लो ७ ।

the course of his theosophical training as a *Brahmachari*, had to serve as a sort of farm apprentice under his teacher. We read in the Mahabharata that the sage Dhaumya had a *Brahmachari* pupil, by name Aruni, whom he deputed to dam a breach in one of the banks enclosing his field, (गच्छ केदारखण्डं वधानेति) to prevent the escape of the rain-water. The pupil laboured hard ; but failing to stop the egress of water by damming, he laid himself down across the breach, and thus succeeded in stopping the outflow. (स तत्र स'विश केदारखण्डे, शयानिच तथा तस्मिं सद्दृक् तस्थौ). Dhaumya had another pupil, Upamanyu by name, who was directed to tend his preceptor's cattle, and he did as directed (वसोपमन्यु गा रक्षस्वति । स उपप्राप्य वचनात् अरक्षत् गाः). (Adiparva (Astika), Chap. 40). Kacha, son of Brihaspati, had to tend cattle when a pupil under Sukracharya. Such instances are also common in the Upanishads, and our educationists of to-day might well take a lesson here from our forefathers, and instead of merely stuffing the brains of our young men at the schools with barren book-lore, and letting them loose, quite unequipped, on the world, only to swell the ranks of the unemployed votaries of "the lawless science of our law"—doubly lawless in India, give them also a course of efficient practical training in farming, or gardening or other productive labour, to enable them to earn an honest livelihood upon entering the world.

To prove the high dignity of farm labour we might further cite the examples of the divine brothers Krishna and Balarama brought up by Nanda Gop in Gokul (गोकुले वर्द्धमानस्तु नन्दगोपस्य कारणात्) where Krishna delighted himself by tending cows (रत्नार्थं मिहगासाच्च ररञ्च पुरुषोत्तमः (11 Sabha, chap 52, verse 7). What are the facts in Krishna's life that call forth the deepest sentiments of reverence, in the popular Hindu mind ? Not the feats of the great hero who killed the tyrant King Kansa, or the blasphemous Sisupala. Not even the work of the blessed peace-maker between the rival parties in the great Kurukshetra war, and not even that of the divine sage or Rishi revealing the Bhagavadgita to Arjuna. It is those of the

divine cow-boy (or Rakhal) of Gokul who paid every possible attention to the cows of his charge—even holding up a hill over them for an umbrella for a week to protect them from rain and storm. " The young boy having gone into a forest played at will on his pastoral reed for the delight of his cows. O Subduer of Enemies, in the rainy season the Lord of Glory went to Gokula where the hill Gobardhana was held up for a week by Vasudeva when only a tiny boy, for the protection of his cows (from rain and storm)."* (Mahabharata, Sabhaparva (Rajasuya), chap. 53, verses 23, 24). O that we knew how much more acceptable it would be to the heroes we worship, if we tried more to follow their example in our lives than to extol them by words of mouth. As it now stands, the Hindu of to-day outwardly worships Krishna, but in his heart and in his life, he seems to worship Sisupala, the enemy who hated Krishna because he was a cow-boy,—even Sisupala who abused Bhishma saying "Thou an old and wise man, dost thou also mean to praise that cow-keeper† Krishna the ideal cow-boy (Rakhal) of Gokula demonstrates to every Hindu, the ancient dignity of a dairy farmer's life, as also his brother Balarama or Haladhara, demonstrates that of the arable farmer's life by always carrying about the plough as his emblem.

Lastly the general reader of Sanskrit literature here and there meets with touches of description in old Sanskrit poems which not only show how efficiently farming was carried on in the good old days, but also that the poets who penned them, possessed expert knowledge. Take for instance the following from Bhatti Kavya, II. 13‡:

* गोप वेणुं सुमधुरं कामं तदपि वादयन् ।

प्रह्लादार्थं च गावां कचिद्वनगतो युवा ॥

गोकुले मेषकाले तु चचार द्युतिमान् प्रभुः ।

धृतो गोवर्द्धनो नाम सप्ताहं पर्वतो धृतः ॥

शिशुना वासुदेवेन गवार्थमरिमहं न ॥

२३, २४ सभापर्व (राजसूय) अध्याय ५३ ।

† तस्मिन् ज्ञानवृद्धः सन् गोपं स'स्तुतिमिच्छति ॥

६ । अ ६४ सभा (राजसूय) ।

‡ दिग्वापिशीर्षीचन लोभनीया सजाश्वयाः स्नेहमिव स्वन्तरीः ।

सञ्जायताः शस्य विशेषं पतिं स्तुतोप पश्यन् विदुषान्तरालाः ॥

१३ । मट्टि २५ सर्ग ।

"He was delighted to behold special crops, sown in drills, far-stretching and (from their greenness) soothing to the eye, (the plants) smooth in all their parts, oil-exuding, plump and erect, with the interspaces carefully weeded." Every word here is pregnant with meaning for the practical farmer, as the description of a vigorous growing crop of maize, or sugarcane, or sorghum (Juar), and shows that the poet was not only a poet, but possessed the keen eye of a practical farmer, to be able to mark all the signs of a healthy and vigorous growth of the crop. Here again is another instance of a very high degree of expert knowledge of dairy farming on the part of the sage Apastamba, who in his Sanhita (I.21) could lay down the following rule regarding the rearing of calves:—"For the first two months, give the calf to suck freely; for the next two months milk only two teats (or quarters of the udder. In the fifth and sixth months milk only once in the day, and after that, milk as often, and as much as you like," (Apastamba I. 21.* Where pastures are always open, and costly methods of artificial feeding are seldom required, and where the cows are comparatively small milkers, a sounder rule for the rearing of strong and healthy cattle, than this, cannot be conceived. The sage evidently was aware that the most critical period in the life of the calf is the first six months, and that a calf ill-fed during that period will never make a proper cow in spite of all the care you can bestow afterwards. For the pedigree cattle of Europe and America, those cows that are intended to produce calves for rearing, are not milked at all, as a rule, the calf being always allowed to suck freely, and sometimes two or more calves being set to one cow. With regard to the cows kept for ordinary milking purposes, the Western farmers generally sell the calves to the butcher as early as possible. The rule laid down by the sage, seems to be so far superior to the best practices of the Western dairy men, as it serves the double purpose of rearing as well as milking, and if our desire to improve the breeds of our cattle

is at all more than lip-deep, a sounder rule could not be recommended to us.

Apart from history or literature we know that the high dignity of a farmer's life was maintained even down to some time after Lord Cornwallis's epoch-making settlement. We ourselves remember what we saw fifty years ago in and around our native village, when we were little children, and if the reader cares to know more, he might learn a great deal more by enquiry from older men verging on their three-score and ten, regarding the rural reminiscences of their early childhood. Every country gentleman or *bhadralok* was then a producer, instead of being a consumer as now. He was a substantial farmer called 'Girastha'—each having 5 to 10 drons or 25 to 50 acres of land—more or less, under cultivation, and having huge barns or *golas* filled with corn, and about half a dozen cows to give milk. His own or his neighbour's tanks too supplied him with fish, and he was as happy as the day was long†. Farming was well understood to be impossible without capital, and so long as it remained in the hands of well-to-do gentlemen able to obtain a maximum of out-turn from the soil by laying out capital in the improvement of both the soil and the live stock, farming was safe, and also the State which it supplied with the sinews of war. Was it the Permanent Settlement that dealt the death-blow to our agriculture—not of course because the settlement was permanent, but because there was any settlement at all involving an assertion of a proprietary right in the soil on the part of the State? That point we leave the reader to think out for himself, barely noting the fact to the credit of the Hindu as well as the Mahomedan Kings, that they never claimed to be the proprietors of the soil, any more than the English King claims to be the proprietor of the English soil. We have only to point out here what we saw happening under our eyes—a most magical transformation of the *bhadralok*.

† The standing grievance of the School or rather Pathshala-going boys of those days is most pathetically expressed in the following slang rhymes of mixed Bengali and Sanskrit :

लेखनं पढ़नं मरणं दुःखं ।

मस्य मारणं खाओनं सुखं ।

तवे किञ्चित् लेखनं विवाहिनं कारणं ॥

* दौमासौ दापयेत् वत्सं दौमासौ दौसनेदुहेत् ।

दौमासाविकवेलायां शेषकालि यथावत् ॥

आपस्तम्बसंहिता अ १ श्लो २१ ।

"To be reading and writing is miserable as death. Fishing in ponds secures an enjoyable dinner. A little writing is however a necessary accomplishment in the matrimonial market."

class from substantial farmers engaged in productive labour to a class of consumers or middle men with no direct interest in the success of agriculture. The 'lowing herds' and granaries loaded with corn, that we saw in our childhood, were but the fading twilight of the setting sun of Indian agriculture. The gentry of the country one by one in quick succession, wound up their farming business. The more aspiring among us looked for a zemindary, and by becoming the collector's *Sheristadar*, they were often able to secure one. The more modest among us formed the shoals of smaller fry of tenure holders as Talukdars, Patnidars, dar-Patnidars or dar-dar-Patnidars. Those that were our day labourers in the halcyon days of Indian agriculture, stepped into our shoes. Our *Khamar* or farm soil thus passed into the hands of a class of capitalless, perennially indebted, and half-starved *chasas* or *rayals* who could only make up by starving the losses in their balance-sheet, to whom even courtesy would forbid the dignified name of farmer, and who with all the sweat of their brow, would be unable to save either themselves, their crop, or their live stock from chronic famine, but who had in those days one very charming recommendation in that they made good unresisting sponges for the squeezing out of *nazar mathut*, *tahari* and other illegal exactions, or for obtaining rent-enhancements by pressure or diplomacy. However as time went on, even the proverbial donkey learned to kick.

In this way, did the *bhadralok* or the hereditary producer of the people's food, sell their birth-right for the mess of pottage of an ease-loving selfish life of mere rent-collector, fattening on the fruits of others' labours. Thus did the best brains and hearts,—the real workers in our great social

bee-hive, transform themselves into a class of do-nothing drones. "Nero fiddled while Rome burnt," and we ate, drank and were merry, while the country was rushing headlong to ruin. Here were the very cream of the country drawn away from the noble work of food production only to share in the business of 'bleeding' the fatherland for the sake of wages, or to trade on the evil propensities of human nature for fees, all for mere bread-crumbs for a livelihood, while we stood by forgetting what our ancestors knew—"Mahi Kamadugha"—that the resources of agriculture are inexhaustible and highly elastic and that whatever "the stress of population", if our hearts and our brains are in the work, we could make by the system of "intensive farming" a small area of land suffice for the support of a gentleman's family in honour and honesty. Thank God, we now perceive our mistake. The middle class *bhadralok* are already feeling the pinch of hunger. The sins of our fathers are already being visited on us,—their sons and grandsons; and the helpless condition of the *bhadralok* class to-day, cannot but excite pity. The divine law of retribution is however inexorable. To quote the words of the Mahabharata:—"The evil we do is bound to bear fruit, if not in ourselves, then in our sons and grandsons, like some indigestible substance in the stomach."

पुत्रेषु वा ननुषु वा नचिदात्मनि पश्यति ।

फलत्वेव भुव पापं गुरुमुक्तमिवोदरे ॥

आदिपर्व अध्याय ७४ श्लो ३ ।

However it can never be too late to mend, and Agriculture is always able and always ready to welcome back her repentant Prodigal into her fold.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

SOME PAGES FROM THE DIARY OF AN INDIAN STUDENT

AMONG a heap of old papers and books entrusted to me, for safe custody, by a friend, I found a manuscript, neatly and carefully written, entitled "The diary

of an Indian Student." The name of the writer does not appear nor does the diary give any clue as to his history. This, however, is perfectly clear that it is written by a

man thoroughly intimate with the Mahomedan Society of Calcutta. The diary is written in good, flowing style and contains shrewd, telling and incisive criticisms. The writer seizes with a sure eye and expresses with force and directness the faults and vices of his people. It is written, so far as I can judge, not with a view to attack his own community but with the honest purpose of pointing out its defects and shortcomings. He merely states facts as they appear to him and does not manipulate them; concealing some, mitigating others, to satisfy his own grudge or ventilate his own grievances. There is one noticeable feature of this work; it is its veiled irony, its suppressed anger, its righteous indignation at things as they are. Our author writes "sitting, as it were, above his brethren on a sunlit eminence of peace and purity, unblinded by the creeping mists that dim their vision, untroubled by the paltry influences that disturb the life." From a higher plane, indeed, does he survey the condition of his co-religionists; now sorrowing over their down-cast, down-trodden, depressing condition; now rejoicing at the prospect, though a distant prospect, of watching them enter into the Promised Land of peace and purity, happiness and enlightenment. With pitiless severity does he condemn the Pharisaic hypocrisy, the insincere prattling about Mahomedans and their cause in which not a few aspirants to fame frequently indulge, the utter indifference of the rich for the poor and the suffering, the sordid sinners and the splendid sins shamelessly blazoned in upper circles. He advocates the purity of hearth and home, and the necessity of education, self-sacrifice, larger and liberal views of religion, and last but not least a genuine regard for and interest in the cause of Islam and Muslims.

I place, here, some extracts from this remarkable diary:—

II.

It begins thus:—"A simple and unvarnished narrative of a life essentially quiet, even, peaceful, devoted almost exclusively to letters, will the reader find in the following pages. This diary is a record of the passing thoughts of the hour, impressions of the books read, views of men met,

and places visited. It is in other words, a history of slow intellectual growth; a record of personal feelings and changing phases of personal opinions of a poor, suffering scholar, mistrusted by his contemporaries, misunderstood by his friends and afflicted with the sordid and humiliating embarrassments of narrow means."

Such is the short and unpretentious introduction to the diary.

III.

The following entry, though somewhat long is too interesting to be omitted and I, therefore, reproduce it *in extenso*:—

"For sometime past I have been thinking of the present condition and the possible future of the Mahomedans. This is not merely a theoretical or an academical but essentially a practical question affecting a large community. Is the Mahomedan community stationary or progressive? Progressive it can hardly be declared; wedded as it is to strange religious beliefs; a bar and an impediment to free and unhampered development.

"What are the obstacles, then, to their progress? To remove them we must clearly understand what they are? 'It is not error', says Turgot, 'which opposes the progress of truth. It is indolence, obstinacy, the spirit of routine, everything that favors inaction'. This is as true now as it was when that great and God-fearing Turgot wrote it. Religion, to be a progressive force of the human mind, must be expansive and broad-based; not fixed and stereotyped. I take exception not to the teachings of Islam but to their narrow interpretations; I find fault not with the Mahomedan faith but the ice-bound, petrified and hide-bound limitations that have been imposed upon it by a succession of Mahomedan divines and theologians. The first lesson, we have to learn, is to disentangle religion from politics and law, to define their respective boundaries and to appreciate that supreme and eternal truth that it is the spirit of the religion that lives and endures and survives "the tidal ebb and flow of things" not its ritual and ceremonials and formalities which, in the nature of things, are fleeting and perishable. It is "the spirit of Islam" which in spite of thirteen centuries of wear and tear, still

retains and will ever retain the dewy freshness of dawn, that we must explicitly explain and emphatically enforce upon our co-religionists. True we cannot clear society of the intellectual and moral debris of ages at one stroke but it is at this that we must strenuously, perseveringly unflinchingly aim at and strive for. We must slowly but steadily lay the ground and pave the way for this intellectual and religious rejuvenation of our co-religionists and this we can only hope to do by diffusing the light of culture and education, by bringing elementary education nearer home to the large masses, by organising public lectures and publishing religious tracts. It is perfectly astounding to listen to the ideas of Islam entertained by the lower orders of Mahomedans and shamelessly preached by the *mullahs* and the *maulvis* from the forum and the pulpit.

"According to our theologians the limit to social, intellectual and legal advancement has been fixed once and for all times by the prophet; to overstep the limit is heresy, apostasy, irreligion. The *Qur'an* contains directions for all ages and on no account must we go beyond them. Such a doctrine is wholly subversive of intellectual growth, free and unfettered discussion, real and substantial progress and lays the axe at the very root of adaptability to changing circumstances, without which we must for ever remain stationary, backward and unprogressive. True, Islam has imposed no such limitations and to be sure no religion has a right to fix the boundary of the march of a nation. No religion has a right to say: "Thus far thou shalt go and no further." But the Mahomedan doctors of theology would have us remain where the Arabs were thirteen centuries ago. We are not to interfere with the Mahomedan law because it is a sacrilege to question its utility or its wisdom; it is apostasy to attempt to alter or modify or to adjust it to new conditions and altered circumstance. Law is but a part of the social system; an expression of the growing needs and requirements of advancing civilisation. To make it fixed and immutable is to plant an insurmountable barrier to progress. Moreover it inspires the spirit of aloofness, exclusiveness, insularity; fatal to progress and development. The history of Mahomedan Law and civilisation is a

witness to the absurdity of the position taken up by the Mahomedans of our times. The Mahomedan law and Mahomedan civilisation were born from the wedlock of Arab and foreign ideas. It was the contact of the Arabs with the Byzantines and the Persians which called into being that splendid civilisation—the glory of Islam, the pride of the Mahomedans. The Arabs, had they lived exclusively in their own ideas and showed themselves inhospitable to the best ideas of other lands, could not have achieved the intellectual greatness which they did unquestionably attain. They hailed knowledge from whichever source it came. Their learning was the outcome of popular interest and sympathy, a spontaneous co-operation of the many, the concurrence of genius and a spreading thirst for knowledge. This spreading thirst, this intense craving for knowledge could not come into being if they had kept themselves sullenly aloof, regarding themselves as the possessors of all knowledge worth having, showing themselves averse to new lights and new ideas. They not only knew how to acquire knowledge but also knew what is more valuable than mere acquisition of knowledge,—they knew how to absorb and assimilate and make it their own. Producers of great literature, says Walter Pater, do not live in isolation, but catch light and heat from each other's thought. A people without intellectual commerce with other peoples has never done anything conspicuous in literature. This principle the Muslims recognized and acted upon centuries ago but the very reverse of it is the case now. Religion as now conceived, has placed a halter around their neck and the Mahomedans shrink back with horror from all knowledge that comes from non-Muslim sources. In the rich, clear and pictorial language of the poet Hali we have the distressing picture of the Mahomedans as they are; with their low and sordid pursuits, their splendid sins and gilded vices, their apathetic indifference to learning, their debased moral currency. Religious fanaticism stands in the way of intellectual advancement; indolence in the way of self-exertion; ignorance in the way of beneficent and organised charity. But not only misconceived notions of Islam are, as it were, a stumbling-block to progress but they frequently give rise to bitter and

fierce strife between the ever-warring sects of Islam. The result is as might be expected: implacable hatred, unrelenting fury, perpetual discord between Mahomedans themselves. There is no amity, no unity, no friendliness between the divers sects. Each is ready to injure the other. Could not these meaningless quarrels be hushed into silence and peace restored among the followers of the prophet? Surely not! so long as we do not teach enlarged ideas of religion and liberal ideas of religious duties and religious toleration. A yet more disastrous result of the narrow and circumscribed conception of Islam is to be found in another quarter. The orthodox Islam of India—not the Islam of the prophet of Arabia—has diverted the attention of the Muslims from the present to the future life; from the sinful existence this side to the everlasting glory and beatitude of the world beyond the grave. It has neglected the material for spiritual interests; it has set at nought the pressing necessities of the day for the everlasting happiness awaiting the faithful in Paradise. Hence pious endowments, lavish expenditures over the erection of *mosques* and foundation of *caravansarais*, enormous waste of money in feeding able-bodied *Faquirs* and in maintaining a band of *huge-turbaned* but ill-educated *mullahs*. Not a moment's thought is bestowed on the education of the community; not an effort is made to relieve the sorrows and sufferings of the unfortunate *Purdanashin* widows who, within the four walls of their houses, endure untold miseries and to whom an unmerciful fate has allotted nothing but "fierce midnights and famishing morrows" and no provision or scheme is devised for the orphans who, for sheer want of care and protection, drift into a life of sin and crime. We cannot justly ask the Government to do what is our own bounden duty to attend to and to discharge; a sacred duty and a sacred trust, tho' a trust unenforceable in a Court of Equity. What an amount of real solid charitable work lies here for him who is ready to do the work! But such silent, beneficent work brings forward no glittering reward, no dazzling compensation and hence it is never cared for, it is never seriously taken up.

"The Mohamedan community has, hopelessly and in outer-seeming beyond redemp-

tion, fallen into lethargy and inactivity and inspite of brilliant speeches, splendid committees, Muslim League and Pan-Islamic Societies we fail to perceive any real and genuine attempt at progress and reform. Not very long ago we heard of a solemn conclave of Mahomedans which met to consider and re-organize, if necessary, the system of Mahomedan education. It consisted of a brilliant galaxy of Mahomedan residents of Calcutta and it counted among its members Mahomedan officials, briefless Barristers, silk merchants and cigarette merchants, do-nothing aristocrats and ambitious aspirants to Government titles and decorations.

A committee—guided by such worth and talent—would no doubt achieve results, real and substantial, but we are still impatiently waiting to hear the results of their deliberation. But what strikes us as somewhat singular is that while efforts are made to promote higher studies, no serious attention is directed towards elementary and technical education. It is purely chimerical to expect any substantial progress if education continues to be confined to a microscopic minority. The first and foremost consideration, therefore, should be the education of the people, to make education not the monopoly of the few but the possession of all. I do not, for a moment, suggest that English should replace the languages of India but rather greater care and attention should be paid to the study and cultivation of our own vernaculars. English can never be the language of India nor can the light of culture reach the masses through its medium. Our first duty should, therefore, be to bestow care and pain over our vernaculars; care and pain commensurate with their importance. Within recent times Mir Nasir Ali Khan of Delhi—a man of liberal views and cultured tastes—has started his valuable organ 'the *Salai-Am*' the professed object of which is the revival of the Urdu prose and cultivation of the Urdu language. It is a praise-worthy effort and we wish it every success. Nothing reflects a greater discredit and dishonour on the Mahomedans of Bengal than their neglect of Urdu and Persian Literature. The classics of Urdu literature have fallen into oblivion and it is only in bad print and worse paper that we obtain the works of our great

writers both prose and poetry. There is apparently no demand for such works and hence the supply is fitful and unsatisfactory. Is it not possible for the Mohamedan community to publish a more respectable series of their great poets and prose writers? Can they not come forward to honour their dead with a proper and fitting honour? Our noblest thoughts, our noblest utterances, our hopes and our aspirations; all these, indeed, lie buried in their works. Are they to remain unknown, neglected and forgotten? They are the connecting links between one province and another, between the preceding and the succeeding generations bringing home to the Mahomedans of India the sense of unity and kinship; the feeling of the self-same brotherhood: the strength of the Mohamedans in the past and the strength of the Mahomedans in the future to come. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of our own language which is no other than Hindustani.

"We cannot have an ordered movement of growth and advance so long as we do not earnestly take up the cause of education, both in its lower and higher branches. With the gradual dawn and diffusion of light the mists of ignorance and superstition and fanaticism will gradually disappear, the air will become clearer and purer, the path easier and more comfortable. It will put an end "to the dissipation without pleasure, vanity without meaning and idleness without repose"; the distinguishing characteristics of the modern Mahomedan society. The Mahomedans are intelligent and are capable of great application and sustained effort as their past history amply and unmistakably proves. But their failure is due to want of direction, to want of great men to guide and lead them. Pygmies and dwarfs we have in abundance but a great, overshadowing personality we have none. The unrelenting summons, which some years ago took away Sir Syed Ahmed from among us, has, recently robbed us of Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Khuda Bakhsh. but though they are no more, their memory is and will, for ever, be a source of strength and an inspiration to us. Time has come when we should no longer listlessly stand with folded arms resigned to fate and destiny but when we must gird up our loins

courageously for a series of steadfast and laborious marches. Time has come when we should either prepare ourselves for the hard, severe unceasing struggle for our existence, as a community, as a force and a power in India or suffer ourselves to drop out, for ever, from the list of living forces and active communities of this great Peninsula."

IV.

I propose, now to place here, another extract from our author's diary which describes to us the sort of leaders that the Mahomedan community is now proud to possess. It is an intensely interesting and fascinating piece and I ask the reader's forgiveness for inserting it *in extenso*.

"Of all the communities in India the Mahomedan community is perhaps the richest and the most prolific in leaders. We have a large number of leaders—political leaders, social leaders, mercantile leaders, religious leaders, leaders of all sorts: in fact as many leaders as there are followers. Every one of these leaders, however, has some peculiarities, some characteristics, some idiosyncracies, some distinctive quality of his own. I propose, here, to enumerate and if possible to classify the types of our Mahomedan leaders. But amidst the diversity of character and temperament these popular tribunes have one quality in common. They are, without one exception, either government servants or government pets. I might tell the reader in confidence that the Mahomedan community has been noted for its loyalty, not merely silent loyalty but loyalty which is somewhat loquacious and a trifle too fond of display. It is therefore not in the least surprising that the followers of the prophet should indignantly refuse the lead of any one other than a government official.

But alas! these worthies continue to command the public confidence only so long as they are in service. When that unhappy hour strikes,—the hour when they resign or retire from service,—they sink back into their original insignificance and are left to their fate. We have instances in point but we will not inflict unnecessary pain on the dethroned gods

of public favor. Some mischievous but observing people have noted this peculiar feature of Mahomedan leadership and are inclined to believe that it is not the intrinsic merit or personal qualities of the individual which are the determining factors in the popular decision which awards the crown of leadership to this or that individual but it is the official position and the necessary advantages coupled with that position which secures that brief, transient and fleeting glory. I can recall many such passing meteors; flashing and disappearing with extreme and painful suddenness. Be that as it may. Now let us carefully look into the various types of our popular leaders. The typical leader is the man who makes morning and evening calls on the officials, a scrupulous and religious duty; a duty which must need be performed at the sacrifice of honor, respectability, even decency. He must on no account neglect the performance of this most honorable duty. Not even indifference, polite refusals to receive calls signified by the formidable "not at home" label or even positive insults should deter him from the performance of a duty undertaken on behalf of his community. This is the most fascinating type of a Mahomedan leader. Besides the calls at the officials he must never fail to propose a vote of thanks to the chair at a public meeting, specially if the holder of the chair is the Lieutenant Governor or the Chief Justice or the Commissioner of a Division, and must never hesitate—competent or otherwise, to come forward as the exponent of Mahomedan law and religion. Then, be it noted, he must ever and anon speak on behalf of his community, with a sureness and assertiveness to impress upon the people and the government that he is their plenipotentiary and accredited spokesman. As for conscience or character the less he has the better for him. He acts upon the well-known saying of the great Goethe: "*men of action are essentially conscienceless.*" This is the most successful type of leaders. All this, indeed, presupposes an amount of courage, audacity, bare-facedness, rare, almost unexampled, even intolerable any where except in our own community. The next type is equally fascinating. It is the leader whose supreme virtue and highest credential is his incon-

sistency. He preaches one Gospel on Monday and the very reverse of it the following day. Our community is very liberal and forgiving and does not regard this kind of inconsistency as a fault but rather as a sign of mental progressiveness enlarging ideas or perhaps as a proof of readiness to reject a mistaken notion, a mischievous idea for something maturer, sounder and more suitable to the occasion. Then we have a class of leaders who perched on the Olympian heights, look down with commiseration, compassion and possibly contempt on those less lucky and less fortunate than themselves, who treat the generality of mankind in a patronising spirit, who love to have many tongues buzzing about them chanting their virtues and singing their praises. In the corrupting atmosphere of these *salons* held, day after day and month after month, only the flatterers and sycophants have a free ingress and egress. With leaders of this type there is no sovereignty but that of wealth and no nobility but that of official position. The unfortunate no-body who visits him to offer his homage rarely succeeds in extorting a word or a smile from him. He must sit mute and after the delicate performance, known out here in India as "paying respect," is over he departs with a relief to himself and to the leader.

These, then, are the three main classes into which the present writer is inclined to divide the leaders of the Mahomedan community. Be it noted that while our leaders are exceedingly generous with lip-sympathy with the Mahomedans and their cause and not infrequently mourn over their wretchedly deplorable condition they rarely tax their purse for the benefit of their community. When it comes to payment they wisely draw the line and plead multiplicity of expenses as the reason for not unloosening the tie-strings of their purse. This is truth, alas! bitter truth. Why is it that our leaders, while coveting the laurels of leadership, shirk its duties and responsibilities? The reason is not far to seek. It is not the promotion and welfare of the community, which lies nearest to their heart, but the advancement of their own interest, the furtherance of their own cause. Leadership is merely a cloak for self-advertisement, self-aggrandisement,

a path to cheap fame and personal glory".

Here concludes this charming entry. At

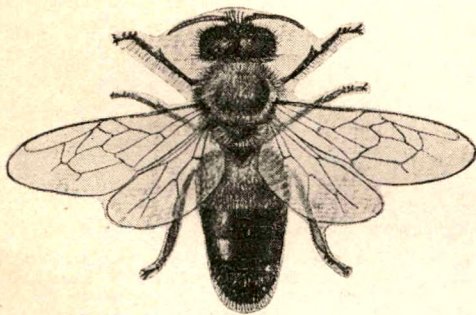
some future date, I hope to publish further extracts.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

BEE-KEEPING

THE reasons for keeping bees are many and various; for it is an industry as many-sided as the cells of a honeycomb; one of its chief charms being that it appeals equally to "many men of many

GIANT HONEY BEE OF EAST INDIA.
DRONE.



GIANT HONEY BEE OF EAST INDIA.
WORKER.

minds." One may keep bees for the sake of honey, which is a most legitimate and proper reason. Bee-keeping is specially to be recommended as an avocation. Hundreds of the American bee-keepers live in small

towns and villages, and add bee-culture to their work in shop, office or study and receive health, pleasure, and money as a reward.

Ladies will find in this pursuit pleasure and opportunity to exercise in the pure air, which means health and money. Farmers should add bee-keeping to their farms, to find not infrequently that the bees are their most profitable property. Orchardists, especially, need and must have bees to pollinate fruit blossoms, and insure a crop. The time required will, of course, depend upon the number of colonies kept; but with wise management, this time may be given at any hour of the day and any day of the week and thus not interfere with one's regular business. Thus residents of village or city, male or female, who enjoy the society and study of natural objects, and wish to add to their income and pleasure, will find here an ever waiting opportunity.

A love for natural science is a good reason for keeping bees. Many may keep bees as a recreation. Another reason for keeping bees is the insight to be gained therefrom into the conditions of perfect communism. The bees and their relatives are the most intelligent and consistent socialists that have yet been developed in the world; and through studying their ways, one may discern with startling clearness how the perfect socialism grinds off all the projecting corners of the individual until it fits perfectly into its communal niche.

The bees must have place in every well-kept garden. The garden without bees seems ever to lack something. The perfect garden can only be attained through the presence of happy and populous bee-hives.

The profits in keeping bees offer strong inducements towards its adoption as a pursuit. I know of one American who is

a good farmer with a fertile and well-stocked farm, who commenced bee-keeping more to interest his boys than ought else. He has met very little loss—for years together none at all. For three successive years his sixty colonies of bees gave him more profits than all the balance of his farm. As he said at one of the Michigan State convocations:—"I find my bees the pleasantest and most profitable part of my farm."

Adam Grimm, James Heddon, G. M. Doolittle, E. I. Oatman and many other American bee-keepers have made their fortune in this business. Mr. Hetherington keeps thousands of colonies of bees and his yearly net income is 10,000 dollars (31250 Rs) cash. Dr. C. C. Miller, a well known doctor of America, gave up a 2500 dollars' salary to engage in bee-keeping.

An excellent American authority placed the number of colonies of bees in 1881, at 3,000,000, and the honey production for that year was more than 20,000,000 pounds. The production of that year was not up to the average.

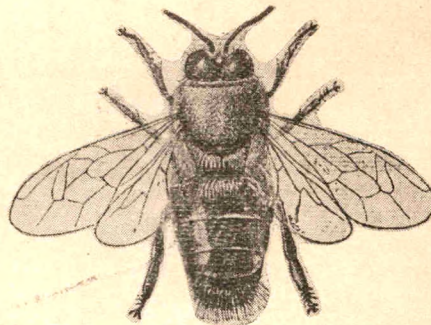
Bee-keeping offers additional funds to the poorly paid; outdoor air to clerk and office hands; healthful exercise to the person of sedentary habit, opportunity for the poor to reap what would otherwise go to waste, and superior recreation together with a little money to students, teachers and professional men. The labor required in bee-keeping, especially if but few colonies are kept, can with thought and management, be so arranged as not to infringe upon the time demanded by the regular occupation.

Apiculture may also bring succour to those whom society has not been over-ready to favour,—our women, widows, dependent girls, the weak and the feeble; all may find a blessing in the easy, pleasant and profitable labour of the apiary.

Apiculture brings health. Many of the noted apiarists not only in America but in the world, sought in bee-keeping their health, and found not only health but reputation and influence. Some of the most successful apiarists in America are women. That able apiarist, and terse writer on apiculture, Mrs L. Harrison, states that the physicians told her that she could not live, but apiculture did her to health, and gave her such vigor that she has been able to work a large apiary for years.

It may be safely said that any place where farming, gardening, or fruit-raising can be successfully followed is adapted to the profitable keeping of bees. It even happens in some instances that bees in cities or towns find more abundant pasturage than in country locations which are considered fair. There is a prosperous apiary on the roof of a business house in the heart of a crowded city like New York, and from which 30 to 40 lbs of honey per colony are obtained each year.

ITALIAN QUEEN BEE.



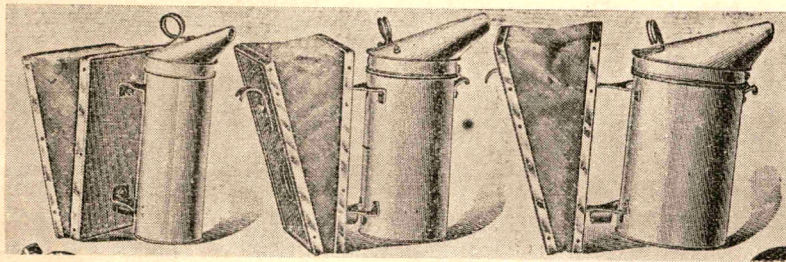
ITALIAN DRONE.

Although apiculture is extremely interesting to most people who have a taste for the study of nature, requiring as it does out of door life, with enough work to be of benefit to one whose main occupation is sedentary; the income to be derived from it, when rightly followed, is a considerable amount, which generally has some weight, and is often the chief factor in supporting one's family. Certainly where large apiaries are planned, the prime object is the material profit, for they require labor and watchfulness.

Apiculture like all other branches of agricultural industry depends largely upon the resources of the location, and the favourableness or unfavourableness of any particular season, no matter how skilful the management, may make great differences in the year's return. The knowledge, skill, industry and promptness of the person who undertakes the care of the apiary have likewise much to do with the return. A moderate estimate for a good locality would be 20 to 25 seers of extracted honey or 15 seers of comb honey per colony. Under favourable circumstances each hive should give a gross return of 8 to 10 Rs. annually. From this about one-third is to be deducted to cover expenses. By locating in some place particularly favourable to apiculture:—i. e. near large forests, near flower or fruit gardens, and near fields where crops are raised, the profit here indicated can be

frequently doubled or trebled. One person devoting all his time can easily care for from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty colonies.

It is well for the beginner to start modestly, with only one or two or at most with three or four hives. He will do well to proceed cautiously, bearing in mind that experience is necessary to enable him to turn to the best account seasons below the average, while during a poor season it will take considerable understanding of the subject, energetic action, and some sacrifice to tide over, without disaster, at least without such great discouragement as to cause neglect or loss of faith in the business. Experience will teach that bee-keeping is a simple and delightful business which can be carried on without any special training. Any man can begin bee-keeping with a little instruction from a practical



A smoker is a miniature bellows in which a piece of cotton is kept smouldering. The bees, frightened by the smoke, seem to fear that they are about to be driven from the hive, and so run to their store to gorge themselves. In a few minutes they may be handled at will.

SMOKERS.

man. After a beginning has been made, skill in managing the bees is gained naturally and inevitably, and interest is then stimulated by the wider outlook which bewilders the novice.

Any person with fairly steady nerves, and some patience and a little courage can easily learn himself without any special help, to control and manipulate bees. It is true, there are a few exceptional individuals whose systems are particularly susceptible to the poison injected by the bee, so much so that serious effects follow a single sting. Such cases are however very rare.

Bees prefer not to be disturbed: hence they usually keep guards on the look-out for intruders; when visitors approach the hives these guards are very apt to fly toward them as if to enquire whether harm is intended or not. The visitor should not inspire them with fear by smoke or any

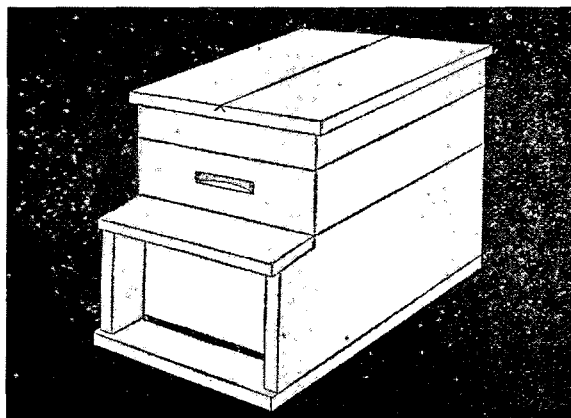
similar means. These guards will come close to his head and buzz disagreeably close to his face. It is natural for him to show nervousness and fear. Sometimes he may arouse their suspicion still further or even to anger them by striking at them or endeavouring to dodge their approach.

It is not to be understood that bees will always refrain from stinging if one vexes them. At some seasons bees are provoked very easily and with slight warning plant a sting in the face of the visitor. But the avoidance of such unpleasant occurrences depends largely upon the kind of bees kept, and to a certain extent, upon an acquaintance with a few facts with which any one of intelligence can easily familiarize himself, and the observance of certain precautions which are quite simple, and after a little practice will become easy, and the opening and manipulation of hives in secur-

ing honey is equally simple and attended with no greater risks. It is safe to say that almost any one can, with perseverance and with the exercise of due caution, learn to manipulate bees with perfect freedom and without serious risk of being stung.

Stings can be avoided first by having gentle bees. In case a gentle race of bees is not easily procurable, he need not hesitate, however, to undertake, after adopting due precautions, the manipulation of any kind of bees.

The second essential to enable one to avoid stings is to have a good smoker at hand whenever the bees are to be handled. A good one lasts years, and its cost is only 3 Rs. to 4 Rs. A veil made of black bobinet or brussels net to draw over the



IMPROVED LANGSTROTH SIMPLICITY HIVE.

head, and a pair of rubber gloves may be used at first. For a beginner coat and trousers are preferable to any kind of looser garments. But whoever has fairly peaceable bees and learns even a little about their ways may go near the colony without these things.

Lastly, reasonable care in manipulation, and a suitable system of management will make the risk of stinging exceedingly little. Indeed intelligent attention to the most important of the points mentioned above, with extra gentleness and moderation in manipulation will enable any one who so desires to avoid all stings.

A hive in a normal condition contains three different kinds of bees, *viz.*, queen or mother bee, the drone or male, and worker

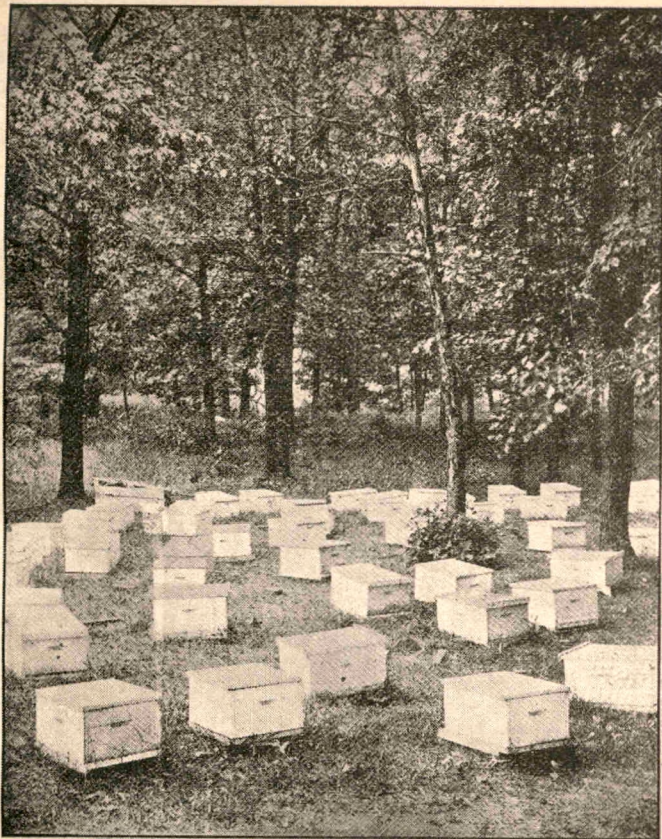
or undeveloped female. But during the autumn, winter and early part of spring only two kinds populate the hive—the queen and the worker bees, drones having been expelled.

In the first place we will give a description of the queen or mother bee. She is the only perfectly developed female in the hive. Her outward appearance is quite distinct from either that of a drone or a worker, and she is much longer. Her wings although as long as those of workers appear much shorter. This is but an optical delusion caused by the contrast to the length of her body. Her jaws are weaker and her tongue much shorter than those of the worker. She has a sting, but different from the worker in its being curved. It is quite a rare occurrence for a queen to use her stings when handled.

The duties of the mother bee or queen are of paramount importance in a hive. She is the life; the success or non-success of the colony rests entirely upon her prolificacy or non-prolificacy. Each of the many thousands of workers or hundreds of drones owes its existence to this bee; she is the mother of the entire colony. Remove a queen from a hive, and after a short period has elapsed the bees will run about searching for her not looking much beyond the actual entrance; but soon they will settle down, and commence constructing queen cells over several young worker larvae. These will be fed very plentifully with a specially prepared food and by this course of feeding will in the space of sixteen days produce virgin queens. As her duties are simply the reproduction of her species, a bee-keeper will perceive the absolute necessity of having young and vigorous queens in his colony.

Often the first few eggs laid by the queen produce only drones and in exceptional instances quite a large number of such eggs are laid, but having settled fairly to her duties, she will lay in the height of the season from 2000 to 3000 eggs per day.

The drone is the male bee, its generative organs being very similar to those of most other insects. It is stingless. It is a large and burly looking bee and is much longer than the worker and less than the queen. The duty of a drone in a hive is only the fertilisation of the queens, and nothing else.



A GLIMPSE OF ONE CORNER OF THE REVIEW
APIARY AT FLINT.

This apiary stands just in the southern edge of a piece of oak woods, and is surrounded by a fence of poultry netting, with a strand of barbed wire at the top.

When this duty is finished the workers turn him out of the hive and allow him to perish outside.

The worker is an undeveloped female. It has strong jaws, so strong that it can chop up paper, cut linen tap, gnaw through straw. This is the smallest kind of bee in the hive, but does the largest amount of work. It has a sting; this sting instead of being curved like the queen's is quite straight.

All the various and manifold duties appertaining to the wellbeing of a colony are performed by these industrious little until the time when with torn and battered

labourers, directly or within a few hours of emerging from the cells: work is their portion, continued without intermission wings, they are cast out as of no more use. They have worked and worked, living only for work. When a worker egg is laid in the cell by the mother bee, it hatches in three days. It is then fed in the larval state for seven days. Having grown to its fullest size it is capped over by the bees with a mixture of pollen and wax; this being of a porous nature allows the immature insect to obtain the requisite amount of oxygen to support its existence. At the end of 21 days, 18 or 19 days in warm countries, it issues forth a lightish-coloured downy little creature. It spends the first twelve hours of its existence in idleness, but directly after commences to act the part of nurse to the larvæ; this employment is continued for about a fortnight. If there is any comb building going on it will take its turn on this; but at the end of this time it goes forth to collect pollen and honey, wherewith to nourish its fellows of the hive.

The worker bee is the water-carrier and keeps the hive well supplied with water. Another important duty is performed by the worker—that of ventilation; watch a hive at midday, and watch the vigour with which the several bees at the entrance fan with their wings, the cool refreshing air in, and the others in the inside are doing their duty by fanning an equal quantity of hot and vitiated air out. The removal of all debris and filth is another important sanitary occupation which devolves upon worker bees; in this as in all things its great industry helps it to develop itself.

NIRUPAM CHANDRA GUHA THAKURTA.

PROFITS OF ESTABLISHING THE TABLE-BLOWING INDUSTRY IN INDIA

IN the Modern Review for October, 1907, Dr. P. C. Ray was kind enough to review my catalogue of table-blown glass apparatus. I have apparently shown so little enterprise since in pushing on the business that people have often asked me what has been the outcome of the high promise of those days. I think I owe the public, specially the scientific public, a few words of explanation. When I issued my catalogue and sent it for review I did not fully realise the difficulties I should meet with in launching as a professional glass blower. I found soon that for the more advanced kinds of glass apparatus made in India there is as yet very little demand; for the less advanced kind in my catalogue, still requiring a good deal of skill, there is more demand and the demand for the two together, if the business were properly worked, is much more than I could meet myself after doing my heavy official duties, and it is much less than could fully employ one or two men specially trained for the purpose. In order to train the men I should have had to find much more work for them than was covered by my catalogue and also see that the work was turned out cheaply and well, so as to compete with the European products. My own knowledge of table-blowing was acquired from a few books and my own exertions without any training from an expert, and my knowledge of the methods by which the work and the business was carried on in Europe, was extremely defective. I tried, but failed, to collect information on the subject and the only course left for me was to go to Europe and there study the correct methods of blowing glass and how the business is conducted. Before, therefore, taking up the training of blowers, I made up my mind to proceed to Europe and go through a course of training myself. I applied myself to making arrangements for

the purpose but financial and other difficulties stood in my way. At last I thought I was in the way of realising my desire and was thinking of starting this month (July) but owing to circumstances over which I had no control, I have to give it up for the present. I have not, however, at all given up the idea and still hope to go in a few months. I may mention here that although I have not pushed on the business very much I have still been doing a considerable amount of work for the Scientific Instrument Co. of Roorkee. The work has, however, been hardly remunerative and I have been doing it partly for love of the work and partly to keep up my practice. So much about myself. I think it will not be out of place here to give a short account of the blowing trade and its prospects in India.

THE BLOWING TRADE.

Glass blowing may be mainly classed under two heads:—(1) Blowing done with glass melted in pots in a furnace, called Pot-blowing and (2) blowing done by means of a blow-pipe lamp out of materials supplied by the pot-blower, called Table-blowing, the work being mostly done on tables. My work comes under the latter heading.

POT-BLOWING.

Pot-blowing is done either by using glass directly from a glass melting furnace or by remelting the glass in smaller furnaces. In both these cases the glass is melted in several pots in a furnace and several people work at these at the same time. Sometimes, however, small factories are met with containing one furnace only, accommodating a single workman. The pot-blower takes out the glass from the pots at the end of an iron tube and then blows it into shape either directly or by means of an iron mould. The practice of using

separate furnaces for remelting the glass has been in use in India for a very long time—probably for centuries, and it is, I believe, still the practice in some European countries. These furnaces are scattered all over India, the most notable ones being at Nagina and the neighbouring places in the Bijour District of the United Provinces. The practice of using the glass directly off the glass-melting furnaces obtains in Austria, Germany and certain other places. This is certainly the more economical procedure,

suited to the habits of the people and the climatic conditions of the country. Of late, machines have been introduced in Europe and America to do certain kinds of blowing, namely, those requiring the use of moulds, e.g., bottles, phials, etc. There are, I understand, small machines for the purpose now on the market and these will, I think, do very well for blowing directly off the glass-making furnaces. I have a mind to revert to the subject of pot-blowing in a future issue of this Review.

TABLE-BLOWING.

The Table-blower, as I have pointed out above, works with materials supplied him by the pot-blower. These consist mostly of glass tubing of various sizes and shapes and a few other things like bulbs, flasks, etc. With these he works before the blow-pipe, using his foot to work the blower for the lamp, his hands to hold, move and work the glass as well as the shaping tools, and his mouth to blow the parts softened by the blowpipe flame into the desired shape and size. His work consists in blowing bulbs in tubes, sealing ends, bending and drawing out to various shapes, joining tubes to each other and to the flasks and bulbs, softening the portions to be worked at before the blow-pipe flame. The work generally requires considerable skill and patience and the finest quality of glass has to be used for the purpose. The glass mostly used now-a-days is a kind of soda glass of which the main constituents are soda (Sodium

Carbonate), sand and lime. The articles, too, made for the table-blower have to be made and treated with great care so that they may have very even thickness of body, and should stand remelting, sudden heating and great differences of temperature at neighbouring parts without cracking. For instance, it is often necessary to heat a small area at the side of a glass article to a very high temperature, almost to the melting

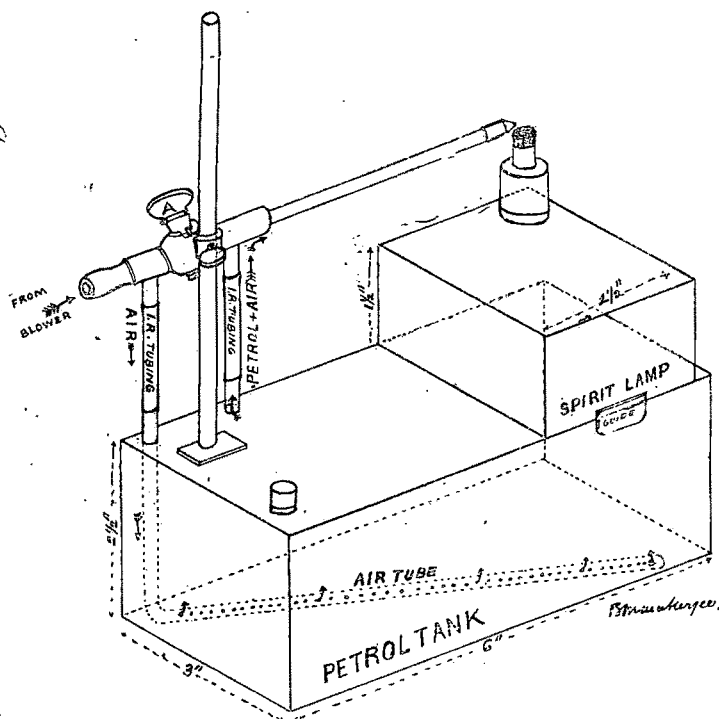


FIG. I. COMBINED BLOW-PIPE LAMP FOR GLASS-BLOWING.

(Designed by Mr. B. M. Mukerjee.)

but imposes great strain on the workmen and in the hot climate of the Indian plains is almost impracticable. The factories started under European management in India, tried this method but so far without success. To me it seems that the factories would have been well advised if they, instead of trying to introduce the Austrian and German method, had started with an improvement of the Indian method, more

point while the parts near the area should remain cold and hard. The composition of the glass too must be very uniform and the same for the different articles. To attain these ends it requires great knowledge, skill and care in the manufacture. Most of the materials for the table-blower now come from Germany. The German makers have vastly improved the quality of the glass and the articles made from it. I have seldom found any difficulty in working with materials supplied by the same firm, or even by different firms, at different times. Some of the Indian factories, too, made attempts at making scientific glass apparatus and glass-tubing for science laboratories and table-blowers. The glass produced was of inferior quality and the attempt failed. The secrets of the trade are many and well preserved and it will require a considerable amount of experimental work and research to discover the secrets. The glass factories are at present working under great difficulties and disadvantages, and it will be too much to expect them, in this period of hard struggle, to engage in scientific research for a not very promising trade. It is to be hoped, however, that some of our well-endowed laboratories will take up the work and discover the secrets of making good glass for scientific apparatus, working as far as possible out of Indian materials.

TABLE-BLOWER'S EQUIPMENT.

The table-blower's equipment is both simple and cheap. His tools consist of a blower of some kind, a lamp, a table, and a few shaping and holding tools and files. The blower and the lamp are the most costly items. The blowers used are generally either a smith's double bellows or one with one of the chambers covered with an India Rubber sheet instead of leather to regulate the pressure better. There are other kinds of blowers also in use but the above are the most common. Formerly oil lamps were used in Europe but since the advent of gas these have nearly disappeared. In India however it will take time for small factories and schools to use gas, and some cheap yet efficient form of lamp will have to be devised. Dr. Richardson introduced a kerosine oil lamp, which although good in its own way, is not suited for heavy work. For my own use I designed a lamp which I have

been using for the last three years with very satisfactory results. I have also designed a small apparatus on the same principle for use with gas blowpipes. I give in this article descriptions and sketches of these as they may be of use to those interested in glass-blowing. As for the other tools they are generally cheap articles and often improvised by the blower to suit his convenience: it will be out of place here to describe these. The whole of the table-blower's equipment generally will cost under Rs. 50.

TABLE-BLOWN ARTICLES.

The articles made by the table-blower are many and of very varied kinds. He makes things both for the general public and science laboratories and many of these are of considerable importance and usefulness. A few of the articles are mentioned below:—

ARTICLES MADE BY BLOWING.

(1) For the general public—clinical, dairy and other house thermometers, hydrometers and lactometers, syringes, baroscopes, glass toys, artificial eyes and flowers, penholders, cigar and cigarette holders, incandescent lamps and numerous other things.

(2) For Science Laboratories—test tubes, pipettes, burettes, thermometers, barometers, fat extraction apparatus, gas analysis apparatus, vacuum pumps, condensers, distilling flasks and X ray tubes: and others too numerous to mention.

IMPORTANCE OF THE INDUSTRY FOR BAZAAR GOODS.

Of the former many things are sold largely in the Indian bazaars—*e.g.*, clinical and other thermometers, syringes, glass toys, penholders, etc. The clinical thermometers alone should form a large industry, as their sale is enormous. Moreover if a cheaper Indian made article could be put on the market their sale is bound to increase very considerably. It may be also mentioned that in Germany and Austria there are many firms who make glass toys alone.

IMPORTANCE OF THE INDUSTRY FOR SCIENTIFIC APPARATUS.

The latter too, *i.e.*, making apparatus for scientific laboratories will not be a negligible industry as the articles are very numer-

ous and fetch a good price. To take one instance, hundreds of thousands of test tubes are broken every year and once broken they are not repaired at present for want of blowers. The making and repairing of test tubes alone will keep a considerable number of blowers going.

ADAPTIBILITY OF THE INDUSTRY TO INDIA.

The table-blower uses no machinery in his works and there seems to be no likelihood of machinery supplanting manual labour in his trade. The Indian workman, therefore, will be in this at no great disadvantage, except in the matter of training,

In Europe the trade flourishes most where labour is cheap. In Germany and Austria the industry maintains a large number of people and if it could be properly worked in India, there is every likelihood of its supporting a large number of workmen. It will besides enable the public to get a very large number of articles cheaper than at present, and some of these, as for instance, clinical thermometers, syringes, etc., are becoming necessities of life with us. The gain to scientific teaching and research work will be incalculable: it will by cheapening the products and making them easily accessible enable all scientific teaching

to be done cheaper and better, and the research worker to obtain immediately apparatus "for which he has now to wait months often to find them broken on arrival" (Dr. P. C. Ray in the *Modern Review* for October, 1907). In time if the industry grows it will be a very important consumer of glass made at the Indian Factories and will aid very much in their development. In Europe many factories turn out work mostly for the use of table-blowers and depend mainly on them for their support. Moreover many industries depend mainly on this

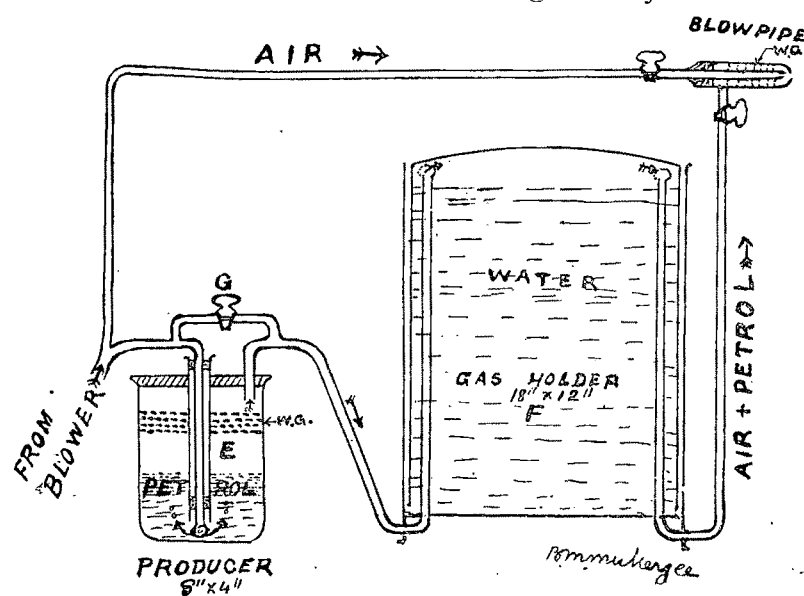


FIG. II. DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH OF GAS-PRODUCER AND BLOWPIPE FOR GLASS-BLOWING.

(Designed by Mr. B. M. Mukerjee).

which can be easily acquired. The industry will be in every way suited to the conditions of work in India. It requires small capital, individual work without machinery, small space and not a very high order of intelligence. The work is not heavy, though tedious. It can be established as a cottage industry and it exists as such in many places in Europe. Some people could even take it as a supplementary occupation; after a little training they could employ their spare time at home to make articles for middlemen. I believe if once a proper start could be made it has every chance of flourishing in India.

industry for most of their work, e. g., the incandescent lamp industry. If the table-blowing industry could be established it will be possible to establish the other industries as well.

DIFFICULTIES.

The work, however, like all pioneering work, is beset with difficulties. We shall have at present, and probably for a long time to come, to depend wholly on European factories for raw materials (glass tubing, etc.); we shall have to overcome considerable prejudice against Indian made glass apparatus and thermometers and shall have

to face the competition of a very well-organised and long established trade in Europe with the experience of centuries behind them. Then again the Indian workman will give considerable trouble at first; for I suppose, like men of his class all over the world, when he learns a new thing he takes a considerably exaggerated view of his own importance and will require considerable tact and patience to deal with for a time. The struggle will be hard but the difficulties can and must be overcome. I hope the importance of the work and its very difficulties will tempt many of our young men to tackle it.

IMPORTANCE AS A SUBJECT FOR SCIENCE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS.

The teaching of science has been introduced into Indian colleges since a long time and of late it has been introduced into schools and great effort is being made to base the whole of the science teaching on a thorough practical basis. It is to be regretted, however, that very little attention has been paid to the importance of teaching table-blowing to teachers and students.* A knowledge of it will be of very great use alike to the teachers and the students and will save a considerable amount of the apparatus bill. The educational value of the art is also very great and in this respect it is much superior to smithy or carpentry. "As cultivating delicacy of touch and perception, it stands almost alone and in the matter of cultivating immediate and accurate correspondence between the actions of the hands and the perceptions of the eye it has all the merits of cricket, fencing or pugilism." "Glass-blowing stands perhaps by itself as a training for the independence of the two hands or exact correspondence as the case may be." "The harmony of action between the two hands of an expert glass-blower is probably beyond any thing in technology." "The power of quickly appreciating proportion, magnitude, form, weight, strain or temperature must necessarily be cultivated, as in almost every case the verification comes after and not before the event." (Thomas Bolas in "Glass-Blowing and Working"). Perhaps a

* Prof. Taite of the Shibpur Engineering College tried to introduce glass blowing amongst the Teachers in Bengal schools but I understand it has not been attended with much success. The Muir Central College has also shewn the way by getting a man specially trained by me.

beginning could be made by introducing glass blowing classes in the Teachers' Training Colleges and in some of the Presidency Colleges, and I beg to draw the attention of the directors of scientific studies in India to the importance of the subject.

GLASS BLOWING LAMPS.

The principle on which the Lamps are designed is that air when passed through petrol or any other volatile liquid becomes charged with a small percentage (about 2%) of the liquid and under proper conditions gives an intensely hot flame. It is the same principle on which the so-called Air-gas machines are constructed. In the first lamp (Fig. 1) the air from the blower is made to pass partly or wholly, as required, through petrol in the lower vessel and is kept lighted by the small spirit lamp on top of the petrol tank. A stopcock (A) regulates the quantity of air that passes through the petrol tank. When fully closed all the air passes through the petrol and when partly closed only part of the air passes through the petrol and the rest directly. It is thus possible to get the air charged with different quantities of petrol. The spirit lamp can be moved backwards and forwards and this with the stopcock gives all the regulation necessary, to obtain from the finest to the largest flame required in table-blowing. When a large broad flame is required, the stopcock should be fully closed and the spirit lamps should be moved forwards so that the end of the blowpipe be just outside the flame. For a small pointed flame the stopcock should be nearly open and the spirit lamp moved backwards so that the blowpipe end may be nearly at the outer end of the spirit lamp flame. For a large brush flame the removable end of the blowpipe should be replaced by one with a fairly large (1/16" to 1/8") hole. In the apparatus in my laboratory the blowpipe is made of brass and the rest of tinned iron sheet (tin).

In the second apparatus, Fig 2, the spirit lamp is dispensed with. The gas is produced in the producer E, which corresponds to the petrol tank of the first apparatus. The charged air is passed into a gas-holder and from thence passes into the blowpipe. The construction of the blowpipe is somewhat different from the ordinary gas blowpipe: the gas passage is somewhat wider

and filled either with small shots or wire gauze rings or cylinder.

The air from the blower is made to pass partly through the producer and partly into the blowpipe, the amounts being regulated by stopcocks near or at the blowpipe or elsewhere as convenient. I sometimes add a bye-pass for air with a stopcock (G) on the top of the producer. This is to get the proper kind of gas in the holder. When a good pressure of gas is required a few weights may be put on the gas-holder.

In the apparatus I use the producer is made from an inverted glass Bell-jar: the gas-holder consists of an outer vessel, 18 inches by 12 inches (an iron drum from the market serving the purpose) and an inner vessel made either of tin or preferably of thin zinc sheet. The top of the producer and the inlet and outlet pipes of the gas holder should be packed with wire-gauze rings to

provide against back-firing; with this precaution I find the apparatus perfectly safe to use. The stopcocks may be brass or glass ones or may simply be brass screw-clips.

I have given only a diagrammatic sketch of the arrangements, the proper positions of the parts will depend on the convenience of the user. It will be also seen that the apparatus is capable of considerable modifications and I have used about half a dozen to suit different conditions of work and place.

I may mention here that a small blower, corresponding to Fletcher's No. 3 blower, may be used for the first lamp, but a bigger and stronger blower, corresponding to Fletcher's No 5 blower, has to be used for the second arrangement.

B. M. MUKERJEE.

Roorkee.

EQUAL RIGHTS

ON the 8th June Sir Bamfylde Fuller, whilom Lieutenant-Governor, East-bengal and Assam, in the course of a lecture delivered at the Colonial Institute, referred to "young Englishmen's occasional outrageous treatment of Indians, who never forget being ordered out of a railway carriage because of difference of race." Three days after occurred an example of that "outrageous treatment" to which he had referred. *The Morning Post* of Delhi published the following account of the incident:—

"On Friday evening, the 11th June, the two sons of a well-known and wealthy Indian Raja were travelling from Delhi to Rajputana. They had reserved two first class berths in the Rajputana mail. A British military officer, it seems, was travelling by the same train. When he got into the carriage, he found the two young Indian princes there, and with that peculiar form of Anglo-Indian insolence which is not entirely a novelty in India, he demanded that his two fellow-passengers should clear out. They objected. The officer, then, we understand, threatened to chuck them out, and as his attitude lent colour to the belief that he intended to enforce his threat by the exercise of physical violence, one of the young Indians, thoroughly aroused, drew a revolver. Then there was trouble in real earnest. The police were called, the station authorities hurried up and the infuriated Major laid

up a charge against those whom he deemed to be his assailants. The followers of the two young princes were armed; and they themselves were detained in the station under surveillance during the night until the next morning. In the meanwhile, the princes had wired to their father, who at once sent them some thousands of rupees with instructions to get the best counsel possible and fight the case. He also wired to His Majesty the King and to Lord Minto, the result of the action being that all idea of a criminal prosecution was at once dropped and in common parlance the matter was 'hushed up.'

The termination of the case was—from the popular point of view—even worse than the case itself. The matter was "hushed up," as such matters usually are. But while an open enquiry and a deserved punishment remove discontent such hushings up only drive it underground. Will the princes themselves and their relatives and retainers be really content with this hushing up, followed, perhaps, by a departmental reprimand? Then, what is equally, if not more important, how will the public take it?

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And such treatment has so often been accorded by upstart Englishmen to Indians that it has lost even the charm of novelty. Writing on "Social Amenities—East and

West" as far back as 1902, Sir David Barr wrote:—

"A certain Raja arrived by train at his capital, and to the astonishment of those who were on the platform to meet him, he was seen to emerge from a second-class carriage. He explained that he thought he preferred travelling second class, because he had spent a part of the previous night in some discomfort in a first-class carriage, owing to the fact that, at about midnight, a young officer, who had been shooting all day, and was very weary and stiff from the exercise, had got into the same carriage and had, in the most good-natured way, but at the same time somewhat forcibly, ordered the Raja to shampoo his legs for an hour or so, until he fell asleep. 'Yes,' said the Raja when his friends expostulated with him for submitting to perform this menial service, 'I *might* have told him who I was, but I don't think he would have believed, and I think he would have made me shampoo his legs all the same.' There is no doubt that, in this instance, the Raja cruelly mis-judged his companion, for if he had, at the outset, explained his identity, it is impossible to believe that any English gentleman would have asked him to pommel his legs!"*

Sir David has, perhaps unconsciously, made an attempt to belittle the shortcoming of his countrymen. Are men who can calmly order a fellow-passenger to shampoo their legs gentlemen? The fellow-passenger may be a prince or a peasant—no one has the right to make him submit to perform menial service. The behaviour of these men often so exasperates Indians that in the Panjab they tell the story of an irate Panjabee who taught an impertinent European manners. The two were travelling together in a first-class compartment. The Panjabee had kept his *pagree* near the European's overcoat, and this roused the anger of the latter. At an intermediate station the Panjabee went out of the compartment for a few minutes. On his return he found the *pagree* missing. He asked his fellow-passenger about it. "I don't know. Don't bother."—was his reply. The Panjabee's opportunity arrived soon after when the European went out. On his return the European found his coat missing and enquired about it. "I don't know. Don't bother."—was the Panjabee's reply. "You must know"—said the incensed European choking with anger. "Then," said the Panjabee with a mischievous smile, "I will tell you that

grip, and said, "If you want I will let you go the way of the *pagree* and the coat to get the two back." This brought the European to his senses, and the rest of the journey was performed in silence. Of course this incident is of doubtful authenticity. But it only repeats what a Carnatic chief told Sir Edward Winter, Governor of Madras,—he need not hope for redress till "the English horns and teeth grew."† And we know of a prince whose wife was rudely insulted by an Anglo-Indian officer at a Government House ball. She was sitting on a sofa when the officer came to her, and asked if she would dance with him. "I do not dance," said the lady. "Then why are you waiting here like an *aiya*?"—said the officer. The lady reported the matter to her husband, who came to the officer and with one slap left him rolling on the floor. The matter attracted the attention of all present, and the Governor, who was a true type of an English gentleman, made the assaulted officer apologise.

The cause of these insults is to be sought and found in the fact that Englishmen in India look down upon Indians as members of an inferior race. It began early when in the opening years of the seventeenth century the English in India were instructed to "trust none of the Indians, for their bodies and souls be wholly Treason."‡ And it has continued ever since.

"It is the peculiarity of residence in the East to develop sentiments of intolerance and race superiority. * * * * * A civilian has been known to thrash with his whip a sepoy on duty who rightly neglected to comply with his orders; another has chastised a constable with his own hands for a similar omission; others have assaulted respectable residents of the country because on passing a European in the road they have not dismounted from their horses in token of their inferiority. A recent Lieutenant-Governor of a province did not consider it unworthy of his dignity to issue general orders regarding the character of the headdress to be worn by natives in the presence of official superiors; the great shoe question, as it is called, has convulsed official society a hundred times. The comparative independence of the lads of the rising generation has excited in countless instances the ire of the officials who come in contact with them, and a crusade against the turbaned and muslin-coated students of Bengal has culminated in more than one unjust and ludicrous prosecution before a

It is this spirit that advertises itself so prominently from railway carriages "for Europeans only" and even from the doors of baths, &c.

And European ladies in India have contributed largely to the bitterness of feeling between the two communities. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt has made the following remarks on the point:—

"I shall no doubt incur anger by saying it, but it is a fact that the Englishwoman in India during the last thirty years has been the cause of half the bitter feelings there between race and race. It was her presence at Cawnpore and Lucknow that pointed the sword of revenge after the Mutiny, and it is her constantly increasing influence now that widens the gulf of ill-feeling and makes amalgamation daily more impossible. I have over and again noticed this. The English collector, or the English doctor, or the English judge may have the best will in the world to meet their Indian neighbours and official subordinates on equal terms. Their wives will hear of nothing of the sort." *

On this point Sir Henry Cotton also has something to say:—

"We find in private life an almost universal use of irritating expressions in regard to natives, which are not the less offensive when they proceed from persons who hold an official position, and have in other respects the outward seeming of Englishmen. Among women, who are more rapidly demoralised than men, the abuse of 'those horrid natives' is almost universal. Among men how often do we hear the term 'nigger' applied, without any indication of anger or intentional contempt, but as though it were the proper designation of the people of the country. Even with those who are too well-informed to use this term, the sentiment that prompts its use is not wholly set aside." †

It was this spirit which necessitated the recording of the Fuller Minute during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, in which we read:—

"The Governor-General in Council would take this opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of the practice, instances of which occasionally come to light, of European Masters threatening their Native servants in a manner in which they would not treat men of their own race. This practice is all the more cowardly, because those who are least able to retaliate injury or insult, have the strongest claim upon the forbearance and protection of their employers. * * * * The Governor-General in Council considers that the

habit of resorting to blows on a very trifling provocation, should be visited by adequate legal penalties, and those who indulge it should reflect that they may be put in jeopardy for a serious crime."

And what is more, English writers have been shameless enough to say that in deciding cases between Europeans and Indians English dispensers of justice do not scruple to trample under foot the traditions of British justice and uphold the unjust cause of the Europeans! Speaking of that "useful person"—the Indian Salutri, the *Field* remarked:—

"The Salutri (native vet.) is one of the many institutions connected with an Indian stable, and, though he often exasperates his employer, he is on the whole, a satisfactory person with whom to have dealings. For though he cannot undertake important operations, such as extracting worm in the eye, or even so simple a thing as firing, he is to be trusted to cure a sore back or to reduce wind-galls. It is, however, as a farrier that he is chiefly employed and as he does not suffer from an overdose of dignity, he is quite willing to personally undertake work of this nature. But his efforts do not always afford satisfaction, since he has a fatal habit of cutting away too much of the toe with the result that the horse entrusted to his care goes lame. A violent altercation then takes place between the menial and his employer, to be followed by the Salutri bringing a summons for assault and battery, a proceeding which usually results in the plaintiff losing his case, as European sympathy is invariably on the side of the white man rather than on that of the native. Indeed, there is hardly a single case on record of an English Magistrate having given judgment in favour of the plaintiff, one reason for which is that a verdict of an adverse nature would result in the defendant ceasing to be on speaking terms with the official who has tried the case. And when it is borne in mind that in small stations harmony is necessary between every individual member of the local society in order that the evening games of lawn tennis, whist, pingpong, battle-dore and shuttle-cock and blind man's buff may not be interfered with, it will readily be understood that few Magistrates would care to falling foul of their neighbours."

We may not be eager to accept as gospel truth the assertion of the *Field*, but all the same it is an indication of the spirit to which we have referred. And equality of rights, inspite of the pronounced policy of the Government, has yet to be established.

* Ideas about India.

† *New India*.

THE BENGAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

Illustrated with photographs specially taken for the Modern Review.

THE Indian who comes to Calcutta on a scientific pilgrimage must visit two houses in Upper Circular Road, namely, those numbered 91 and 93, the former occupied by Dr. P. C. Ray and the latter being the residence of Dr. J. C. Bose. The former is also the place where originated the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, the pioneer and most successful chemical works in India. Situated between these two houses is the Bengal Technical Institute. To the student of science and industry, the associations of the neighbourhood are inspiring, and we are glad that the Institute is likely to have its permanent location in the palatial building which it now occupies on lease. Rich Indians who have a genuine love for their country and swadeshi cannot do better than give lavishly to such a technical and industrial school.

But we must give some idea of what the institution is like; and that we proceed to do almost in the words of its latest available report.

In taking a retrospect our attention is first directed to the great industrial awakening that has of late taken place in the country. Everywhere the signs of this new industrial spirit have manifested themselves. It has received additional stimulus from the hard struggle of our young men to make an honest and independent living. Services, State and private, and the professions are inadequate to cope with the growing demands of the people. The need of new openings is keenly felt. Our eyes have been opened to the vast natural resources of the country lying practically undeveloped. The success of Europeans in the field of industrial enterprise has also been an object-lesson to us and has stimulated our energies.

But the great difficulty that meets us at the threshold is the want of adequate knowledge and skill. A sound knowledge of the technical arts and sciences is at the basis of all industrial pursuits. Generally speaking, our country possesses no institution where

higher technical instruction on modern lines is imparted. Students have to go abroad to get the requisite training. But only a limited number can avail themselves of this opportunity. Technical institutions in the country are, therefore, an absolute necessity. To meet it in some measure, however inadequate, the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal was organised, and the Bengal Technical Institute was founded in pursuance of this object.

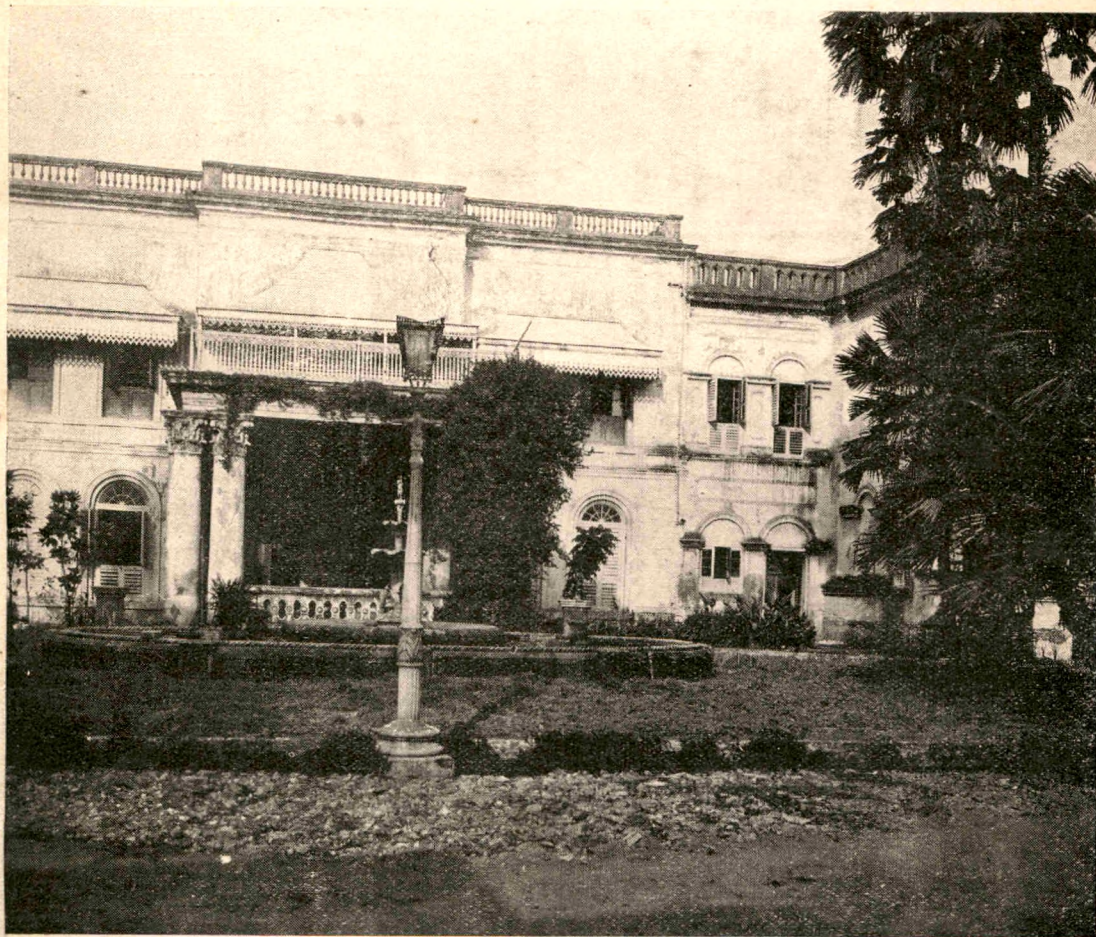
The promoters of the Society from the very outset fully realised the magnitude of the undertaking. They were keenly alive to the requirements of men and money that such an undertaking necessarily involved and could not possibly have entertained the idea but for the timely offer of pecuniary help by some patriotic gentlemen and their personal zeal and enthusiasm in the cause.

They took for their ideal of technical education the systems that prevail and have succeeded so well in Europe and America and it was thought advisable that, so far as it lay in their power, their system should be shaped on those models. The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal was thus started on the first of June 1906 and was formally registered under Act XXI of 1860. The main object of the Society is to impart scientific and technical education to the Indian people, calculated to further their industrial progress. The condition of the middle classes was uppermost in the minds of the founders of the Society. Yet the primary branch of technical education which is concerned with producing skilled artisans amongst the lower classes was not entirely left out of account, though high Collegiate education was considered beyond its means. It was found advisable to take immediately in hand the secondary branch of technical education and add to it an Intermediate Department for the benefit of those young men who leave school early with merely the rudiments of learning and are without any means to earn a decent livelihood.

OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME.

With these objects in view the Society established the Bengal Technical Institute on the 25th of July, 1906. It secured the services of some distinguished graduates of the Calcutta University and opened classes in Chemistry, Physics, Drawing, English and Mathematics. Two departments were opened, *viz*, the Secondary and the Inter-

students in the opening year but this has subsequently been dispensed with. The object of the Secondary Department is to train Prospectors, Foremen, Industrial Chemists and Assistant Engineers who will be competent to take charge of factories. The Intermediate Department is intended to turn out skilled operatives, assistants to foremen, Engine-drivers, fitters, and Mechanical Draftsmen. The Engineering course

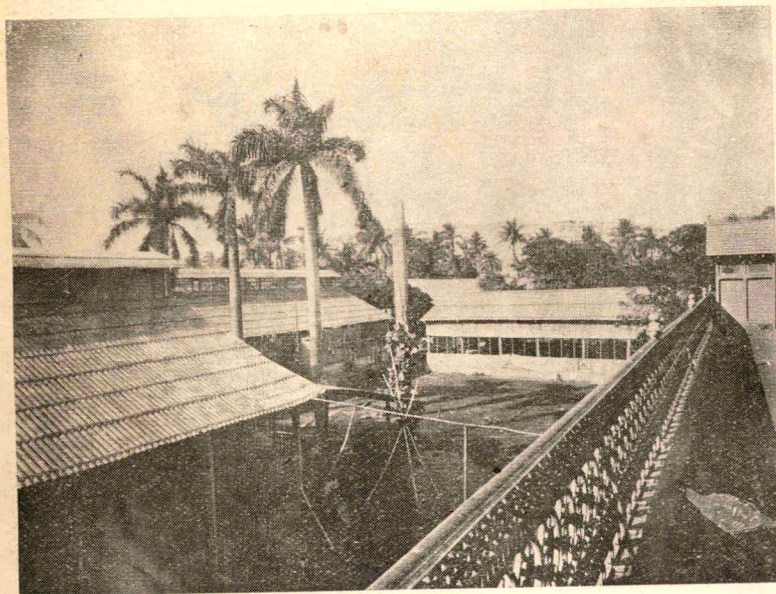


THE BENGAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE, FRONT VIEW.

mediate. In the former, students who pass the University Matriculation examination or the 5th Standard Examination of the National Council of Education or who possess some equivalent qualifications, are eligible for admission. In the latter a much lower standard is required for admission. A special examination was held to admit

in the Secondary Department comprises the Mechanical and Electrical branches, and the Chemical course includes Ceramics, Dyeing, Soap-making, Tanning, and Technological Chemistry. Besides, there is a course of Geology. It is worthy of remark that these subjects have been chosen with due regard to the industrial requirements of

the people and the special facilities which the country affords for the growth of industries on these lines. In the Intermediate Department the idea is to give only practical training in Fitting Mechanical and Electrical, Dyeing, Carpentry, Electroplating, Lithography, Soap-making and Tanning with easy lessons in Physics, Chemistry, English, and Mathematics. There has thus been a slight departure from the original plan which was to give to the students of the Intermediate Department theoretical training also in all important subjects through the medium of the Vernacular. This scheme did not work well and had to be modified in favour of the present.



EXTERIOR VIEW OF WORKSHOPS AND GROUNDS.

The first year in the Secondary Department is entirely taken up with general training in English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Drawing and Workshop practice. This gives a good foundation to the students in their subsequent technical studies. At the beginning of the second year each student is required to choose a special subject. In the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering courses Higher Mathematics and Physics have to be studied along with practice in machine-drawing and pattern-making, and the training in the special subject extends continuously to the end of the fourth year. The students of the Chemical and Geological courses mostly confine their studies to

Chemistry and the special subjects. The period of training in the Intermediate and in the Secondary Department is 3 years except in the Engineering and Technological Chemistry courses of the latter, where the period of study extends to 4 years. There is a uniform tuition-fee of Rs. 3 per month for all classes of both the departments. For casual students the schooling fee is Rs. 5 per month. The Institute provides for several free-studentships for poor deserving students. The total number of students on the rolls of the Secondary Department was 88 and that on the rolls of the Intermediate Department 36 in June 1908, the numbers at present on the rolls being 110 and 70 respectively. The majority of the students of the Institute did not advance beyond the Matriculation standard of the University at the time of admission though a few of them had passed the First Examination in Arts. The students take to all sorts of manual labour with the greatest pleasure and work freely with the mistries and often under their guidance. They generally come from the higher castes of society and have completely shaken off their old prejudices. This is a very hopeful sign.

LOCATION OF THE INSTITUTE.

As noted above, the Bengal Technical Institute is located at 92, Upper Circular Road, popularly known as the Parsibagan House, on an area of about 13 bighas of land. The regular classes are held in the main building and within the compound have been built corrugated iron sheds for workshops. The practical and experimental portions of Tanning and Soap-making are taught in the factories of Dr. Nilratan Sircar, Secretary of the Institute, and no separate arrangements have consequently been made by the Society for these purposes. The building is rented at Rs. 316-

10-8 per mensem, but the Society has very recently entered into a contract for its purchase with the proprietor at a lakh and seventy-five thousand rupees and Rs. 10,000 has been paid as earnest money.

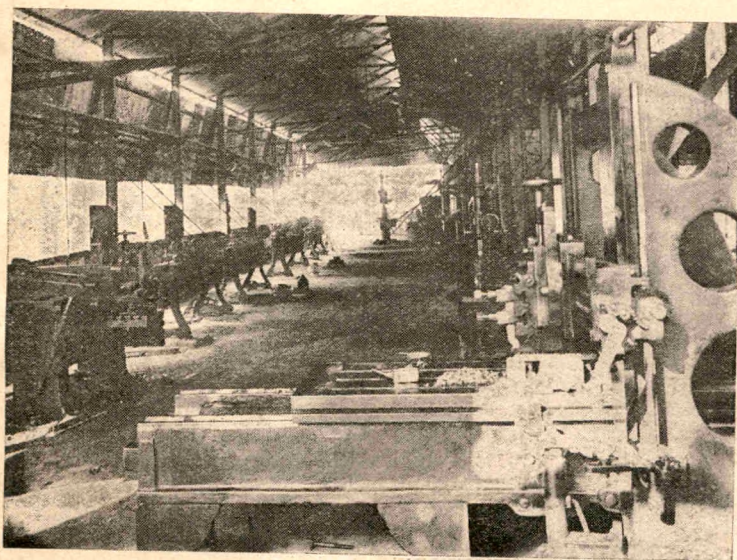
LIBRARY AND WORKSHOPS.

The Society has formed the nucleus of a Library and is also taking steps to open a museum in connection with the Institute.

The books that now form the Library have been purchased with a view to meet the immediate requirements of the school-classes but it is hoped that with increase of funds a decent collection will be made. The Institute subscribes to some scientific

ing out at present small-sized iron chairs, strong, cheap and easily portable, and they are finding a ready sale. In fact the demand is greater than it is able to meet.

It is now in a position to receive and execute orders for plates, bowls and tumblers of all sorts and sizes in metals of everyday use. Tins are printed in colours on the press. Ornamental tin boxes which have now to be imported from Europe by the local manufacturers of tooth-powders, shoe-black and other things may also be turned out in the workshop. Arrangements for electro-plating are being completed and it will soon be possible to undertake orders in this line.



MECHANICAL WORKSHOP.

journals and magazines for the use of professors and pupils. It has also a sporting-club attached to it and the students play football and cricket in the Greer Park opposite the Institute premises. The Society has not as yet been able to open a Boarding-house for students, but it has a mess in the school premises where some of the professors and students take their meals.

The Society has purchased machinery for sheet-metal industry, tin-printing and lithography; and the workshop is being rapidly fitted up to enable it to undertake repairs of machines and motor-cars. Its attention has of late been directed to the manufacture of articles in the workshop. It is turn-

The workshop hitherto remained considerably engaged in supplying the requirements of the Institute. But orders are now taken from outside and attended to.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY.

The affairs of the Society are managed by a Governing Body, the maximum number being fixed at 100 and the total number on the list in June 1908 was 78. The Governing Body has in turn formed an Executive Committee, which is directly responsible for the due administration and management of the concerns of the Society and

a School Committee which supervises and controls the actual teaching work of the Institute and all other matters in this connection. The office-bearers of the Society consist of a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, one Assistant Secretary and two Treasurers. The Executive Committee as a rule meets once a week for transaction of business.

TEACHING STAFF.

The Institute has got a Principal, a Superintendent and a staff of Professors and Teachers of whom some are trained in Europe and Japan and some are distinguished graduates of the Calcutta Uni-

versity. The Principal is Mr. S. Datta, M.A., who received his training in Germany.

The students of the geological class went to Giridih and Barakar in December 1907 on an excursion in the company of their Professor. In this excursion they made a good collection of samples. The students of the engineering classes will make similar tours to important factories at the end of their third year and it is hoped the proprietors will afford them all facilities.

PROSPECTS OF STUDENTS.

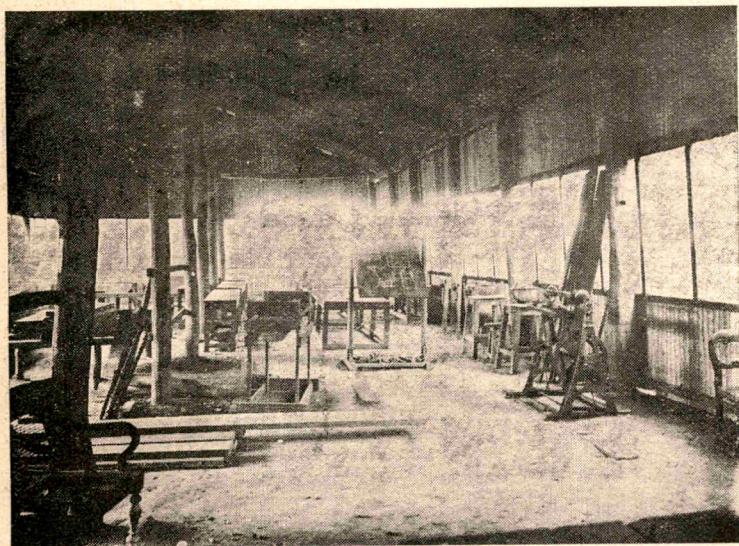
Three students of the Institute have secured employment in three well-known firms, one in Messrs Octavius, Steel and

yet no permanent fund, no endowed property. But one of its members has made provision for leaving property worth about ten lakhs of rupees for the benefit of the Society. The subscriptions range from Rs. 20 to Rs. 1,500 per month besides the sum of Rs. 69,290, which was received in donations and fees for membership from July 1906 to January 1908. The recurrent expenses of the Institute came up to Rs. 3,000 a month and the work of construction and organization of departments was still in progress and required constant outlay.

During the first 2 years Rs. 1,12,839 have been spent in erection of workshops and purchase of machinery and other appliances, and Rs. 27,380 on establishment account.

The Society is trying at present to raise Rs. 1,65,000, the balance of the purchase money of the Institute premises, Rs. 10,000 having already been subscribed, and it hopes that with the kind help of the public the money will soon be forthcoming.

The needs and requirements of a Technical Institute are immense. The Society has only laid the small beginnings. What it has been able to accomplish is as yet nothing compared to what it has got to accomplish in



WORKSHOP. CARPENTRY.

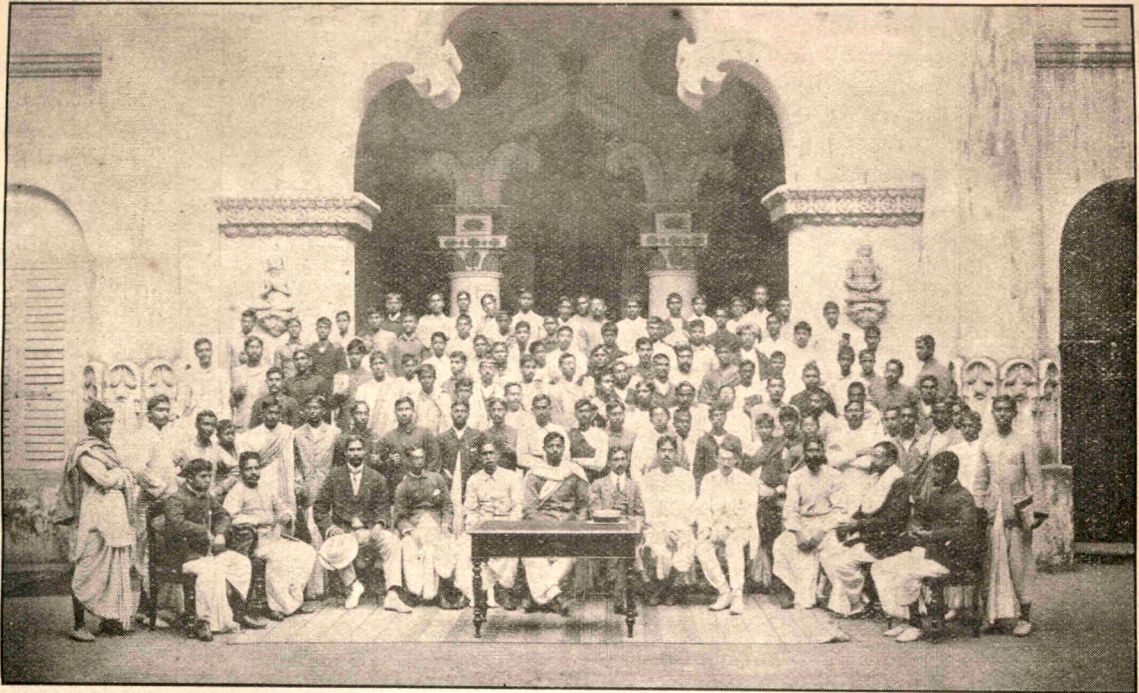
Company, one in the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works and another as Prospector in the District of Trichinopoly. Enquiries are often made by manufacturing firms for trained men and at present the Luxmi Mill Dyeing Factory and the Tobacco Manufacturing Company of Rungpur require some students of the Institute to work as assistants in their factories.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

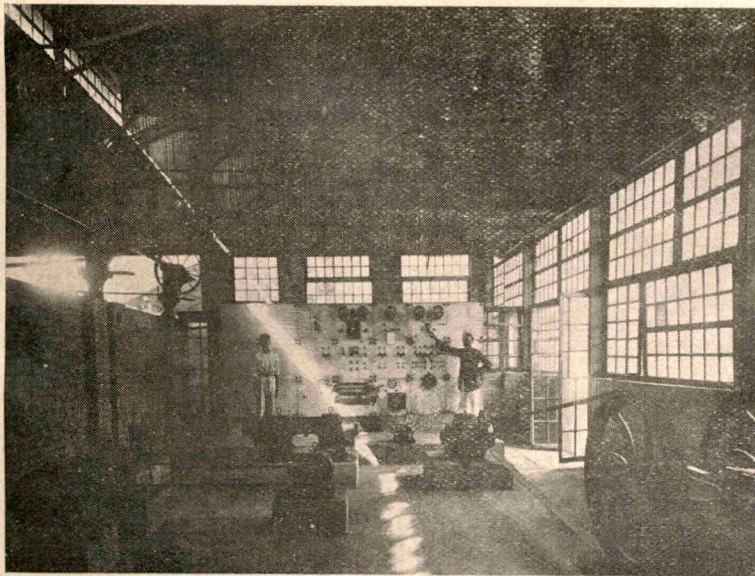
The principal income of the Society is derived out of donations and monthly and yearly subscriptions from its patrons, members and sympathisers. The Society has as

future. Some of the ordinary ideas of the Committee of Management have not yet taken practical shape. It appeals to the public for their generous sympathy and support without which it cannot hope to attain the desired measure of success. The Institution is a novel experiment in the country being founded entirely on principles of popular aid and control. Its utility is beyond question. The country at large ought to be interested in its success. We place these considerations before the generous public and hope they will meet with a ready response.

In the Report by Mr. J. G. Cumming, B. A., I. C. S., on Technical and



GROUP OF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS (1908), TAKEN IN THE INNER QUADRANGLE.



ELECTRIC POWER HOUSE.

Industrial Instruction in Bengal, it is stated:—

"The institute was started under the revulsion which followed the partition of Bengal, but the system of instruction has fortunately been directed on

sound lines. For funds the committee are principally indebted to Mr. T. Palit, Barrister-at Law, and have the advantage of the assistance of two master minds in the mechanical and educational world of Calcutta."

Mr. Cumming also observes:—

"The course for industrial chemistry is still in its infancy, but it has anticipated the proposals for the establishment of similar classes in Sibpur, which classes, I hope, may be the nucleus of a Government technical institute in Calcutta."

As the Institute committee are not thought readers and could not have divined what was in the mind of officialdom, we suppose what Mr. Cumming means to

suggest is that the Government also has *independently* drawn up a similar course for industrial chemistry. But this suggestion was scarcely needed, for who can have the hardihood to imagine that officials

can ever borrow an idea from non-officials?

Mr. Cumming's concluding advice is very sound and will no doubt be followed in increasing measure, though it can not at present be followed in its entirety. Says he:—

"I advice the governing body of the Bengal technical institute to place it on a sound financial footing, and to insist that only those youths who have received a sound general education, should be allowed to join its classes. It is quite a mistake to think that only the dullards, who have no chance of success in the usual literary careers, should take up a specialised branch of technical study. John Stuart Mill said in 1866:—"Special knowledge is sought after only by a certain number of young men, and it is only

when they have completed their education, properly so called, that they should be permitted to enter upon it. The good or bad use which they will make of such knowledge will depend chiefly on their moral character, and character can be formed only by general education."

Great progress has been made in the theory and practice of education since Mill wrote the above and it is now generally recognised that practical training of the hand and eye and brain from the earliest stage forms an essential part of a sound general education, though nothing can ever be said against the general proposition that the brightest intellects should not feel it beneath their dignity to receive technical education.

MODERN EDUCATION OF THE HINDU WOMAN

AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY MRS. J. C. BOSE BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

THE modern world is characterised by the power of self-organisation on a vast scale at a moment's notice.

This is the age of the machine. We are impressed by its complexity, its precision, and its effectiveness. And it is a law of thought that every ideal shall find its social application. Out of the influence of the machine on the modern imagination spring the immense armies, the labour-organisations, the banks, departmental stores, railways and empires of the present. It is *the capacity to think of such great human areas as units* that constitutes the *modern consciousness*, the training that creates such capacity which we know as *Education*.

Asia has been caught napping, as it were, by all these developments. The Indian civilisation, to take the special example that concerns us, has accustomed us for ages to think of ourselves socially, as atoms in the larger masses of home and village. On the side of the soul, the mind, and the heart, there are many of us who feel that our Indian culture is infinite. But on this side, we are individuals. A man stands here alone with God. Greatness in this kind, when we achieve it, is the greatness of the saint, the poet, or the scholar. Such attainment lacks the activity and

powers of self-direction and self-defence that are necessary to a people to-day.

Italy may not now be so great as when she produced St. Francis and Dante. But she is more effective.

If she were once more a mediæval, instead of a modern country, all her greatness would not then enable her to hold her own before the world, or to avoid exploitation by it. What a people need, in order to pass from mediæval to modern, is the habit of thinking of country, province and nation, rather than of family and village. They must understand something about the world as a whole. The great spectacle of history must be present to the eye of the common mind.

In this way, men come to play their parts, not in some small class or sect, but in humanity at large. Each takes upon himself the whole duty of a true man. The country of one's birth ceases to be to one as a garden, or a beautiful association of childhood merely, and becomes the home of a nation, the hearth of great men, a battlefield for the struggle of life, a school of civilisation, and an anvil for the shaping of human character.

For such an end, there must be universal co-operation. High and low, men and

women, must work together. We cannot afford to have one defaulter. Nor ought there to be any opposition or jealousy from outside. For this is not a matter in which one man's loss is another man's gain. On the contrary, all humanity is made richer, by the advance of each one of its members. The universal treasure is only made greater and more secure when a new nation is added to the circle of its guardians. And to pass to the consideration of woman alone, woman, the world over, shines in a fresh glory, from the added greatness and beauty of each new type of womanhood.

It is from this point of view that we come to the consideration of the modern Education of the Hindu woman. The women of India must be modernised, or rather, must be enabled to modernise themselves. How is this to be done?

It is easier to say how it must not be done. New opportunities of education must *never* be based on the assumption that before we can develop ourselves, we Indian women have first to undergo some radical change. They must not start from a false conception of the position and influence of the Hindu woman in the past of India. Education, to be effective, must proceed from the actual standpoint of the taught, and help them to reach their natural goal; while to say that it must be based on an appeal to their strength and not to their weakness, is a mere truism.

There sometimes seems to be a curious impression current in this country, that the position of the Hindu woman in her own society is *not* a very advantageous one. But this is surely an error. It follows from the system of the Undivided Family, which obtains in India as it did, no doubt, in other classical countries--that during the first years of marriage, a woman is thought of more as a daughter of the household than as the wife of such and such a one. That is to say, the *relationship* of the *Mother* is more explicitly idealised than that of the wife. But we must remember that this mother herself owes all her dignity and authority to the fact that she is the wife of the head of the household!

With regard to our domestic position, then, as wives and mothers, it cannot be said too plainly that we Hindu women have nothing to complain of. Indeed we cannot imagine how the women of any other nation can be half so blessed or so fortunate.

The position of the widow will perhaps occur to my audience as not falling under this head. With regard to this question, I must of course say that I belong personally to a community which has taken up an attitude of protest against this position, especially as it concerns the child-widow. We of the Brahmo Samaj have done what we could to advocate re-marriage for the child widow; to postpone the age of betrothal; and to mitigate the standards of hardship and asceticism which the widowed are expected to follow. At the same time that we have done this, however, we must point out to Western people that orthodox Hinduism is a society permeated by monastic ideals. To it, the condition of the widow represents holiness, and all that is most to be revered. It is amongst widows that Hinduism finds its saints. While we of the Brahmo Samaj have assigned a *role* of slighter austerity to the widowed, it will be remembered that we have at the same time systematically attempted to open up wider careers, in the professions, to all women, and have striven to work constructively for the amelioration of custom. While we have advocated individual choice, the best of us share to the full the national prejudice against the re-marriage of one who has been a wife. We do not think that the solemn vow of fidelity ceases to bind us at death. We believe that marriage is, in the ideal at least, between soul and soul, and mind and mind.

So much for the position of the Hindu woman in the home. Next arises the question of her intellectual status. Throughout our history, woman has shared to the full, with man, in our national culture. There is a sense in which ours is pre-eminently the land of Great Women. India has always sought *greatness* in woman. All our books show this. In one of the oldest and finest of our scriptures a large part of a long conversation is between a great scholar and his wife on the higher Philosophy of Religion. The same equality of interchange breathes throughout the Sanskrit drama, embodying as this does, some of our oldest traditions. Sakuntala may hold her head as high as she will, amongst the world's heroines of literature! One of the most beautiful monuments in India is that known as *Sanchi Tope*, built about the year 250 A. D. by Rani Devi,

the first consort of the great Emperor Asoka. Out of some ancient high place, this princess made a great Buddhist shrine and monastery, in testimony to her own enthusiasm for the faith her distinguished husband had adopted. And the books tell how her son Mahinda, when he became a monk, and set out on his mission to Ceylon, carrying religion and education,—visited her on his way, and was lodged, with his train, in the beautiful monastic cells or vihara, which she had built.

And the fashion set by Rani Devi dominated that country-side for many a century so that now it is full of these stupa-crowned historic heights.

In the 12th century A. D. we come to *Lilavati*, daughter of Bhashkaracharya, the mathematician, the earliest enunciator of the principle of gravitation. This learned man made a vow that his daughter should be so learned that she should never sigh for her state of widowhood. And it is now supposed by some that *Lilavati* co-operated with her father in the composition of his greatest treatise.

In Modern India, again, some of our greatest names are those of women. Ahalya Baee Rani, the Rani of Jhansi, and Rani Bhawani—to mention three only,—are famous all over the country, and none who knows the reverence in which they are held, could dream that the mind of woman had been relegated to any inferior position amongst us. They are famous for their administration and their public works, one—Ahalya Baee as a crowned queen, the other—Rani Bhawani—as an aged and great lady. I have dealt only with historical instances. When we come to the study of our heroic literature, we have more direct proof still of the position assigned to woman, in the *imagination* of India.

The Ramayana is nothing more or less than one long exaltation of the sweetness and gentleness of Sita,—the woman of sorrow. In the Mahabharata, again, which may have taken its present shape about 400 A. D., we have one character—Gandhari the Queen—who has few rivals in literature, for regal strength and epic breadth. It was Gandhari who, on finding herself married to a blind King, bandaged her own eyes, that she might not enjoy the light from which her husband was shut out.

It was Gandhari who said to her own son, day after day, as he sought her blessing on his unjust warfare, "Yato dharmma stato jayah! Victory ever follows the Right!"

In a single volume of the Mahabharata, again, are grouped a short synopsis of the story of Sita, the story of Damayanti and the story of Savitri. (There seems to have been an ancient literary convention, by which it was customary in a new book to give reference to all existing literature. Hence we gather, from the story of Sita here, that the Ramayana is older than the Mahabharata). In any case, the grouping of these three characters in a single division of the poem makes us feel very impressively that the writer of this part was a great idealist of woman. *Damayanti* is one of the earliest of Aryan heroines. She is in many ways like a Shakspearean woman, for courage and resource. And one of the sweetest passages in all poetry is the picture of her wooing by the gods. The name of *Damayanti*'s own hero is Nala, and she enters the marriage-hall, prepared to choose none but him. Four of the gods, however, have adopted his form, and she finds, on looking round, that there are five Nalas! She is bewildered and prays to the gods to be allowed to keep her vow. The gods take pity on her and she chooses her own hero. Perhaps of all our epic heroines, there is none who has so much influence over the national imagination as *Savitri*. In this character all is human. She is the embodiment of the faithful wife. It is the *humanity*, the freedom from supernatural elements, its perfect simplicity and truth, that so win us, in the story of *Savitri*. At last she follows her husband into the presence of Death, and beholds the dread king, face to face. But even here her woman's wit never forsakes her. When Death is ready to go any length to be rid of her, she bids him promise her a long line of sons, and then confronts him with the dilemma that according to Dharmma or Righteousness—and Death is Lord of Righteousness—a widow cannot re-marry! Death is an antagonist fully worthy of this mettle. He sees at once that it is neither within his province to break his own promise nor to require *Savitri* to betray her wedded troth. He takes the only course open to him—gives back her husband to the faithful wife. And

we Hindus have a superstition that no harm can touch a man, when a true wife stands at his side.

The Problem of To-day

I have given so much time to these instances, in order to show that it is a *dislocation of culture* with which we have to deal, in India at the present time, not some injustice that has been done to women. The Indian man has begun, and the Indian woman must follow, in being modernised. "*We must get knowledge, and with all our getting we must get understanding.*"

I believe, moreover, that the greatness of our past, and the dignity of our position are powerful arguments to draw to us the sympathy that we need, in carrying out the task of our education. We take our stand on our proved strength, not on our supposed weakness, for the readjustment that has now to be brought about, between us and the modern world.

We must of course undertake the main task of our own development ourselves. But in this we require to be assisted by such as see that Humanity has need of us.

No nation would have been in existence to-day, if behind it there had not been the *international exchange of culture*. I call upon you who are here to-day, that you should recognise the Hindu woman as one who has much to contribute to this international exchange, in the future, even if, in the meantime, she has much to receive.

This readjustment between the Eastern woman and the civilisation of the day, is absolutely essential, or the Indian people will lose their footing in the world.

Indian men understand this, and have made numberless efforts, during the past 40 or 50 years, for the modern education of women. The enthusiasm amongst the men in Calcutta when a woman goes up at University Convocation to take her degree, is always very impressive. Magazines are published in all the vernacular languages, and these of course, form great schools, in their way, for women. But such things are only feeble beginnings of what has now to be made into a universal movement, and in order to make it universal, it is essential that we should realise clearly exactly what we have to do.

In speaking before you to-day, my effort has been to show that while we Indian women have great educational needs, we have also a strong foundation of our own, on which to build. We are good material, if I may venture to put it in that form. Indian women have character; they have intelligence; they can always rise to an emergency, even in the matter of courage; above all things they are full of strong practical common sense and capacity. At the same time we have great needs. The broad international culture and initiative of the Western woman is now lacking to us. It is inevitable that we should in the future proceed in the direction of a greater individuation than we have yet had. Beautiful as is our old communal life, it cannot be denied that new ideals are before us, and that we have to assimilate these and strive towards them. To enable us to carry out this task, the need of true theory is overwhelming. We cannot step out of the past phases of our national development into a future which shall be as much our own as that has been, through what is really a pallid reflection of the more frivolous accomplishments of the West. What we attempt in culture must be attempted seriously. We must spend our energy on ideals that are intrinsically worthy. It is obvious that we cannot attain a high self-realisation by means of pursuits which are alien to the genius of our people. I want international culture as the result of true development of faculty. To give foreign products as the *means*, instead of the *reward* of development is a fatal mistake.

It is clear that our advance as Indian women must be based on our national literature, our national history, our national ideals. It may be that the same statement is true for the women of all countries—that all national schemes of education ought to be based on national heroic literatures. But for us, it is certainly true. From the developed faculty of this organically sound education to the intellectual emancipation of the international phase of culture—the idea of the world as a whole, the historic sequence of periods and the nature of the fact in itself or Modern Science—although the road has yet to be mapped out clearly, is nevertheless a shorter journey than might

be supposed. In working out its steps, we need sympathy, we need the fellowship of all the noble women of the world. Exactly what form that sympathy shall take, no one

of us can say, but certain it is that there is no influence like a clear consciousness of truth, and no power of aid like the sense of human fellowship in a common task.

LORD RIPON

BY AN INDIAN WHO KNEW HIM.

IN Lord Ripon, between 1880 and 1884, India had an English Viceroy who was guided, not so much by regard for the political good of either country in contrast to the other, as by a day-to-day sense of his responsibility to GOD. In the eyes of the Almighty Father, man is man. Before Him, it has been truly said, there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek nor Scythian, bond nor free. Neither are the prestige of a ruling race or the alleged inferiority of the ruled, more in His sight than the dreams of insanity, or the vanities of pretty women. A man who sincerely strives in his dealings with men to interpret The Divine Will, cannot fail to run across many prejudices of common minds, and will eventually, whatever his position, be driven into an attitude of unworldliness. This attitude was seen in Lord Ripon throughout his Viceroyalty, in act after act: but it had been manifested quite as clearly in the year 1874, when, to the astonishment of all England, his conversion to the Church of Rome had been announced. Rome, during the 19th century, gathered a fine crop of saints in England, and possibly the whole-hearted disinterestedness of this particular nobleman, layman and statesman, ranks closer to that of John Henry Newman than many people might suppose.

English politics, to the mind of an outsider, would seem to have been divided ever since the era of the great Reform Bill of 1832, between a Condition-of-the-People Party and an Imperialist Party. It is true that in the early days of which we are writing, Imperialism was known as foreign policy. But the real distinction between Liberal and Conservative, in the time when there *was* a vital distinction, lay in the field to which they gave their attention.

This is why a paper like the 'Times of India,' quoting Lord Randolph Churchill, honestly feels that "Lord Ripon and his Councillors slumbered and slept," the Condition of the People of India being a far less important item for the Viceroy of India than the military position of Quetta, Kandahar, and Merv! At the present day, these particular parties no longer represent conflicting interests. They have fused in a common Imperialism, with regard to which one may be described as the More-So and the other the Less-So Party. Hence English politics are again going through the pangs of birth, and the new line of cleavage will once more mark off the Condition-of-the-People Party, or Socialists, from the Privileged-Classes Party, or Imperialists. But the first of these will be more strictly identified than heretofore with the People themselves. The second will absorb all who are satisfied with the conditions of their own lives as they find them.

A great many elements had combined to make Lord Ripon a Condition-of-the-People man. He was born in 1827, five years before the redistribution of the franchise. Thus 'the urge and impulse of adolescence,'—as that enthusiasm of youth which transforms the world has been finely called—came to him at the period when the future of the People was the crucial question of the day. The intellectual influences of the time were noble. Ruskin and Rossetti were teaching in the Working Men's College in London. Kingsley was working for the Chartists. The Oxford Movement was claiming the right of present-day squalor to the whole consecration of an historic past. Italy was struggling and Swinburne singing. Mazzini was wandering to and fro in Europe with his austere passion for the morals of nations

* See *Times of India* July 14th, 1909, p. 9.

and communities. Gladstone and Bright were in the dawn of their powers. It was inevitable that a man of the deep nobility and courage of Viscount Goderich—as he then was—should take the side he did. He was quite alone in the class in which he had been born, and the story is still told, in his family, of how he and his young wife used to lock themselves into their own room, on Sunday afternoons, in the early days of their marriage, to read Charles Kingsley's "Alton Locke" together! Of this marriage itself it is good to remember the perfection of mutual happiness, and the entire accord



THE LATE MARQUIS OF RIPON.

of husband and wife in all great matters. Lady Ripon did not follow her husband into the Church of Rome, but in the passion for the People, in sympathy for the oppressed, they were absolutely at one, from the beginning to the end.

Lord Ripon's connection with India was of much earlier date than his Viceroyalty. From 1861 to 1863 he was Under Secretary for India, and became Secretary for India in 1866. At this period he spoke of his

sympathy towards India in a letter addressed to Lord Lawrence, which is interesting in view of his own later career as Viceroy :

"I feel great interest in Indian questions for whose good government we are responsible, and I can assure you it is an immense satisfaction to me to know that the principles on which I should desire to see the Administration of India conducted are those by which you as Governor-General are constantly guided."

In India, three measures, among many more, spring to mind, whenever the name of Ripon is heard. They are, the Ilbert Bill, the Local Self-Government Bill, and the Education Commission. The first-named of course failed, and its very memory belongs to a generation that is now almost passed away. Yet men who still remain tell us that it was in fact the crossing of the Rubicon, for, in the brilliant metaphor of Manomohan Ghose, 'it touched men as with the spear of Ethuriel, and showed the Indian people for all time who were their friends and who their enemies.' In other words, from the moment of the Ilbert Bill's being mooted, parties were defined, and India began to realise the responsibility that lay upon her for the shaping of her own future.

Education had already been a field in which Lord Ripon had accomplished something, in the English Government of 1868 to 1873. As Lord President of the Council his chief work centred in the Education Bill of 1870. It was natural, therefore, that a great part of his attention should be given to the subject when in India. As a Condition-of-the People man, Lord Ripon approached the question of education from the point of view of popular welfare. His Education Commission, therefore, in their Recommendations

tried to extend and encourage education of all sorts and to help in extending the sphere of work of the literate and the educated man. All Government measures in all countries are of the nature of a compromise, more or less. We do not, therefore, find the Recommendations in all respects as we might expect, but the policy followed by the Commission was liberal and democratic. This policy has in recent times been reversed partly in theory and entirely in

practice. We will illustrate our point by taking a few Recommendations, as examples, from the Report of the Indian Education Commission.

"That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever." P. 585.

The "national" institutions which have recently sprung up are indigenous schools. But far from being encouraged, they are looked upon as dens of robbers and anarchists, and their teachers and students are subjected to police surveillance and harassment.

"That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of text-books." P. 586.

At present the freedom of the managers of even unaided schools in the choice of text-books is interfered with, so that no book may be used which fosters the Indian's pride in his past or which indirectly encourages political aspirations, and that books may be used which inculcate absolute subserviency in the name of loyalty and respect to one's superiors.

"That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school." P. 586.

This recommendation is still given effect to, more or less, in all provinces, but the policy of Government may perhaps be guessed from the close watch kept over all *akharas* or indigenous athletic schools, and their closing by magisterial order in some places on the Panjab side.

"That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each Province."

As Lord Ripon left India shortly after the publication of the Report of the Education Commission, there was no time for him to initiate the legislation necessary for "the fullest possible provision for and extension of primary education." A quarter of a century has since elapsed, without any such legislation. On the contrary steps have been taken to restrict the area of education.

"That Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European Universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government." P. 591.

It is unnecessary to point out how the

policy of Government now is to employ as many English professors as possible.

"That, as a general rule, transfers of officers from Professorships of colleges to Inspectorships of schools, and *vice versa*, be not made." P. 593.

This recommendation is unnecessarily disregarded in many cases. For instance, Prof. J. A. Cunningham of the Presidency College, who was a very successful and popular professor and a very useful member of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University was transferred to the Inspectorship of schools of Chota Nagpur, because, it is said, he had written a *private* letter to a friend in England on a quasi-political subject. His transfer has been a distinct loss to the Presidency College and the University.

"That it be distinctly laid down that native gentlemen of approved qualifications be eligible for the post of Inspector of schools, and that they be employed in that capacity more commonly than has been the case hitherto." P. 593.

Far from this principle being followed, Khan Sahib Maulvi Ibrahim, Maulvi Abdul Karim and Dr. Purnananda Chatterji have been degraded from Inspectorships to Additional Inspectorships for the crime of colour and their places given to Englishmen.

The attitude of the Commission towards "literate" and "educated" Indians will be plain from the principle affirmed by them "*that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government, preference be always given to those who can read and write*," (p. 146) and from their observation that "it may be safely said that they who best know the educated native have the most to urge in his favour." (p. 301).

It was Local Self-Government, however, in which Lord Ripon did his most memorable work. It is this by which his name will be handed down to history. "Tell me about my municipal self-government! How is that going on?" said the old man, lighting up with eagerness when the writer had the privilege of seeing him, within the last couple of years. To a young Hindu who saw him at Simla, in that last sad summer of 1884, he said, with the utmost hopefulness, "when ever you feel tempted to think little of your efforts, remember the Local Self-Government Bill!" He reminded his visitor that within six months of its passing hundreds of municipalities had been created. The sacredness of Self-Government, and the rights of democracies

were dear to the hearts of the men who grew up in the middle of the last century. Hence it is that we find Lord Ripon enunciating in the following sentences the liberal principles which guided him in his Local Self-government Bill:—

"It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education."

Again:—

"It would be hopeless to expect any real development of self-government if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail; and the respective power of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible. Within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies."

Other beneficent measures of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty will occur to all, such as the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the contribution of 5 millions sterling from the British Exchequer towards the Second Afghan War, the restoration in full of the Famine Fund, the first resolution ordering provincial Governments to stimulate indigenous industries and manufactures by buying stores locally, the resolution on publicity in legislation, the reduction of the duty on salt, &c.

It was almost more as a personality than as a ruler, however, that Lord Ripon was destined to serve the Indian people. How high are those of whom it can be said that their *character* is their supreme gift! In this case, we see that the presence of one great man acts as a school for the development of others. There is no end to the impulses of regeneration that may be dated from the reign of Ripon. Amongst other things, A. O. Hume, afterwards to be father of the Indian Congress, was Secretary to the Government in his time.

Overwhelming sincerity and childlike simplicity were the outstanding impression left on the minds that came into direct contact with Lord Ripon. One who heard him at the City College in 1884, said, "He leaned forward slightly, across a table. His left hand played with the black cord of his glasses. The first few words came haltingly and with diffidence, and then you were lifted up into something so sincere that it was like

prayer! This lasted till the very end of his speech."

"I have tried," he said, at the close of his Viceroyalty, when he was suffering from sense of failure, and doubtless realising his loneliness amongst this own people, "I have tried to give effect to the idea that the future of India depends on the welfare of the Indian people. It might be otherwise, perhaps, if the English could ever hope to colonise India. But this cannot be. The type degenerates too much in the second or third generation. Therefore the *Indian* people must determine the Indian future, and this alone has been my guiding principle!" In how few words may a great policy be defined!

Middle-aged men still remember how upon his retirement he received the most remarkable tribute of admiration and respect from all classes of Indians, and his progress to Bombay was one continuous triumphal march.

The sands had almost run out, when I met Lord Ripon for the last time. He came to see me in a little room where a water-colour copy of Leonardo da Vinci's Christ stood on a small easel, and formed the central object. A fire burned brightly in the grate, and outside the window flowed the Thames, beyond its guardian-line of leafless trees. I was not at all prepared for the effects of age, as he came in, leaning heavily on a stick. But neither could I have foreseen the cheerfulness and sweetness of the face. He was a little deaf, and one could say only such things as had meaning and distinctness. The light play of life was already past, in the case of this soldier who was waiting for his recall. There was no question as to his feeling for India, or his gladness to be remembered there. He had seen the ripeness of Hindus for democratic forms of Government, and was still ready to talk it over. He looked anxiously at the future, and felt the need of the ruler, to preserve order. Once only did he forget the unassuming gentleness of manner habitual to him. It was when I said, "In you we feel that we had a Viceroy who was neither Englishman nor Indian, but only the Servant of God!" "Yes!" he exclaimed, casting aside with sudden pleasure, all fear of seeming vain, "*that* I think men might say of me! I have tried to serve God and Him alone!"

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Professor Sarkar on "Messages of Uplift."

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar's review of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's *Messages of Uplift* in the July number of the *Modern Review* has given us a shock of painful surprise. Criticism in order to be effective must show a fine equipoise, a balanced judgment, and an unbiased temperament. Strong language defeats the very aim it is intended to subserve. But no young lion of the *Daily Telegraph*, immortalised by Matthew Arnold, could roar more violently than the sober and scholarly professor has done in this instance. He has dipped his pen in gall and made a bitter, rancorous and personal attack on poor Mr. Singh. "A penniless half-educated Hindu youth, he had still plenty of modern things to learn in Indian schools—runs away to America, earns a precarious livelihood by doing odd jobs, and then betakes himself to the rather Bohemian life which is the lot of all who belong to the lower ranks of journalism in the West." That is how Mr. Singh is described by the learned professor. Every right-thinking man will admit that in this passage criticism has overstepped its legitimate bounds. To be quite frank, the writer here betrays an exceedingly bad taste. It almost seems as if Professor Sarkar had a grudge against Mr. Singh, and freely let himself go till he was obliged to stop from sheer exhaustion. One would think that the author of the *Messages* was guilty of some crime to draw upon his devoted head such violent remarks. It would be idle to deny that Mr. Singh's articles form one of the chief attractions of the *Modern Review*, whereas the dullness of learned historical disquisitions is often repellent. But those who write learnedly should be satisfied with a "fit audience, though few," and should not pitch into less learned folk who happen to be more popular. Mr. Singh might have plenty of modern things to learn in Indian schools (not colleges, mind) but the facilities for the acquisition of such learning here are not great. Mr. Malabari, if we mistake not, failed more than once to matriculate from the Bombay University and if he had gone on knocking at its gate for admission, he would not be to-day one of our foremost journalists and writers. The truth is, Indian Universities lack the faculty of bringing out the best in a man. They are too stereotyped, too much handicapped by curricula and redtape. That is why we find Indian students, who could not distinguish themselves in their home universities, succeeding beyond expectation in foreign universities, where every man can pursue the subject he has an aptitude for, without being hampered by artificial obstacles. Moreover, if a penniless half-educated Hindu can succeed in a foreign country in the way in which Mr. Singh has done, he has no reason to be ashamed of his success. To compare Mr. Singh with De Tocqueville and James Bryce is to do him

a grave injustice. Following this method, we may expose to ridicule every writer except perhaps the highest geniuses. For instance, we might with equal justice say that since Professor Sarkar is not a historian of the type of Mommsen or Niebuhr or Hallam, he should give up history and try his hands at poetry. Professor Sarkar's dictum seems to be, either you must be Caesar, or nothing. In that case monthly magazines and their contributors, Professor Sarkar among the rest, will find their occupation gone, and the world will be all the poorer for it. Again Professor Sarkar says of Mr. Singh, "He has not discovered the shallowness of yankee rhetoric, the hollowness of Yankee brag and the Yankee's habit of lying;"—another sweeping generalisation with which most sane men will find it difficult to agree. There is shallowness, hollowness and lying in every country. We do not see that in this respect we are specially fitted to assume the role of mentors to other nations, but Professor Sarkar will not deny that there are some things which the Americans do very thoroughly indeed, and which we should be all the better for doing as thoroughly as they do. And these are the very things which Mr. Singh has been trying to discover for us. There may be nothing new in them to Professor Sarkar, but to us there is much that is novel, inspiring, and suggestive in what Mr. Singh has got to say. Mr. Singh, as we understand him, contrasts the working-man's wife in India and America, with a view to show the difference between the home-life of women of the same class in the two countries; from the knowledge of this difference, will come the desire to emulate what is good in the American woman's homelife and desire will lead to effort. Knowledge is therefore the first thing necessary. There are undoubtedly many practical difficulties the solution of which will require time, but because that is so, it does not follow that Mr. Singh has not done well to draw for us a picture of the American woman's home-life. It will certainly not be argued that since Mr. Singh made suggestions for improving the lot of Indian women, he was also bound to point out the difficulties in the way. Certainly the difficulties will be easier of solution if they are pointed out, but it need not be done by the same person, or in the same book. Truth is complex and many-sided, and it is not possible to deal exhaustively with every aspect of the same subject in a single small volume. Mrs. J. C. Bose has supplied the necessary corrective to Mr. Singh's article by pointing out that civilisation is after all a thing of the mind and is not to be gauged by material comforts, but who will deny that Mr. Singh's plea for lightening the burden of the Indian woman has a grave, pathetic, real interest for us? Mr. Singh is not oblivious of the dark side of American civilisation, as he takes care to point out here and there in his articles, but his object is to tell his countrymen of what is good in it, and surely

that is an worthier object than to pick holes. Professor Sarkar is an English scholar, but is it not rather hazardous for a foreigner like him to find fault with Mr. Singh's style when native stylists like Mr. Stead, who are to the manner born, find occasion to praise it? It would be nothing less than quixotic on the part of Mr. Singh to expect to live in the memory of his countrymen by his English style, for English is not his mother-tongue. But if he finds the idioms used by Americans more expressive, racy and vigorous than those in use among their cis-Atlantic cousins, why, in the name of common sense, should he not prefer to clothe his thoughts in them? Professor Sarkar's sneer at Mr. Singh's want of a University education provokes a further word of comment and with this we will close our remarks. College education is not synonymous with or a *sine qua non* of a sound education. Huxley and Spencer did not receive any education in English Universities, and yet they have made their mark in biology and philosophy, and the former at least wielded a pen which was the despair of his antagonist Mr. Gladstone, a finished product of the university though he was. Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore, the greatest living author of Bengal, did not take a diploma in any university, Indian or foreign. Travelling in many lands is in itself a

liberal education, and however unpalatable the truth may be, we have to admit that a travelled man, albeit no scholar, if he only uses his eyes and ears intelligently, is likely to be in a better position to furnish food for thought to his untravelled countrymen on many subjects than the stay-at-home scholar whose knowledge is mainly drawn from books. Besides, unless one is an intimate friend of Mr. Singh, and has a thorough and up-to-date knowledge of his private life, it is only overweening conceit to assume that he has made no attempt to acquire the sort of scholarship he needs; for scholarship in these days of specialism has many forms and not even the most highly-gifted man can now be a scholar in all subjects.

We are not acquainted with Mr. Singh, and do not hold a brief for him; but we feel that Professor Sarkar's virulent attack will cause him deep and unmerited pain, and that in the interests of justice a protest should be made, and this is the only motive which has prompted us to write these few lines. 'Light—more light!' were the last words of Goethe, and we shall thankfully welcome it, from whatever source it comes, whether that source be a blazing sun or a twinkling star.

POL.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Moral Instruction League: London, 1908.

This small report is interesting reading, and the activities of the League have a very direct bearing on Education in India. Among the Vice-Presidents and on the Executive Committee of the League are to be found influential Englishmen and Englishwomen and we learn from the report that the Committee intend to approach the India Office with a view to introduce compulsory moral instruction in Government Schools in India. Prominent mention is made of the fact that moral instruction has already been made compulsory in Mysore, and that Baroda is likely to follow suit, and the hope is expressed that this may later be extended to the whole of India, and "ultimately, too, it may lead to that fusion of East and West which a modern poet describes as impossible." The attitude of mind which has prompted this pious wish seems to us to be baseless and reprehensible. It is not because Indians are morally inferior to Englishmen that this fusion is retarded. In the virtues of love, reverence, gratitude, domestic affection, patience, resignation, control over passions, meekness, continence, temperance, and the like, Indians are anyday superior to Englishmen. In the manlier virtues, *e.g.*, courage, perseverance, appreciation of the rights and the duties (specially the rights) of citizenship, public spirit, the Indians are, of course, inferior to their rulers. We notice that the Right Hon'ble Lord Avebury (formerly Sir John Lubbock) heads the list of Vice-Presidents of the League. Anyone who has

read the chapter on India in this cultured scientist's popular book, *The Use of Life*, knows that his attitude towards the Indian is anything but sympathetic. To say this is not however to deny the great need and the immense importance of ethical teaching in our public schools; nor do we ignore the beneficent influence which the League may exercise over Education in India.

The problem of religious education has come to the fore in India, chiefly on account of the complaint of the official authorities that the boys of our public schools are not as well-behaved as they used to be. From the occasional speeches of our rulers on the subject, and the Government reports, it would seem as if Government now regrets the political necessity which has compelled it to maintain absolute religious neutrality and impart a strictly secular education in our schools. The encouragement of *tols* and *maktabs* (not well-endowed academies of classical learning, but of a sort) is a part of the policy of the Government and we even find Christian rulers accepting addresses and degrees from purely denominational religious bodies. The late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal made provision for religious instruction in his projected Ranchi College, and encouraged education on a credal and denominational basis. This solicitude of the Indian Government is in strange contrast to the trend of public feeling in England itself. There the tendency is towards the disestablishment of the Church (which has already been accomplished in France) and in the opinion of the League, 'the real danger,' of the Education Bill now before the Parliament lies in the fact that religious

education which it makes compulsory 'would be later defined in the Courts as being necessarily restricted to education on a Biblical basis.' Herein lies the *crux* of the problem. Religious instruction itself stands in need of 'Ethicising' (p. 7); for it puts creed before character. "To a really consistent theology," says Mr. Frederic Harrison, "the eagerness of science to know, the zeal of the world in its business, are all waste." The intellect of India has so long lain under the theological stupor that any insidious attempt to reintroduce it and put a stop to liberty of thought must be vigorously exposed. We therefore draw a sharp line of demarcation between religious and ethical instruction. Let us not be misunderstood. We must not be supposed to mean that we advocate the doing away with religion. But we consider it to be such a momentous question, so powerful to affect man's life for good or evil, that we would never consent to fill immature minds with religious dogmas. There is no use blinking the fact that there is nothing more controversial than these dogmas, and to teach them as undisputed truths is to teach something which is not true. To take only two of the principal religions of India, a Hindu may be anything from a Polytheist to an Atheist, through all the intermediate types of Henotheist, Pantheist, Monist, Theist, and Deist, and a Mahomedan may be a strict Monotheist, a believer in prophets, saints, shrines and apostolic succession, or a revelationist relying absolutely on the letter of the law. Mahomedans, like Hindus, are divided into a large number of sects. Whatever else a man may take on trust, religion is a thing which every man must decide for himself, and therefore it is necessary that youthful minds should be carefully preserved from imbibing those dogmas which they may have to repent and give up in their maturity. If it be said that religious dogmas are not intended to be taught in the schools, but merely 'sound religious principles,' the reply is that those principles cannot differ from and are in fact the same as the moral principles on which all civilised nations agree. What is then the necessity of teaching moral principles? It is this: The lower instincts are more powerful than the higher, and the mere intellectual appreciation that some springs of action are higher than the others is not sufficient to move our will in the desired channel. For this purpose, it is necessary to strengthen the noble impulses by ethical culture. In other words, it is necessary to invest rules of conduct with the sentiment and authority of religious doctrines. Rules of conduct are invested with that authority when there is, to quote Matthew Arnold, "that habitual indwelling on them, that constant turning them over in the mind, that near and lively experimental sense of their beneficence, which communicates emotion to our thought of them and thus incalculably heightens their power." Moral instruction, in the wide sense of instruction in the principles of personal, social and civic duty, as illustrated by examples drawn from scripture and from other religious literatures, and from poetry, biography, art, &c., is therefore an indispensable part of sound education. The League, has we are glad to note, prepared a series of graduated courses suited for boys and girls of different ages, and these books may serve as models for those which may be introduced in Indian schools. Of all the civilised nations in the East or West, Japan has taken the lead in the matter of moral instruction, which forms a marked and distinctive feature of its

educational system. We have our doubts as to whether the system will work with entire success in India, where political exigencies render compromises with conscience almost inevitable and no man can rise to the full height of his being. The cultivation of patriotism, manliness, courage, and kindred virtues is amongst the foremost objects of moral instruction in other countries. In India, however, these subjects are tabooed. With injustice, oppression, colour distinctions, racial pride and prejudice, the stifling of national aspirations and noble enthusiasms, a marked feature of Indian life of to-day, the schoolboy will meet, as we in our days have met, with so many instances where his teaching comes in open conflict with all that he sees and hears around him that he will stand in some danger of being converted into a cynic who floats the idea of a moral law governing the universe or regulating the affairs of men and thinks that morality is meant for copybooks alone. But we prefer not to dwell on this aspect of the question, for it is not the only aspect, and the conflict between realities and ideals is not confined to India but exists in free countries also, though in a different shape and a lesser degree. Moral education will undoubtedly have its uses in our schools, for it is primarily intended to help the student in his efforts at self-culture, and the student in whose case these efforts have borne fruit will most certainly be a good householder and a dutiful citizen. We therefore welcome the movement represented by the Moral Instruction League, and close our observations with the remark that its success will largely depend upon the choice of the right sort of teachers and the right sort of books (for a single example is better than a cartload of precepts).

II.—*The University Life*: by A. C. Datta (a lecture delivered at the Rajshahi College Association in September, 1908). Gandaria Press, Dacca.

Mr. A. C. Datta is a Cambridge graduate and an educationist by profession. His views on university life in England and India are therefore bound to be both interesting and instructive. The lecture (covering 45 pages of print) is a performance worthy of the lecturer. It is a lesson in contrast, for it helps us vividly to realise the immense difference between Indian and English student life. Mr. Datta has shown that the object of education in an English University is the formation of life and the bringing out of all that is best in the student's character, and stamping it with a distinct individuality, whereas in India the object is to show a large percentage of success in the University examinations. Certain rules of the Cambridge University are mentioned which afford us a glimpse of the ideas which regulate life there. All students must reside within the University town, and dine in the common Hall of the colleges to which they belong. The long vacations must be spent outside the town. No certificates are granted to those who graduate, they must be present in person to take the degree. No student can appear at an Honours examination more than once. Each college has a quarterly magazine. A strong tie of sentiment between the college and its students is fostered and migration from one college to another is extremely rare. The Tutor of the college fills a position somewhat analogous to that of Principal in Indian colleges. He is the guardian angel of the students, while the Master is a far higher functionary and the presiding deity of the college, being the administra-

tive head who sets the standard and tone of excellence aimed at by the institution. There are college clubs for physical, moral and intellectual training, there are clubs organised by the University where representatives of all the colleges congregate, and there are inter-varsity competitions. Mr. Datta like many others who have been educated at Oxford and Cambridge dwells on the excellent personal relations between the teacher and the taught. "At an English University, the learning is your own concern, the Tutor, the College, and the University will arrange to give you every facility to acquire as much knowledge as you desire; but they will not cram you with it." We shall make one more extract from the pamphlet to show what is the class of men from whom teachers are drawn in English Universities. "Broadly speaking, there are three classes of teachers, *vis*: (1) the University Professor, (2) the University Lecturer, and (3) the College Lecturer. A college lecturer takes up a subject generally prescribed for the degree examinations, and prepares an analysis of it which he delivers to his class. The University Lecturer supplies information on a wider basis, giving the analysis of some such portion of the subject which is in the course of development: it is rendered in a manner so as to appeal to the critical judgment of the student, to enable him to form an independent opinion of his own. A student does not go to a University Lecturer to receive help, but to learn the way of helping himself. The University Professor lectures only on such matter as involves his own original thought. At a University a person is not thought qualified to lecture on any subject on which he cannot generalise, and on which he cannot express an independent view of his own. One cannot become a Professor until he has shown capacity for *creating* thought. * * * There is another class of teacher who is called a 'coach.' * * * Here you see that, at an Indian University, the best of us only try to approach a college lecturer, but many of us only do the duty of a 'coach'—all under the pretentious title of a Professor! There is no wonder, therefore, that we fail to idealise ourselves to the imagination of our students."

The pamphlet is printed at the Gandaria Press, Dacca. We were not aware that such good printing could be done outside Calcutta. It is really a credit to a provincial town like Dacca.

The Vedanta and its Relation to Modern Thought, by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan.—

Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan's name is well known to the English knowing public who take any interest in the Vedanta Literature. In spite of odds against him, he has done perhaps more with his unaided efforts than any other single person has ever cared to do for the purpose of popularising the Vedanta. This shows in him a vigorous intellectual life which refuses to be dominated by external circumstances, extremely unfavourable as they are. Since his translation of the two volumes of the Upanishads both into Bengali and English, which were well received by the public, Pandit Tattvabhushan has enlightened us from time to time with his valuable publications on the Hindu scriptures. His "Hindu Theism" and the first volume of "The Vedanta and its Relation to Modern Thought" have been before the public for some years past. Now he has come forward with the second volume of the Vedanta and

we hope his Philosophy of Brahmaisni will shortly follow. The present volume contains the last six of the lectures delivered before the Theological Society, Calcutta, during the session 1900-1901, all dealing with different phases of the Vedanta Philosophy and Religion. There is no gainsaying of the fact that some of the loftiest truths that have ever been vouchsafed unto man and revealed to the human mind are contained in the Vedanta but they are enshrined in a language and couched in modes of arguments that scarcely appeal to the modern intellect. To be of any benefit, apart from their historical interest and the empty reverence bestowed on them without knowing the contents as is the case with all time-honoured things, they must be modernised, *i.e.* they must be thrown into modern logical moulds. For the purpose of a right estimate and correct understanding of the Vedanta its truths must be interpreted from the standpoint of modern thought. This Pandit Tattvabhushan has attempted in his twelve lectures and how far he has succeeded it lies with the thinking public to determine.

The very name of the Vedanta casts a shadow of dread in the mind of many. To them it is more dreadful than the most poisonous snake. It is because in our part of the country the Vedanta means Sankaracharya's interpretation of it which seems to ignore the existence of the material world, apparently merges the individual soul into the Universal and teaches a doctrine of *Mukti* (deliverance) which purports to be the annihilation of the personal self, it spells to many spiritually-minded though timid people as it is bound to do, the very death knell of morality and religion. This misapprehension is due to the identification of the Vedanta with Sankara's Philosophy. The Vedanta is primarily the Upanishads and different schools—their name is legion—have interpreted them differently. That an equally high authority as Acharya Ramanuja, who is unfortunately scarcely known except by his name in Northern India, has given a quite different interpretation—sometimes diametrically opposed to that of Sankara—is the surest guarantee against identifying the Vedanta with Sankara's commentary. Pandit Tattvabhushan's first lecture of this series is devoted to Ramanuja and we are firmly of opinion that it will go a great way to rectify this mistaken notion which stands like a stumbling block in the way of the right appreciation of the Vedanta. The Pandit's services in this respect are incalculable, especially in Bengal.

There is another thing. The charge is often laid at the door of Hinduism, pre-eminently by its friend, the Christian missionary, who is never tired of repeating the pernicious superstition, that there is no morality in Hinduism. The third lecture of this series will surely dispel this darkness. The Pandit has conclusively shown that the ethical principles inculcated in the Vedanta are at least as high as those of Christianity. "It is a system which," to quote the words of the author, "may bear a favourable comparison with any of the most advanced systems that have been propounded in ancient and modern times". This declaration of the truth has come not a day too soon. We highly recommend the book to the public, the value of which can not be estimated from such a short notice. The book will amply repay perusal.

DHIRENDRANATH CHAUDHURI.
Delhi, Hindu College.

History of Indigo Disturbance in Bengal with a full report of the Nil Darpan Case.—By Lalit Chandra Mitra, M.A. (Published by Feroz Chandra Mitra, Deno Dham, 30/3, Madan Mitter's Lane, Calcutta. Price one Rupee.)

All revolutions are essentially disturbances. The word 'disturbance' smacks of something which cannot claim the dignity attaching to revolution but which is none the less real as expressive of the social perversion a revolution aims at removing. The submerged classes of a society do not under ordinary conditions attempt to throw off the yoke imposed upon them by the self-seeking 'upper ten.' Sufferance is the badge of their tribe but history shows that this sufferance is not without bounds. When birthrights common to the race are robbed, when privileges which form the crown and glory of manhood are kept back, when humanity is ignored, when the precious gifts of heart and mind are scattered to the winds, the yoke of subjugation then as a matter of course galls meekness into mutiny. Though not usually remembered amid the stress of existing circumstances the Indigo disturbance will never be shorn of particular interest to students of Indian history. Any book, therefore, which professes to deal with this momentous phenomenon should be accorded a hearty welcome. We extend to the book lying on our desk the reception due to it. Nor is the reception a merely conventional one; for whoever cares to look through its pages will not fail to be struck with its chief features, which may be summed up under the following heads:—

- (1) A mastery of details connected with the movement;
- (2) An enumeration of facts (corroborated by authorities) which reveal the horrid cruelties perpetrated by the Indigo-planters on the peasants of Bengal;
- (3) Portraits of eminent Indians and Anglo-Indians who championed the cause of the oppressed *ryots*.

In short, Mr. Mitra gives ample evidence of having hunted up old newspapers and official records to compile the book under review, which, we feel confident, will reveal new lights to one interested in this remarkable popular insurrection against a long-continued and organised selfishness of unsurpassed magnitude, although we cannot refrain from expressing a suspicion that the author has not been completely successful in throwing his materials into a sufficiently attractive mould, or in other words, to breathe such *life* into them as may take captive the reader's imagination. Nevertheless, it is not our intention, in the face of the ponderous data brought forward and of the interest inherent in the subject itself, to say that the pages of the book are dull and rapid.

We are allowed, we hope, to record here a thought which haunted us at the time of our reading the book. It was this: 'How could the helpless *ryots* make head against the powerful European planters? How could the defenceless peasants subvert the dominion of these privileged Anglo-Indians?' Or in other words, 'Were the peasants really helpless or had they in themselves a dormant, a sleeping energy which the rod of oppression used by the planters smote into life?' The question, beyond doubt, embodies the *philosophy* of the whole situation, the moral of the whole movement—a philosophy which is nothing short of a revelation of the mysteries of human nature, of a revelation of the truth that tyrants are like 'the chaff which the

wind driveth away.' The book we have been reviewing would have gained an additional value if instead of merely piecing together details (with occasional observations) it had attempted to lay bare the causes that were inly in operation against the dark deeds of the white planters. We shall try to notice these causes with the help of a thoughtful writer of our own age. Incidentally remarking on the French Revolution in his well-known book *Social Evolution*, Benjamin Kidd says:—'The most striking spectacle in all that memorable period (of the French Revolution) was, undoubtedly, the weakness... of the party representing the ruling classes. It has been the custom to attribute the success of the Revolution to the decay, misrule, and corruption of these classes; but history, while recognising these causes, will probably regard them as but incidental. Its calmer verdict must be, that it was in the hearts of these classes and not in the streets that the cause of the people was won. It is impossible, even at this distance of time, to observe without a feeling of wonder and even of awe, the extent to which the ideas of the Revolution had undermined the position of the upper classes. Effective resistance was impossible; they could not utilise their own strength. We begin to understand this slowly. We look for any inspiring appeal; for any rally against the forces arrayed against them; for any of that *conscious devotion to a worthy cause** which has made even forlorn hopes successful and which here, in the presence of overpowering odds against the people, would have rendered their opponents irresistible... The conceptions of which the Revolution was born had given *enthusiasm*† to the people, and even a certain cohesion to the most intractable material. But their natural opponents were without either enthusiasm or cohesion; they were indirectly almost as profoundly affected as the people by the force which was reconstituting the world.'

The Indigo disturbance cannot claim the significance, from an historic point of view, that the French Revolution has; but it indisputably shows that the human mind is ever and everywhere the same. Oppression and misrule affect it equally in all parts of the globe and when the peasants of Bengal were for many a long year confronted by an organised system of monstrous wickedness, they had no other alternative left them than to throw down their gauntlet. It was verily the dawn of un-earthly conceptions on them. The peasants rose in a body and they rose not in vain; for they were destined to succeed. They were destined to succeed as their cause was right, they were destined to succeed as their strength lay in their 'enthusiasm,' which the writer quoted above assigns as the deeper cause of the success of the Revolutionists; while their opponents, the despicable minions of tyranny and hypocrisy, notwithstanding their vast organisation and their fortified stronghold, vanished like mists before the mounting sun.

One word more before we conclude. It is said that out of evil cometh good and the indigo disturbance forms no exception to this. The writer notices towards the close of the book that "wherever indigo planters had established themselves, whole tracts of jungles had been cleared away, and that the clearance of jungle was in nearly all instances followed by an addition to

* The italics are our own.

† The italics are our own.

the number of the villagers, and in this way social comfort was promoted."

We once again offer the book a hearty reception. It has justly been dedicated by the author to the sacred memory of his illustrious father, Rai Dinobandhu Mitra Bahadur, whose masterly production *Nil Darpan* dealt the severest blow to the citadel of the planters.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

Nur Jehan, by Sirdar Jogendra Singh. James Nisbet and Company, Limited, London. Rs. 4-8.

The reading public has cause to be grateful to Sirdar Jogendra Singh for this book. Nur Jehan is one of the most fascinating characters in history, and an historical romance may well be woven round the traditions that survive of her. The author has not departed very materially from the narratives of her historians and he has contrived to picture something of the glamour of the Court of the Great Moghuls. The story opens with the birth of the future Empress while her parents were crossing with the utmost hardships into India from Persia. It goes on to deal with the position of her father at the court of Akbar, her meeting with Prince Salim, her subsequent betrothal to the fierce Ali Beg and finally her marriage with Jehangir after he had caused her former husband's death, and had kept her in an insignificant position in his court for some time. The author has not failed to give glimpses of the public and private life of the Great Emperor. He has touched lightly on the intrigues and wars by which the Peacock Throne was upheld and he has introduced one or two of the leading characters of the day, Jodha Bai, Abul Fazl the historian and right-hand man of Akbar, and Kutb-ud-din the faithful viceroy of Jehangir who met his death in his master's service. The one fault to be found in the book is that the author's style is somewhat loaded. He is too fond of adjectives and occasionally the phrases he uses just miss being idiomatic. Also there is one very dull passage in which Mirza Ghias Beg argues with his wife on the advisability of parents giving their daughters in marriage on their own initiative without consulting the wishes of the girls. It serves the purpose however of showing up in greater relief the broad-minded views of Akbar and Jodha Bai on the subject.

We have said that the author does not depart materially from the historians of the period. One thing he has done. He has inspired a desire to go back to the original sources from which he has drawn his charming little book. What times they were, those days of the Great Moghuls! Then it seemed almost as if the solution of the difficulty between Mohamedan and Hindu was in sight. Akbar gathered round his court men of all castes and creeds. His favourite wife Jodha Bai was a Hindu and many of his most trusted lieutenants were Hindus also. The histories of that period are written with a delicacy of detail that makes them doubly fascinating. Jehangir's memoirs well repay study. He gives a wonderful pen picture of Akbar in the *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*—"He was of middling stature, but with a tendency to be full, wheat colour complexion, rather inclining to dark than fair, black eyes and eyebrows, stout body, open forehead and chest, long arms and

hands. There was a fleshy wart about the size of a small pea on the left side of his nose which appeared exceedingly beautiful and which was considered very auspicious by physiognomists, who said that it was the sign of immense riches and increasing prosperity. He had a very loud voice and a very elegant and pleasant way of speech. His manner and habits were quite different from those of other persons and his visage was full of godly dignity."

Jehangir speaks with singular frankness of how he brought about the death of Abul Fazl and how he honored Fazl's murderer Nar Singh Deo. "The bearing of the Shaikh" says he "fully convinced me that if he were allowed to arrive at court he would do everything in his power to augment the indignation of my father against me and ultimately prevent my ever appearing before him. Under this apprehension I negotiated with Nar Singh Deo." He goes on to add with a certain grim humour that Nar Singh Deo agreed to be the murderer and "God rendered his aid to the success of the enterprise" and also that although his father was "exasperated at this catastrophe yet in the end I was able to visit him without any anxiety or apprehension." Of the Shaikh he says that he imposed on Akbar by "wearing upon his plausible exterior the jewel of profits." Says the prince, "He was not my friend" and so he was killed. That was the way in those times with princes and courtiers! Jehangir describes with some pride his innovations and his humane laws. He narrates his conversation with and victory over learned Hindus. He tells of his gold chain with bells—a most ostentatious contrivance whereby an injured subject might by shaking the chain of justice—melodiously bring his wrongs to the notice of the Emperor. It is characteristic of Jehangir—this golden chain. It was mere ostentation, nor was it even original. We are informed that one of the early Chinese Emperors (is there anything which was not discovered long ago by the Chinese!) named Yu tu originated the idea and that Raja Ananga Pal had already made such a chain at Delhi. The Emperor speaks with considerable freedom of his own indulgence in wine and of the laws he made prohibiting the use of it by his subjects.

The candour with which he writes his memoirs and the traits they display show that Jehangir was a man of character and talents and doubtless Nur Jehan had much to do with the forming of his character and the encouraging of his talents. Was there ever a story more romantic? A girl born at Kandahar of parents who were driven from their own country and well nigh destitute were looking for a home to become Empress of one of the most dazzling Empires of all times and not only to become Empress in name but Empress in fact! In his novel Sirdar Jogendra Singh describes the birth and the temporary desertion of his heroine in the desert. It is more probable that she was born at Kandahar and that her parents crossed over from Persia with two sons and a daughter. We learn this from the *Ikbāl Nama-i-Jehangiri*. The same chronicle relates Nur Jahan's marriage with Ali Kuli Beg, the bold soldier of Akbar who had been rewarded for his prowess by a Jagir in Bengal and the title of Sher Afghan. Our novelist tells us his death was caused, (as in other times and other countries, the deaths of men have been caused) by the desire of his ruler for his wife. The chronicle tells another tale. It is said that

Sher Afghan was inclined to be rebellious and that Kutb-ud-din was sent to see whether that was so or not. He, suspecting Kutb-ud-din's intentions, slew him and was in return slain by Kutb-ud-din's attendant's. Sirdar Jogendra Singh makes Kutb-ud-din the emissary of the emperor to demand from Ali Beg his wife. The story is more romantic but seems less probable.

The death of Kutb-ud-din caused his slayer's wife to be brought to the keeping of Jehangir's mother. But on the celebration of New Year's day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign she caught the Emperor's eye; and whether, as some would have us believe and as Sirdar Jogendra Singh writes, an old love sprang to flame again or whether the Emperor was captivated by her beauty for the first time, she was brought to the imperial harem. Of her ascendancy over the Emperor there can be no doubt. She attained to powers such as no woman had as yet attained. Of her Jehangir speaks with love and admiration. He tells us in his memoirs how Nur Jehan killed a tiger with her first shot when Mirza Rustum the neatest marksman of the age had made three or four attempts to do so and failed. He tells how Nur Jehan nursed him and writes that "her sense and experience exceeded that of the physicians." She finally attained to such a position that the king was such only in name. "I require" said he "nothing beyond a sir of wine and half a sir of meat." The chronicle *Ikbāl-Nama-i-Jahangiri* speaks thus of her: "It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned."

Let those who belittle the abilities and character of women contemplate the career of Nur Jehan. We are grateful to Sirdar Jogendra Singh for bringing us back to those times. We trust to have other books of a like nature by him.

R. C. BONNERJEE.

ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT

A History of Hindu Chemistry from the Earliest Times to the Middle of the 16th Century A.D. With Sanskrit Texts, Variants, Translations and Illustrations. By Praphulla Chandra Ray, D. Sc., Ph. D., Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta. Vol. II. Calcutta. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Limited. London: Williams and Norgate. 1909. Agents: The City Book Society, 64, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

Before the publication of the first volume of this monumental work seven years ago, European scientists believed that in the domain of Chemistry at least the Indians were behind the Arabs and the Westerns; but Dr. Ray's work showed that in the middle ages or at the time of the Mahomedan invasion of India, the Hindus were farther ahead in chemical and metallurgical processes than their contemporaries in other parts of the world.



PRINCIPAL B. N. SEAL.

In the first volume it was with diffidence and hesitation that the author placed the remotest limit of alchemical *Tantras* in the 12th century A.D. It now transpires that this date is to be pushed back by several centuries.

In the historical introduction the author has devoted considerable space to a discussion of the age of Nagarjuna. This sage is the most prominent figure in Indian alchemy and is acknowledged on all hands to be the discoverer of the processes of distillation, sublimation, etc. He is also the reputed founder of the Madhyamika system of philosophy. After a most learned discussion of all the available data the author comes to the conclusion that "one cannot go far wrong in assigning *circa* 150 A.D. as the date of" Nagarjuna.

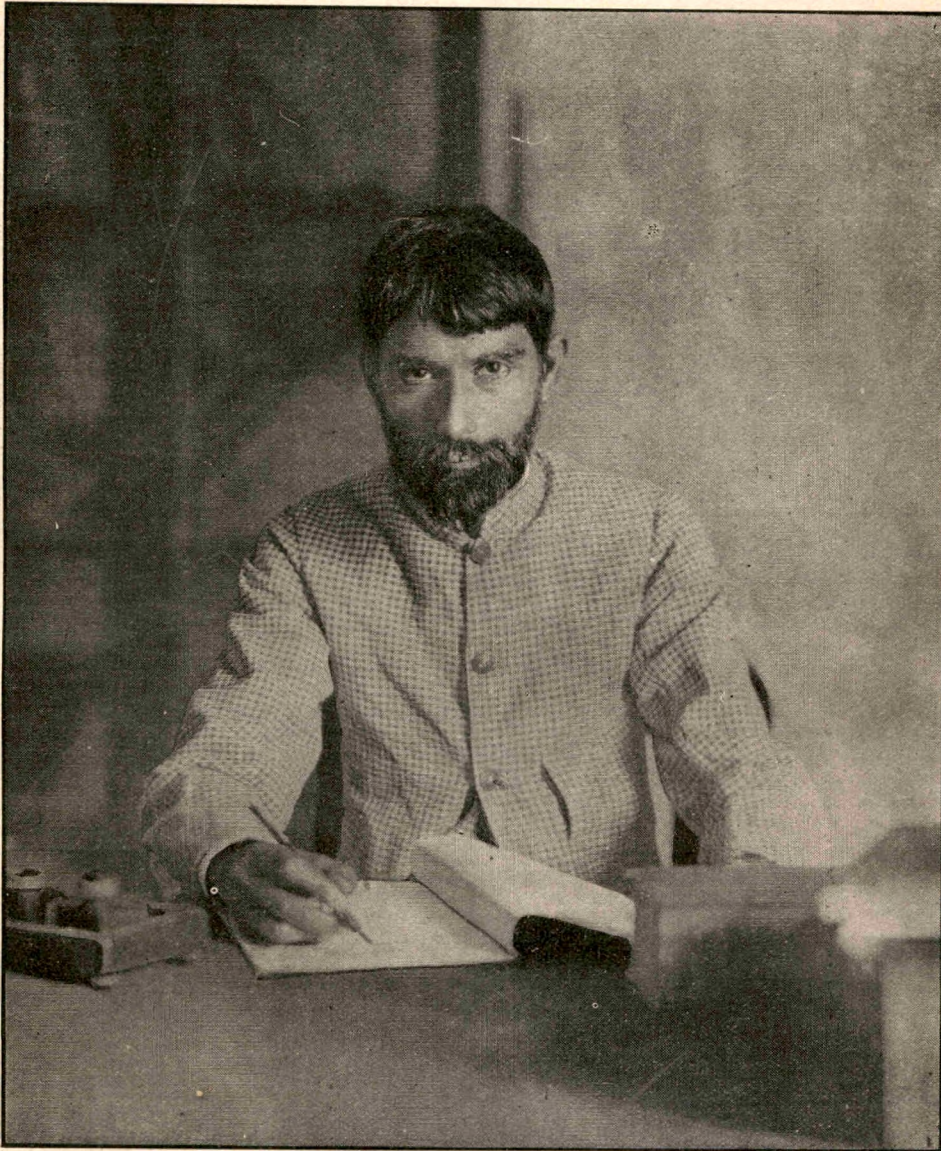
Seven years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume of Dr. Ray's work, in the preface of which he observed: "when I first drew up the scheme of the present work, I had deluded myself with the hope of finishing the study of all the available literature on the subject before I took to editing. But I soon found that the task was one of vast magnitude."

The volume under review embraces the results of the close study of 15 new chemical *Tantras*, most of them hitherto buried in oblivion in dark recesses in tattered Mss., amongst which *Rasaratnakara* of Nagarjuna and *Rasahridaya* of Govindabhagavat naturally claim the place of honour.

In the Introduction the author discusses at length the age in which these two celebrated chemists flourished. Here we are lost in wonder and admiration at the versatility of the genius which has produced this monumental work. The vast array of facts which

the learned author has managed to compress within the limits of 90 pages and the manner in which they have been systematically arranged would do credit to an oriental scholar of acknowledged repute. The author does not even hesitate to cross swords with so

during the Mahayanist period of intellectual activity. It is really refreshing to be told and in fact it will be a revelation to many that "it was in the universities of Nalanda, Udandapura and Vikramasila that alchemy * * * was cultivated and from thence spread to Tibet."



PROF. PRAPHULLA CHANDRA RAY, D. SC., PH. D.

Author of "A History of Hindu Chemistry."

Specially photographed for "The Modern Review."

eminent a *savant* as Barth and controverts his opinion that "alchemy [in India] was derived by intercourse with the Arabs."

Our author establishes—we believe conclusively—that alchemy was cultivated by zealous Buddhists—

Chapter V of the introduction is also especially devoted to a discussion of the "Indigenous Origin of Indian Alchemy." Elaborate extracts with English translations have been given from the *Tantras*, notably from the two already referred to. The Sanskrit Texts also

have been carefully collated after comparison of several rare manuscripts of each.

The most notable feature of the present volume is the contribution on the Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus from the pen of Principal B. N. Seal. The depth and encyclopaedic range of learning displayed by Mr. Seal is equally astounding. It is enough to say that the subject has never as yet been presented to the world in such a form.

It is a singularly fortunate circumstance that two of the most learned men of our times should have entered into a literary partnership—each contributing his quota in his own way,—thus reminding us of the immortal joint products of Beaumont and Fletcher in a different field. We shall be doing injustice to the work were we to attempt to give a complete analysis of its contents. We can at best within the limited space at our disposal content ourselves with drawing the attention of our readers to some of its notable features.

The first chapter of the introduction is devoted to the consideration of the age of Nagarjuna and the Buddhist alchemical *Tantras*. The three succeeding chapters treat of the further cultivation of Alchemy, and of many alchemical *Tantras*. The fifth chapter establishes the historical fact that Indian alchemy had an indigenous origin. Some noted Indian alchemists and their work are dealt with in the sixth chapter of the introduction.

The book proper begins with a consideration of the *Tantric* Period, which is continued from volume I. This chapter describes what chemical knowledge is to be found in fifteen old Sanskrit works. This is followed by an account of the knowledge of gems which our forefathers possessed. Then follow a "Note on the Method of Preparing Caustic Alkali," "The Tantrists, the Rosicrucians and the Seekers after Truth," "The metals and their loss in weight after calcination," "Antimony," "The Preparation known as Svarnasindura or Makaradhvaja," "Identification of Metals by their Coloration of Flames," and "The Age of Bhikshu Govinda, the author of Rasahridaya."

The next section of the work consists of Principal B. N. Seal's most scholarly and original dissertation on "The Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus." Mr. Seal's paper is intended to be a synoptic view of the entire field of Hindu Physico-chemical Science, so far as this reached the stage of positive science as distinguished from the prior mythological and empirical stages. As the work in which this paper appears relates to Hindu Chemistry, Mr. Seal has elaborated the chemical portions, including the Hindu account of the constitution of the fats and oils, and the organic tissues, in addition to Hindu inorganic chemistry. He has also briefly noticed the chief chemical industries of the Hindus which secured them an easy pre-eminence in manufactures for a thousand years, and in the *Addenda*, given some interesting recipes relating to several matters of chemical technology, *viz.*, Searing of hard rocks to enable them to be cut or pulverised; Hardening of Steel; Preparation of Cements for rocks, metals, etc.; Nourishment of Plants (वृक्षवृद्धि). These recipes seem to be remnants of many lost sciences, at least in their empirical stages, and give some idea of the range of the mental activity of the ancient Hindus.

Of mechanico-physical theories, Mr. Seal has expounded the Hindu conception of Energy, potential as well as kinetic, and of molecular motion, so far as they are applied to the elucidation of problems of a physico-chemical nature, *viz.*, the constitution of matter, the genesis of atoms and their intra-atomic constituents, and the chain of mechanical causation in the system of Nature. He has also touched on the Hindu theories of light, heat and sound, as implying current or wave motion, leaving the elaborate exposition to his paper on Hindu Mechanics and Physics, to be published hereafter. In the *appendix* Mr. Seal has added a brief account of the Scientific Method of the Hindus, which shows that all this was not a mass of unverified and unverifiable speculation (the very antipodes of science),—the charge usually brought against Hindu thought and culture,—but professed to be the outcome of a scientific Methodology which, in its formulation of the canons of the two fundamental Inductive Methods, is more comprehensive as well as more original and suggestive than Mill, and which, as regards its applied Logic of the sciences (*e.g.* the Logic of Therapeutics, of Grammar, etc.), is a standing testimony to the systematic completeness and rigour of the Hindu scientific mind. Mr. Seal has not written one line which is not supported by the clearest and most authoritative texts. The ground trodden is for the most part absolutely new. Mr. Seal has gone back to the *origines*, and studied the authorities at first hand, being resolved to eschew all second-hand sources of information. He has not read modern ideas into old guesses or speculations of a happy-go-lucky or nebulous character.

The Sanskrit texts close the volume. The index of proper names and of subjects, is a most useful and valuable feature.

We shall conclude with repeating the pious sentiment expressed by the author in the concluding lines of the preface:—

"The Hindu nation with its glorious past and vast latent potentialities may yet look forward to a still more glorious future, and if the perusal of these pages will have the effect of stimulating my countrymen to strive for regaining their old position in the intellectual hierarchy of nations, I shall not have laboured in vain."

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Volume I—Upanishads. Part I. Mundaka and Mandukya, translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Basu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Annual Subscription, inland Rs. 12 : foreign £ 1 : single copy Re 1-8.

Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu requires no introduction from our pen—he has, by his own merits, established his reputation as a great Sanskrit scholar. He has done an eminent service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by editing and translating Panini's *Astadhyayi*. He has edited and translated also Bhattoji Dikshita's *Siddhanta Kaumudi* in collaboration with his brother Major Vamandas Vasu—another scholar of versatile genius. Both the works have been admirably done and to the students who wish to master the intricacies of Sanskrit Grammar, these books are indispensable.

The Panini office has now undertaken the publication of the Sacred Books of the Hindus. This series, when completed, will be as useful as MaxMüller's "Sacred

Books of the East". It is a great undertaking and we wish it every success. This series is recommended to the Readers of the Modern Review, who, we hope, will patronise the publication by their subscribing to it.

The first volume has been translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu. It contains (1) the text of the Munda-ka and Mandukya Upanishads, (2) the translation of the text, (3) the translation of Madhva Bhasya and (4) English notes translated mostly from the Sanskrit Tika of Krishnacharya Suri.

Madhva was a well known Vaishnava Theologian of the thirteenth century. The great object of his life was to develop the devotional side of human nature and with this view, he wrote commentaries on some of the Upanishads, the Brahma Sutra, and the Gita. All those commentaries were written from the dualistic standpoint. His works should be studied not as an authoritative exposition of the Vedanta but as a Philosophy of Devotion which is really independent of the Vedanta but is made to rest on it by forced interpretations. He was a Sectarian Theologian and no authority on the Vedanta. To serve his end he actually did violence to the text and twisted and tortured the meaning when it ran counter to his purpose. Here are samples of his method of exposition :—

(1) Padapatha—"Sah yah hi vai tat Paramam Brahma veda, Brahma eva bhavati"—He who knows the supreme Brahma becomes verily great (Madhva). According to him, the second 'Brahma' = great. But the true meaning of the text is :—

"He who knows the Supreme Brahman, becomes Brahma".

(2) "Sarvam hi etat Brahma"—"The Full is verily this Brahma," whereas the true translation is "verily all this is Brahman." Sarvam=all, but according to Madhva=the Full.

(3) "Ayam atma Brahma"—This conscience or controller (atman) in Sri, Brahma, &c, is Brahman. But the true meaning of the passage is "This Self is Brahman."

(4) But the most amusing is Madhva's interpretation of the 8th mantra of Mundaka III. 2. The Padapatha of the text is :—

"Yatha nadyah syandamanah samudre astam gachchanti namarupe vihaya (avihaya—according to Madhva), tatha vidvan namarupat vimuktah paratparam purusham upaiti divyam".

In the original text "Namarupe-vihaya" is given. According to Madhva this portion means "Namarupe avihaya," i.e. not losing name and form. He says the 'a' in "avihaya" is elided by Sandhi. But according to Panini this sort of Sandhi is quite inadmissible. (Vide Astadhyayi, I. 1. 11, id, ud, ed dvivachanam—pragrihyam=A dual case affix ending in 'i', 'u' and 'e' is called—Pragrihya or excepted vowels which do not admit of Sandhi) and the Vartika says nothing against it. Hence it is inadmissible not only in the profane but also in the sacred literature.

(6) According to him, "Namarupat vimukta" means "not losing name and form." But the true interpretation is "becoming free from name and form." The meaning of the whole passage according to him is :—

"As the flowing rivers, whose home is the sea, when reaching the sea, become invisible, but do not lose their substance or individuality, so the wise, without losing his individuality, goes to the Divine Person who is greater than the great."

But from the context, it is evident that the above passage must be translated thus :—

"As the flowing rivers disappear in the sea, leaving their name and form, so the wise, freed from name and form, goes to the Divine Person who is greater than the great."

I shall not multiply examples. That Madhva is not a reliable expounder of the Vedanta has been conclusively shewn. But for all that we cannot ignore him. He has a System of Philosophy and the number of his followers is not negligible.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

GUJARATI.

*Krishna Charitra**

Mr. Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri has rendered a valuable service to Indian literature, and particularly to Gujarati literature, by translating from Bengali into Gujarati Bankim Chandra's well-known work "Krishna Charitra." The writer of the famous song "Bande Mataram" is widely known even outside Bengal for his novels, but, equally great are his contributions to the study of ancient Indian theological literature. Of this latter class are his works "Dharma Tatva" and "Krishna Charitra." In the first of these he has enunciated the principles of religion, which he deduces from the Hindu Scriptures, particularly from the teachings of Krishna. In the second work he has attempted to give an outline of the life of Krishna as it can be gathered from what must have been the original and genuine Mahabharat.

The principal aim of Bankim Chandra in this work is to show that Krishna was an ideal man. Though he believes that Krishna was an incarnation of the Deity, he at the same time maintains that Krishna lived no more than a human life, that he did not perform a single miracle, that he did not claim or exhibit any super-human divine power, and that he did not do a single act which an all-round wise and able man can not do. He bases this contention on the tenet that an incarnation would have no value as an example for human guidance if it displayed anything beyond a human career, and he fortifies the contention by showing that all along the life of Krishna only those accounts are genuine which speak of his human deeds. In support of the thesis that the life of Krishna was a model of human perfection, the author adduces evidence to the effect that not only did Krishna teach the highest principles of morality and religion but that his conduct throughout his life had been in complete accord with his precepts and that he never said or did anything which could be reprehensible in any the least degree from a human standard. He has therefore no patience with the current Hindu belief which imputes to Krishna a life of lasciviousness, unscrupulousness and craftiness, and he discards all writings of this description as spurious interpolations and inventions fabricated by later writers.

The constructive part of the author's work has of course been more difficult than the destructive one, but both evince vast reading, minute research, and elaborate reasoning based upon a masterly collocation of facts. He divides the Mahabharat into three layers and points out that only the first is genuine and reliable and that the second and the third layers are additions made

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subsequently at different periods by writers who were anxious to improve upon the original account and fit it in accordance with their own notions. Similarly he rejects all accounts about Krishna given in the Harivansha, the Bhagavat, the Vishnu Puran and other Purans which are not found in what he culls out as the first layer of the Mahabharat or which are inconsistent with it. He shows that Krishna never claimed to act with superhuman powers, that the Gopis are only once mentioned incidentally in the Mahabharat where Krishna is called "dear to the Gopis," that the Vishnu Puran does not show any amorosness in Krishna's dealings with the Gopis and that even so late a work as the Bhagavat does not so much as mention Radha. He cuts down the sixteen hundred or sixteen thousand wives of Krishna into one and establishes him as the monogamous spouse of Rukmini, all other names of his wives being mythical. The orthodox Hindu will hardly accept this pitiless logic which raises Krishna into an ideal man at the expense of all his cherished beliefs about the divinity of Krishna as discovered in miraculous actions and about his erotic dalliance with the Gopis, the most favoured among whom was Radha. There is no temple of Krishna which does not contain an image of Radha side by side with that of Krishna and there are Vaishnava Sects whose creed is the worship of Radha and her lover. All these will struggle hard against the elimination of Radha as a pure myth and will not be content with the theory that Radha was a Vaishnav substitute for "Prakriti" or "Sakti," a personification of Nature or Force. The orthodox Hindu will find the attack the more poignant as it comes from one who stoutly maintains that he himself is an orthodox Hindu, a follower of the "Sanatan Dharma," and a devout worshipper of Lord Krishna.

Equally interesting are the chapters in which the author elaborates the argument that the behavior of Krishna was strictly righteous and high-minded in his dealings with his enemies and in the part which he took in the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. But the review of a translation would be unreasonably long if it entered into greater details of the original work.

Mr. Jhaveri's translation is very ably done. It possesses the accuracy which is characteristic of true scholarship. He has taken care to give correct renderings of the Sanskrit verses quoted in the work and these are not few. His language is simple and lucid and his style is classical and dignified. He must be congratulated on the success of his work, which deserves to be widely read.

RAMANBHAI MAHIPATRAM NILKANTH,
Ahmedabad.

Bhavai vishe Vivechan, together with Devichandra Vivechan, by Shambhuprasad Shivoprasad Mehta, B.A., published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Pp. 48. Paper. Price 0-4-0. (1904).

The quantity of work put forth by Mr. S. S. Mehta two or three years ago was amazing. Hardly a single journal or magazine escaped the comprehensive sweep of his pen. The above book is also a production of the same white heat at which he struck off one work after another. It is admitted in the preface that both these *Vivechans* were hastily prepared, indeed the latter one is the production of a single night-session. The quality of such work necessarily suffers on account of its

expeditious methods, and the performance under review is no exception to the rule. It professes to be a sort of help to M.A. students, whose text books were commented on. Perhaps while the writer was himself studying for this examination, he thought it advisable to give the fruits of his knowledge and labor to others. The object was laudable, but its accomplishment has been far from desirable. The *Vivechans* are a series of crude inferences, strung together, while the students would have preferred a scholarly work, supported with all the weight of the reasoning of a well-read man. We wonder what the students themselves thought of it when it was published, (we say this because we are reviewing a work admittedly stale). In our opinion there was no need for all this haste, which has detracted much from the performance of Mr. Mehta. Perhaps if he had set about his work at leisure, he would have done better.

K. M. J.

Kavita Pravesh, compiled by Hematlal Ganeshji Anjana, M.A., and Karim Mahammad, M.A., S.T.C.D., Asst. Master, Elphinstone High School Bombay, published by T. O. Ankalesaria Sons, Bombay. Thick boards, pp. 45 and 178. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1908).

The only original matter comprised in the book is an essay on Gujarati poetry. One of the compilers is already known as the publisher of the *Kavya Madhurya*, a selection from modern Gujarati verse; his coadjutor has been giving remarkable proofs of the high literary ambition he cherishes by making frequent contributions to Gujarati periodicals and journals on all conceivable topics. Both of them have thus started with one thing in their favor, *viz.*, familiarity with the subject matter of their labors. They are both actually serving in the Educational Department and thus supposed to be knowing the needs of students. The book is meant for those studying in the High Schools, where Gujarati is now made a compulsory subject for the matriculation examination. The essay is merely a *rechauffe* served up with old scraps taken from previous writers, but all the same it is comprehensive and likely to prove useful to those for whom it is intended. The selections are made carefully also, but we find the vocabulary given at the end defective; it does not contain the meanings of some of those very obscure and unfamiliar words which it is the purpose of these vocabularies to give. We hope this defect will be removed in a future edition.

Kavya Vinod, Vihar II, by Amarchand Parmar. Reprinted from the Bombay Samachar, at the Bombay Samachar Press, Bombay. Cloth Pp. 384. Price Re. 1. 0. 0. (1908).

We have already had an occasion to review the first part of this collection in the January (1908) issue of this magazine. The present work follows the lines of the first *Vihar* in all respects. The compiler had tried to clear some obscurities in the text, but all the same owing to the real difficulties that exist in procuring correct versions of Hindi texts he has had, in this edition, the frankness to confess, that he is baffled by some of the verses as they stand, and been unable to give correct translations in such cases. One such verse must be that which occurs on p. 257, where Akbar makes Kavi Gang repeat the names of all the

cloths or stuffs presented to view in the Mina Bazar, held in the Royal female apartments, and in the same breath with such indigenous stuffs as *malmal* (Mulls) and *nainsukh*, he is made to repeat *merino* ! Much of the book is taken up with the traditional but none the less delightful dialogues and poetical *rencontres* said to have taken place in Akbar's Court between Birbal, Gang, Faizi, Jagannath and the other literary men patronised by him. Verses in praise of Rana Pratap are also scattered through-

out the collection, and the episode of Bhukhan and Aurangzib, where the former had the temerity to address non-complimentary verses to the very face of the Emperor, on promise of his life being saved, and of the poet's subsequent flight and patronage by Shivaji, lends a color of historical popularity to a book, which in places is either too jejune, or overflowing the bounds of simplicity by trying to exemplify the different *Rasas*, technically. Mr. Parmar promises a third *Vihar* in the near future. K. M. J.

NOTES

Lost Sons of the Motherland.

Robert Browning in one of his poems wrote :—

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others she lets us devote.
* * *

"Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more triumph for devils, and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God !"

The above lines are very appropriately applicable to many of India's sons, men who once took prominent part in politics, but had either to give it up or to modify their views on account of their being recipients of civic honors—such as the titles of Rai Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., C.S.I., &c., or obtaining appointments in the service of Government. How many names can we easily count of those patriot politicians of India, dead and living, who chameleon-like changed their opinions while made to bask under the favor of the official sun !

Persia.

The rapidity with which nations are transforming themselves is one of the most remarkable signs of the times. We live in an age that sees nations made in a week. We of the East and especially of India can not be too thankful for the recent course of events in Turkey. We must remember that Turkey is the organic centre of Mohamedan nations, and to have a Caliph who represents modern ideas, is at once to range all the Mussalmans of the world on the side of progress and development. It is



HIS MAJESTY THE NEW SHAH OF PERSIA.

too late in the day to discuss the value of science or liberty of conscience with a Mohamedan. The Caliph himself has declared for these things, and the loyal son of Islam must needs accept. How profound



SATTAR KHAN,

The Persian Nationalist Leader.

is the change of outlook which this implies, we may see in the case of Persia. The deposed Shah arrayed himself against the new spirit of the Islamic world, and the result is his downfall. But this is only the first fruits. In India, the change welds all true Mohamedans closer to the Hindus, since their hope and doctrine are indissolubly united as their inheritance and their interests.

The Indian Medical Service.

The "attractiveness" of the Indian Medical Service must be preserved. That is the keynote of Lord Morley's Medical Reform proposals. The Indian is the best paid Medical Service in the world. The people of India out of whose taxes is maintained this service have a right to inquire if it has "attracted" men of superior calibre to justify its high pay and emoluments. Even the greatest panegyrist of that service is not able to name a single man from its ranks who could be placed among the Masters of Medicine. It has not as yet produced a Harvey or a Hunter, a Jenner or a Lister, a Koch or a Pasteur. India is the home of such epidemic diseases as cholera and plague, yet strange to say it was not the highly paid members of the

Indian Medical Service who have thrown light on the real nature and treatment of those diseases. The discoverer of the comma bacillus of cholera was not any I. M. S. officer, but Koch—a German Medical man who came out to India to investigate the disease.

The serum therapy of the plague was discovered by M. Haffkine, who again is not an I. M. S. man. In Tropical Medicine at least one would have expected some Indian Medical Service officer to be the greatest living authority. But unfortunately such is not the case. Sir Patrick Manson is the highest authority in Tropical Medicine, but as all the world knows he did not belong to the charmed circle of the Indian Medical Service. It was acting on his suggestion that Major Ronald Ross, a member of the Indian Medical Service, successfully studied the life history of the malarial parasite.

There have not been many men in the Service who have distinguished themselves by their original researches or discovery of new methods of treatment of diseases. Non-Service Indian Medical men have done no less in the wide fields of pathology and therapeutics than the Indian Medical Service officers. The race which can even now produce scientists like Jagadish Chandra Bose and Praphulla Chandra Ray need not despair of producing Masters of Medicine to take rank with Harveys and Hunters, Jenners and Listers, Kochs and Pasteurs, if like opportunities are given to them to distinguish themselves as afforded in the case of the I. M. S. officers.

So the fetish of the "attractiveness" of the Indian Medical Service should be broken, and no appointment should be reserved for that service, but medical graduates of Indian Universities according to their qualifications should be eligible to all appointments. If that is done, half a century will show how Indian medical men can widen the boundaries of knowledge, and even some of them can take rank and precedence among Masters of the Healing Art.

India a field for British Educated labour.

Sir Edward Sullivan wrote:—

"India opens out on almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or in other words, it maintains at a higher level than that existing in any

other country, the reward of the labour of educated men.

"* * * to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving to the utmost to retain if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquility of England, when all Europe was tottering, was owing, not a little, to the outlet India had given to her educated masses,"—*Letters on India*, p. 29.

"* * * For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of this country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middling class, irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire.

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country." *Ibid* pp. 51-52.

Should not what is sauce for the English goose be sauce for the Indian gander also? Why then this fling at the educated Indian? Why is he taunted with belonging to "the microscopic minority" in the country, having no stake in it and being inimical to England? Should there not be open the same avenues of distinction to the educated Indian as to the educated Britisher?

Drain of India's resources.

Sir Edward Sullivan, Baronet, wrote:—

"[In former times] the treasure collected by one sovereign was spent by another; not a rupee ever left the country, and at some period or another was sure to circulate anew. Now it is different. If the sums remitted during many years to this country had been collected in the regal coffers, they would amount to a treasure far greater than that amassed by any sovereign that ever lived; but although drawn from the country, they do not remain in it. They never circulate anew; they leave it altogether, and the gross capital of the country is annually decreased by several millions. The surplus wealth does not now go to build palaces and adorn gardens on the banks of the Ganges or the Jumna, to erect a Taj Mahal or purchase a Koh-i-noor, to keep thousands of elephants and troops of dancing girls, etc, but comes to this country to build and embellish the stately mansions of Bayswater and Little Asia, to form far plantations in Scotland, to drain land and purchase estates in every part of the country and occasionally even to sway the votes of some free and enlightened constituency. * * Ten millions annually withdrawn from a country amounts to a large sum, if continued through a period of thirty or forty years. The loss of three or four hundred millions may impoverish even India; and will account for the gradual conversion

of a gold currency into a silver one, and a silver one into that of cowries and copper infinitesimals. * * There is no body of men in the world more generous than the Anglo-Indian; and there are few of those unmarried who have not mothers, sisters, young brothers or relatives and friends to whom they remit their surplus pay and allowances. But very little even of the money actually spent by Europeans in India, remains in the country; the greater portion of it leaves indirectly to pay for foreign articles of consumption. Nearly everything the Englishman uses in India comes from abroad: * * * So that the portion of his salary actually disbursed on articles which go to encourage the production of the country and reward the industry of the people, is very small; and, in fact, is almost entirely confined to the pay of servants, house-keeping and rents, travelling and *shikar* expense, and the bazar accounts.

"If a man is blessed with a wife, * * of course his remittances are more direct; the prolonged and often unavoidable separation that attends Indian married life, the expensive education of children, girls and boys, and the thousand and one items of a home establishment where the master is absent, will always ensure by far the greater portion of his income coming direct to England." *Letters on India*, pp. 53-55.

The above was written in 1858. Since then matters have become much worse.

The Possession of India and Growth of Imperialism in England.

Sir Edward Sullivan, Baronet, wrote in 1858:—

"In considering the advantages this country derives from the possession of India, we must not omit the immense impulse it gives to matrimony amongst the upper middling classes; and when we remember that according to the first political economists of the day, one of our greatest national dangers lies in the great number of the population, excluded from matrimony, by what the author of 'Companions of my Solitude' calls 'the great vice of great cities' this counteracting influence is no small subject for congratulation. * * *

"Marriage is now a luxury confined to the rich—it is *caviare* to the general public; but it is not so with the Anglo-Indian, whose ample pay and emoluments, and the undoubted existence of a widow's pension, supplies at once with the income and settlements necessary to secure that 'one solid comfort, an eternal wife' years before contemporary curates, barristers, or clerks dare think of such a blessing. * * Marriage is a most popular institution in India; and I suppose there are a greater number of married men in the Company's Service, than in any corresponding number of men in the world. * * I should say, that, take the Indian Services through, one in every four was married; and as one marriage with another contributes, on an average, four children to the population of the country, we have, besides the innumerable relatives and pensioners of the 7,000 salaried officers of the Company themselves, about 1,700 ladies with *their* relatives and friends, and nearly 7,000 little brown babies, all of whom share the profits of the Indian Services." *Letters on India* pp. 55-57.

During the 150 years that India has been under the rule of England, there are few

families of any note in the latter country in whose veins does not flow the blood of "Indian nabobs" or of other Anglo-Indians. What wonder if by their connection with India, even stay-at-home English people have imbibed the spirit of Imperialism? This perhaps accounts for more satisfactorily than any other hypothesis the growth of Imperialism in Christian England.

Station Hospitals for Native Troops.

There is no medical officer or hospital attached to a corps of British soldiers, that is, there is no regimental hospital or doctor for a British regiment. There is a single hospital in the station in which British regiments of different arms are located.

But the medical administration of the native troops is quite a different one. Every native regiment has a medical officer and hospital staff of its own. Thus the medical administration of native troops is more costly than, and not so efficient as, that of the British soldiers. Medical officers of native regiments may be old men of 30 years' service or raw inexperienced youths who have hardly been 365 days in India. The cost of the medical administration of a native regiment is not a fixed quantity;—it varies with the length of service of its medical officer. It may range from 450 Rs to 1300 Rs a month! The nature of duties performed being in all cases the same.

This is what should not be. The advantages will be great from the financial point of view by introducing the system of Station Hospital for Native troops. One large hospital well equipped with surgical and medical appliances in every military station with a staff of two medical officers and several subordinates will produce economy and efficiency—features which are absent from the regimental hospital system.

The combatant officers are as a rule not very well educated persons. To place highly educated professional medical men under their command is a relic of the period of barbarism. Medical officers of the native regiments do not like being commanded by combatant officers. The commanding officer of a native regiment, if he so desires it, can be very nasty to the medical officer and make it very hot for the latter to stay in the regiment which he commands. He can interfere in his hospital administration and

since he reports on him confidentially he can write what remarks he pleases in the report defaming or damaging the professional reputation of the medical officer. Of course there can be no successful appeal against the commanding officer's confidential report. This deters many self-respecting and professionally efficient medical men from entering the Indian Medical Service, which is primarily a military one. If the combatant officers of a regiment come to cherish an animus against the medical officer, they do not find much difficulty in getting rid of him on some pretext or other.

From all these considerations, it is very desirable to have the Station Hospital system for native troops as there is for the British soldier. This is a reform which we urge on the Indian Government to carry into execution without much delay.

Medical Reform Scheme and our Medical Colleges.

Whatever be the effects of Lord Morley's scheme of medical reform, it will at least dispel the misgiving of the medical profession in this country which during the last few years were hearing rumors of a very disquieting character. It was confidently asserted in certain quarters that Government were contemplating to abolish the University classes from the Medical Colleges of this country—classes which train students for the degrees of L. M. S., M. B. and M. D. The reasons given for this extraordinary step were curious. It was said that there was no necessity of a distinct service as that of Civil Assistant Surgeons. It should be remembered that the Medical Graduates of Indian Universities were eligible to be members of that service. It was suggested, so went the rumor, to abolish that service and to have in its place, Military Assistant Surgeons, who are all either domiciled Europeans or Eurasians and pass under the euphemistic name of "Statutory Natives," on the same principle as that of recruiting Civil Surgeons from the ranks of the Military Indian Medical Service.

According to Dame Rumour, this step was suggested by the European Medical Officers, who as Civil Surgeons found that they could earn little or no money from private practice, which was very often monopolised by the Indian Medical Graduates, either as

private practitioners or as Civil Assistant Surgeons. Notwithstanding that many Civil Surgeons have reduced their fee—from sixteen to even five rupees—they have not succeeded in building up any private practice worth the name. And so it was alleged that on the principle of "enlightened selfishness," and to remove competitors from the field, it was recommended to abolish the University Classes of the Medical Colleges. Of course, the Military Assistant Surgeons are not University men and their medical training being much inferior to that of Civil Assistant Surgeons, they can never be successful rivals to the European Medical men. Hence their existence was tolerable and preferable to that of highly qualified Indian doctors.

The Europeans in Africa.

Last month in a note to the article on "The West African Trader," we meant to say that it would be interesting to learn the African side of the case. An English friend has kindly sent us some extracts from an article in the *Century Magazine* of 1905 by the African Prince Monmler Massaquoi on the Europeans in Africa. These are printed below. The writer is a Prince of the Veis under the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone. He was educated in America, but has returned to his own people and opened an industrial school among them.

"With respect to my own country these foreign powers say it belongs to them now, and the civilized world in general seems to agree with them. But we think our country belongs to us. The African may be ignorant and unable to develop his country, but would a man be justified in taking possession of his neighbor's houses just because the time for the neighbor has not come, or he is unable from any cause to make necessary improvements? Would it not better become the part of a Christian to go in and shew the neighbor his deficiencies and how he may remedy them and leave him to enjoy the results of whatever he may be able to accomplish? But greed is at the bottom of it all. They cannot hear of a country possessing anything which can be converted into tangible profit without desiring to possess it for themselves."

"My readers know that the vices of civilization are as degrading as its virtues are uplifting; yet it is an acknowledged fact that these vices have been introduced in the African continent entirely by European representatives. All who have travelled on our continent will bear me out in the assertion that there is a remarkable contrast morally between the natives of the coast and those of the interior. This is owing to the fact that the people on the coast have been demoralized by the vices of civilization from European sources. As an instance, in none of the various native dialects

with which I am acquainted, about eighteen in number, are there any words with which to curse or swear and I am told the same is true of the other languages of Africa. They have words to express anger or abuse, but not to swear or curse; and when one hears a profane word it is always in English, German or other foreign language."

"Again polygamy is practised just as much by Europeans as by natives, although against their own laws and code of morality. It is very common to find a European merchant with from two to five or even more native wives. Now, according to the still more degrading system which Europeans have introduced on the coast, the wives of a Caucasian are the wives of all his friend visitors. When the so-called husband returns to Europe these women are left unprovided for and scatter their evil lessons wherever they go."

"From actual calculation I find that nearly one half of the goods imported into my territory is in the form of liquor and that of the very worst and most injurious kind. We are willing to be taught; we are willing to give a large share of the results to those who teach and employ us: but we are not willing to sell body and soul for the very doubtful advantages of civilization as it looks to us. If the present policy continues we cannot fight as men should against the wrong. The poison is fast doing its deadly work, and in a few years there will be none of us left to resist the oppressors. But our blood will be on their heads and will cry to Heaven for vengeance. It is but very little we ask—the right to work on our own soil among our own people, ruled by some at any rate of our own rulers, and to be permitted to eat and drink what we think good for us, instead of having deadly poison poured down our throats."

Maritime Trade of Bengal, 1908-1909.

The following extracts from the recently published Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal for the official year 1908-1909, will be found interesting:—

In imports the heaviest deficit is shown by group VIIA [yarns and textile fabrics] and is due to the meagre imports of *cotton goods* throughout the year. The falling off in groups IIIB, IIID and VIIC must be attributed to the decline in imports of *iron* in IIIB, of *locomotives and carriages and trucks* in IIID and of *musical instruments*, especially *gramophones and carriages and carts* (chiefly *motor-cars*) under group VIIC. The improvement recorded by groups II and IIIC was effected by larger imports of *sugar* and *jute mill machinery*.

Cotton manufactures.—The imports of *cotton goods* during 1908-1909 show a very marked decrease both in quantity and value from 1907-1908, in which all descriptions participated, the total value of *cotton goods* imported falling by 32 per cent.

Twist and yarn.—The decrease in the total quantity imported amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds or 21 per cent. and in value to $32\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or 29 per cent. Of the total quantity 88 per cent. was imported from the United Kingdom against 90 per cent. in the previous year. The quantity of *yarn* produced in the local mills was 39 million lbs. against nearly 42 millions in the previous year: but this was almost entirely in the coarser counts. Thirteen million lbs. were imported

from Bombay against 11 millions in the previous year. Of the local yarn $6\frac{1}{2}$ million lbs. were shipped to foreign ports.

Piece goods.—Imports amounted to 978 million yards, a decrease of 29 per cent. As the average price fell from As. 2-7 to As. 2-5 per yard, the decrease in value was 7 crores or 32 per cent. The contraction was particularly great in *greys* and *whites*, of which enormous stocks had remained in the warehouses at the end of the previous year.

The imports of *piece-goods* from Indian ports, almost entirely from Bombay, were $71\frac{1}{4}$ million yards against nearly 81 millions. On the other hand the production of the local mills rose from under 8 millions to $16\frac{1}{2}$ million yards.

Other cotton fabrics—which comprise *shawls*, *handkerchiefs in the piece* and *hosiery* fell from 95'76 to 76'06 lakhs in value, owing to the heavy stocks carried over. In *hosiery*, Japan supplied 23 lakhs or 70 per cent.

Of the total imports of cotton goods of 16,21 lakhs the United Kingdom sent 15,39 lakhs, or 94'9 per cent. against 95'7 in the previous year. Japan, Holland and Germany followed with $23\frac{1}{2}$, 15 and $13\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs, only the first named exceeding 1 per cent. of the total trade. The reaction in the trade during 1908, after the three previous prosperous years, was due to increases in the spinning and weaving plant and to the fall of prices from their high level. The latter very seriously affected the large stocks held in India, both at the ports and up-country, and naturally caused a cessation of orders for new business. The year's trade was therefore unsatisfactory, manufacturers feeling the pinch more than spinners. In Calcutta the depressed condition of the market was accentuated by the scarcity up-country, and resulted in extreme congestion, contracted credit and failures among dealers. As stocks have now been considerably reduced owing to restricted shipments, the return to more normal conditions of good crops and food supply should ensure a revival of trade.

Although increased competition from the Indian mills in the production of the finer counts is experienced, the position of the latter is not satisfactory, overproduction having caused heavy accumulations of stocks. So long as *American* and *Egyptian cottons* are fairly cheap, the Lancashire textiles of better quality cotton can not be competed with by the production of the Indian mills.

The quantities of *cotton piece-goods* despatched by rail from Calcutta and Bombay to the United Provinces and the Punjab during the past two years were as follows:—

	1907. Cwt.	1908. Cwt.
From Calcutta—		
To the United Provinces ...	344,501	190,752
„ the Punjab ...	54,223	49,321
Total ...	398,724	240,073
From Bombay—		
To the United Provinces ...	199,973	166,615
„ the Punjab ...	248,409	219,360
Total ...	448,382	385,975

The causes are to be found in “scarcity up-country” and elsewhere, as well as in the Swadeshi movement, but in what proportion it cannot be ascertained.

It is very unsatisfactory to learn that the imports of sugar during the year were the largest on record. Including unrefined sugar and molasses the increase was in quantity 10 per cent., and in value 23 per cent. “The imports of unrefined sugar from Java increased by 30 per cent. in quantity and 49 per cent. in value. There is no doubt that a large quantity of this is sold as Indian grown sugar.” This shows, what we have always held, that economical boycott alone cannot prevent the markets from being flooded by foreign products. There must be an adequate supply of the indigenous article, though it may be at first at a slightly higher price than the foreign article. So that while keeping up the boycott we should direct our principal energies to the industrial side of the movement.

Indian self-rule and a narrow view of English Interests.

Mr. Gokhale has found no words strong enough to condemn those who are for the independent political existence of India even in the future. The desire for independence on the part of an Indian may be in the present circumstances of our country something like the will-o-the-wisp or a child's crying for the moon. The Hon'ble gentleman says that our goal should be to attain something like the colonial form of Self-government. His proposition is that independence has never been and can never be obtained except by force, and force, every sane man must admit, is out of the question. Even assuming for the sake of argument that what he says is perfectly true and that it is not within the region of practical politics to think of independence for India, we ask Mr. Gokhale whether he sincerely believes that England will ever without any pressure and of her own accord grant India the semblance of Self-government even of the colonial type? Did not an English member of the Indian Civil Service of great experience once tell a blunt truth when he said that England governs India on the principle of “enlightened selfishness?” India is England's milch cow. Whether India obtains perfect independence

or the Colonial System of Government the result will be the same to England. It will mean India to a large extent for Indians. What will become then of the "boys" of England. We ask Mr. Gokhale to ponder over the following, which is quoted from an article in the now defunct London *Statesman* from the pen of the late Robert Knight :—

"But the benefits arising from our empire are far from being confined to the mercantile classes. They are shared by all classes in England, from the peer to the peasant. The Viceroyalty and the subordinate Governorships of the Presidencies are the ambition of the peers of the realm, the chief prizes the Crown has to bestow in the whole breadth of its dominions. Then there are Lieutenant Governorships of territories equal in population and extent to all France; half a dozen Commissionerships of provinces hardly less important; a host of Councillorships, Embassies, Collectorships, Magistracies, and Judgeships, with incomes of almost princely amount, and a thousand civil appointments subordinate to them.

"If we turn to the field which India offers to the professions, we find English lawyers filling the highest judgment-seats of the country with jurisdiction over territories the half of Europe in extent; English lawyers filling the positions of Administrators-General, Advocates-General, Masters in-Equity, Legal Remembrancers, Judges of the Small Cause Courts, and crowding the bar of each Presidency for the administration of English law.

"So again with the medical profession. Of the 1000 to 1200 physicians and surgeons in India labouring with a prospect more or less of a competency. Nor may we avoid mention of the Church, the Missionary body, and the colleges which absorb between them a large body of educated gentlemen, and provide for the education of their families.

"Again, all we have asserted of the above classes may be affirmed of the body of gentlemen who constitute the officers of the united Indian Army...The same may be said of the Education Department of the country...How vast a field is the Indian empire opening to our engineering and railway enterprise, from the humblest skilled workman it is necessary to employ, to the scientific head that organises it."

Any measure of Self-government for India seems to be incompatible with the pecuniary interests of England. The author of the pamphlet "India for Sale: Kashmir Sold" wrote :—

"We do not appear to realise the fact that the loss of India will assuredly deprive us of all our Eastern trade, and yet it is easy to see that it will be so; for not only will the marts of India be closed against us if we lose it,—as firmly closed against us as are those of Central Asia now,—but besides this, India, with its raw produce and its people skilled in manufactures from of old, will soon, under a system of protection, become a great manufacturing nation,—will soon with its cheap labour and abundant supply of raw material supplant us throughout the East." (Page 4

of "India for Sale: Kashmir Sold," by W. Sedgwick, Major, R. E. Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., Ltd., 1886. Price 12 annas).

Said the Marquis of Dufferin in one of his speeches in England :—

"Indeed, it would not be too much to say that if any serious disaster ever overtook our Indian Empire, or if our political relations with the peninsula of Hindostan were to be even partially disturbed, there is not a cottage in Great Britain—at all events in the manufacturing districts—which would not be made to feel the disastrous consequences of such an intolerable calamity.—(Cheers.)" (Lord Dufferin's Speeches in India." John Murray, p. 284).

If India were granted any form of Self-government, will not England's political relations with her be greatly disturbed? Since the inauguration of the Swadeshi *cum* boycott movement, the manufacturing districts of Great Britain have been made to feel the disastrous consequences of the intolerable calamity. Has it not been hinted very broadly in the questions which were recently put by a certain honourable member of Parliament to the Under Secretary of State for India that the deportations of some of the Bengalee gentlemen were due to their taking an active part in the Swadeshi propaganda? The Under Secretary of State could not deny this.

Any form of Self-government in India will encourage home industries either by preferential tariff or boycott. And this will not do for the prosperity of the "nation of shopkeepers." Wrote an English author :—

"The military aggrandisement of the (Chinese) Empire, which would provoke general resistance, is in fact, less to be dreaded than its industrial growth, which other nations will be, to some extent, interested in maintaining." (Pearson's *National Life and Character*, p: 141).

Under such circumstances what wonder that every sort of real Self-government has been denied to the people of India.?

Whether India is to be altogether independent or to be granted the Colonial System of Self-government appears to us to be mere academic discussions. Let her have real Self-government of any type that is feasible and possible—Self-government to have control over her finances, and over her domestic policy.

While we are of opinion that a really self-governing India may develop certain industries for which she is *naturally* well-equipped, to the detriment of the same industries in Great Britain, we are also of

opinion that on the whole a prosperous self-governing India may still remain as great a customer of Great Britain as now;—provided, of course, in the meantime Great Britain does not lose her industrial position among the nations. If Great Britain, therefore, were to follow a really enlightened selfish policy, she would lose no time in granting self-rule of some sort to India. That would be best for her, best for India, and best for all mankind.

Mr. Gokhale and the Civilized World.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council of India, has not enhanced his reputation for statesmanship by the speech which he recently delivered in Poona on the present situation. This is not very pleasant to say, especially of a man in Mr. Gokhale's position, for whom a very large section of the educated community of India cherish great regard. It cannot be denied that he has worked unselfishly for India's good—as a teacher of boys at first and then as a politician.

We are at one with Mr. Gokhale in condemning the murder of Colonel Curzon-Wyllie by a mischievous or misguided Indian youth, and deeply sympathise with the bereaved family. But we do not see how this foul deed could blacken the Indian name. For the murder was not the outcome of a conspiracy, it was not a political murder, Dhingra had no accomplices. Was it not also another Indian gentleman who tried to shield and save the unfortunate victim of the murderer and in that attempt sacrificed his own life? Did not the Indian student Madan Mohan Sinha also grapple with the murderer? If, according to Mr. Gokhale, "Indians must hang down their heads in shame before the whole civilized world," for the foul deed of one Dhingra, should they not raise up their heads before the whole civilized world for the noble deeds of Dr. Lalcaca and of Madan Mohan Sinha? Even if the murder had been political, which fortunately for us Indians it was not, (though the difference does not matter to the victim)—reprehensible as it would have been, "the whole civilized world" would have been then as much dis-

graced as India. For India is not the birth-place of terrorism or anarchism, but the civilized world is.

When an Englishman murders a native of India, then Englishmen do not come forward to hold meetings to condemn the deed or sympathize with the family of the victim. But for that reason we do not conclude that all Englishmen approve of such murders, as it is quite natural for them to keep quiet, trusting to the operation of the laws of the land. Has it ever struck Mr. Gokhale that no Englishman condemns his nation for one of his countrymen murdering an Indian?

In our humble opinion unnecessary and exaggerated self-abasement is as bad as baseless vanity or boastfulness.

In one sense every shameful and wicked deed done by one man brings disgrace upon the character of all men. But we do not think Mr. Gokhale spoke in that sense.

Mr. Gokhale and Indian Students in England.

It was not proper for Mr. Gokhale to say anything to express his anxiety and apprehension for the growth of wild anarchical opinions among a section of the Indian students residing in England. Motives will be attributed to him for this utterance—for is it not a fact that last year in a meeting held in London the Indian students passed a resolution censuring the conduct of Mr. Gokhale for his not joining with them in their protest against the punishment inflicted upon Mr. Tilak? He should not have said anything behind the backs of the Indian students residing in England, for his utterances are calculated to strengthen the hands of those who are trying to circumscribe the liberties of those students. Mr. Gokhale should have known that what he calls "anarchical opinions" are the special products of the West—taught by its poets and politicians. If some of the Indian students have unfortunately caught the contagion, they ought to be properly treated and cured of the disease, and to be pitied rather than condemned. But every attempt should be made to reach the root of the evil and eradicate it there if possible. Why does not Mr. Gokhale condemn the teachers of anarchical opinions and leaders of anarchical thought? The anarchists of other countries

have found a very safe asylum in England. Prince Peter Kropotkin, the well-known Russian anarchist, is lionised in England. Even Mrs. Annie Besant, who will not be suspected of partiality for "Indian anarchism," if such a thing exists, seems to be a great admirer of Kropotkin, his politics and his tactics, from what she has said recently regarding him.

England ought to and is quite justified in trying to cure anarchistic tendencies in Indians, if any, but her efforts in this connection appear rather illogical and are sure to be fruitless so long as she continues to harbour foreign anarchists within her shores. They should be removed first. We are anxious that our students should not become anarchists. But we must see that legitimate political aspirations are not crushed under the pretext of repressing anarchism.

There is the fact of Tories and pseudo-Liberals branding all our political aspirations and movements as anarchistic. None of us, therefore, ought to do anything to play into the hands of these men.

Mr. Gokhale on Ideas of Independence.

Sir John Kaye referred to the Anglo-Indians preceding the days of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 in the following terms:—

"To suggest that in an Asiatic race there might be a spirit of independence and a love of country, the manifestations of which were honourable in themselves, however inconvenient to us, was commonly to evoke as the very mildest result the imputation of being 'Anti-British,' whilst sometimes the 'true British feeling' asserted itself in a less refined choice of epithets, and those who ventured to sympathise in any way with the people of the East were at once denounced as 'white niggers.' Yet among these very men, so intolerant of anything approaching the assertion of a spirit of liberty by an Asiatic people, there were some who could well appreciate and sympathise with the aspirations of European bondsmen, and could regard with admiration the struggles of the Italian, the Switzer, or the Pole to liberate himself, by a sanguinary contest, from the yoke of the usurper. But the sight of the dark skin sealed up their sympathies. They contended not merely that the love of country, that the spirit of liberty, as cherished by European races, is in India wholly unknown, but that Asiatic nations and especially the nations of India, have no right to judge what is best for themselves; * * * against the beneficence of a more civilized race of white men, who would think and act for them, and deprive them, for their own good, of all their most cherished rights and their most valued possessions."*

* A history of the war in India, 1857-1858, Vol. I. (Ninth Edition) pp. 357-358.

Reading the speech of Mr. Gokhale, one is inclined to think that he, notwithstanding his nationality and the color of his skin, belongs to the above category of Anglo-Indians, for what does he mean when he says, "only mad men outside lunatic asylums could think or talk of independence," or "that there was no alternative to British rule not only now but for a long, long time to come, in view of their endless divisions, their feeble public spirit, their general lack of energy and other grave defects of a national character?"

Words like the above, better befit the lips or the pen of some unsympathetic Anglo-Indian bureaucrat than an ex-President of the Indian National Congress.

If anybody thinks or talks of immediate independence or of independence in the near future, then certainly Mr. Gokhale's description applies to him. But if Mr. Gokhale means that it is madness to think of India ever becoming independent, we must disagree. Here is a Governor-General of India who about a century ago (17th May, 1818), talked of Indian independence:

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest." *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, vol. II., p. 326.

Was he mad?

Our opinion is that the discussion as to whether our political goal should be Colonial Self-Government or absolute independence, is merely academic. So far as British willingness to grant us liberties goes, both ideals are at present outside the range of practical politics, and, from that point of view, if a room be vacant in any lunatic asylum in India, the Immediate-Colonial-Self-Government Moderates are as eligible for admission there as the Immediate-Absolute-Independence Extremists. For our part we do not see why Britishers should prefer to make India a Self-Governing Colony rather than an absolutely independent state. A self-governing colony is practically independent and can

raise tariff-walls against the mother country and otherwise flout her, while at the same time it enjoys the advantage of being protected by the Empire. Mr. Gokhale quotes Lord Curzon as saying that the British would spend their last shilling and sacrifice their last man before they would suffer their rule to be overthrown. That is true. But Mr. Gokhale forgets that Lord Curzon is as little in favour of colonial self-rule as of absolute independence. He plainly said that in case India became self-governing as a colony, the slender tie binding her to Great Britain could be easily snapped. Even Lord Morley speaks of our longing for colonial self-government as crying for the moon and thinks that kind of government as unsuited to India as a Canadian fur-coat is unfit for use on the Deccan plateau. His mental vision, he declared, could not penetrate to a future when India might cease to have personal rule. He would not, he said, grant self-government to India at the end of his life even if he lived twenty times longer than he could now expect to do. That is the language of a radical statesman. And yet it is not madness for us to expect to rule ourselves like the colonists. Madness begins all of a sudden as soon as you begin to think of independence.

To show our unfitness for independence, Mr. Gokhale speaks of our endless divisions, our feeble public spirit, and general lack of energy, and other grave defects of national character. We admit all these defects. In spite of these defects, however, Mr. Gokhale thinks that it is not madness for the Indian people to expect "in the fulness of time," whatever that phrase may mean, to attain colonial self-government. Of course, he adds :—

Moreover, those who spoke of such a goal spoke of it not to suggest what their countrymen might immediately ask for or the Government could be expected to grant, but to keep before their minds an ideal of what they had to qualify themselves for. For, the whole question, after all, was a question of character and capacity and qualification.

But may we ask Mr. Gokhale, what leading Indian politician speaking of the goal of independence ever suggested that it was what our countrymen might immediately demand or strive for? Those who want independence want it "in the fullness of time." What is that precious

line of demarcation between the qualifications for colonial self-rule and the qualifications for absolute independence which Indians are destined never to cross? We never thought Mr. Gokhale could ever say such a foolish thing as that though we could qualify for colonial self-rule "in the fulness of time," it is simply blasphemy and high treason combined to think that we could go slightly higher up and graduate in the school of independence. The colonial goal is an entirely arbitrary goal. It is not even in the right line of development of British rule in India.

Mr. Gokhale speaks of such disqualifications of ours as our endless divisions. In answer, we refer him to our article on "Contemporary India and America on the eve of the Revolution," published in June 1907. For the convenience of our readers we give below a rather long extract from that article to show that the American colonists could become a united people in spite of disqualifications similar to ours.

"The Christian colonists did not belong to one race, one creed or to one original country. There were not respectable men entirely wanting among them, but speaking generally it was the dregs of the Christian countries of Europe who furnished the ranks of the colonists of America. Their character was such that no one considered them capable of self-government. We will quote here the views of some of the Christian authors who had personal knowledge of these colonies before their separation from England and formation into the United States of America.

"Burnaby, an acute observer, travelled through these North American Colonies in 1759 and 1760. According to him,

"Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America: Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation. In short such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other; while the Indians and negroes would with better

reason impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them altogether."

"Otis, who was a well-known American patriot, wrote in 1765:—

"God forbid these ever prove undutiful to their mother-country. Whenever such a day shall come, it will be the beginning of a terrible scene. Were these colonies left to themselves to-morrow, America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion before little petty States could be settled."

"The historian Lecky says:—

"Great bodies of Dutch, Germans, French, Swedes, Scotch, and Irish, scattered among the descendants of the English, contributed to the heterogeneous character of the colonies, and they comprised so many varieties of government, religious belief, commercial interest, and social type, that their union appeared to many incredible on the very eve of the Revolution."*

"In India, there is not one common language. But that was the case in the colonies too. Lecky writes:—

"Twenty-one years before New York, or, as it was then called, New Amsterdam, fell into the hands of the English, it was computed that no less than eighteen different languages were spoken in or near the town, and it continued under English rule to be one of the chief centres of foreign immigration."†

"Even at the present day during the presidential election campaigns in the United States, the different parties have to publish pamphlets in 12 or 13 languages.

"It is said that there is no patriotism, or community of feeling in India. But things were no better in America before the Revolution. To quote Lecky again,‡

"A country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants were recent immigrants, drawn from different nations, and professing different creeds, where, owing to the vast extent of the territory and the imperfection of the means of communication, they were thrown very slightly in contact with one another, and where the money-making spirit was peculiarly intense, was not likely to produce much patriotism or community of feeling."

"Men like Lord Reay say that India is not fit for democratic government because its people are mostly illiterate.§ But the condition of the colonies was no better. Webster, the lexicographer, writes in his Essays:—

"Education is sunk to a level with the most menial services.*** Will it be denied that before the war it was a frequent practice for gentlemen to pur-

* England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. IV. p. 12.

† " " " " p. 18

‡ " " " " p. 34.

§ "Had education 'permeated throughout' England when the foundations of popular liberty were laid?" (*India* April 19th, 1907). Every student of English history knows that in England the wide spread of popular education followed but did not precede popular Government.

chase convicts who had been transported for their crimes and employ them as private tutors in their families?" (pp: 17-19).

"Our aristocracy and moneyed classes are charged, justly, as lacking in public spirit. That they spend their time in idleness and worthless pursuits cannot be denied. But the aristocracy of America were no better before the Revolution. Their gentlemen class consisted of planters and farmers, regarding whom Adams writes:—

"The lands are cultivated and all sorts of trades are exercised by negroes or by transported convicts, which has occasioned the planters and farmers to assume the title of gentlemen, and they hold their negroes and convicts—that is, all labouring people and tradesmen—in such contempt, that they think themselves a distinct order of beings. Hence they never will suffer their sons to labour or learn any trade, but they bring them up in idleness or, what is worse, in horse racing, cock-fighting, and card-playing**. The object of the men of property here, the planters, &c., is universally wealth. Every way in the world is sought to get and save money; land-jobbers, speculators in land, little generosity to the public, little public spirit." (Adams' Works, II., 436).

"But the Indian people at present, on the whole, are angels compared to the Christian Colonists of America, who were brutalised by their dealing in slaves and permitting slavery. They presented the spectacle of degraded humanity. Lecky writes:—

"The most serious evil of the colonies was the number and force of the influences which were impelling large classes to violence and anarchy, brutalising them by accustoming them to an unrestrained exercise of power, and breaking down among them that salutary respect for authority which lies at the root of all true national greatness. The influence of negro slavery in this respect can hardly be overrated, and in the slave States a master could commit any act of violence and outrage on a negro with practical impunity,

"* * White men planted among savages and removed from the control of European opinion seldom fail to contract the worst vices of tyrants.

"* * * * * Juries in [Red] Indian cases could never be trusted, and public opinion on the frontier looked upon [Red] Indians as little better than wild beasts. * * But the despatches of Johnson and Stuart are full of accounts of how the English settlers continually encroached on the territory which was allotted by treaty to the [Red] Indians how the rules that had been established for the regulation of the [Red] Indian trade were systematically violated, how traders of the lowest kind went among the savages, keeping them in a state of continual drunkenness till they had induced them to surrender their land; how the goods that were sold to Indians were of the most fraudulent description; how great numbers of [Red] Indians who were perfectly peaceful, and loyal to the English, were murdered without a shadow of provocation; and how these

crimes were perpetrated without punishment and almost without blame." *

"If those Christian colonists who were brutalised by permitting slavery amongst them were worthy of liberty, why should not the heathen inhabitants of India where no institution like that of the slavery of Christian colonies ever existed be considered worthy of the same? Liberty alone befits a people to enjoy liberty."

As for qualifying ourselves for self-rule, while we admit that there is in every respect room for and need of immense improvement, we must say that many impartial Englishmen and other foreigners have acknowledged that we are fit for a far higher degree of self-government than we have. But let that pass. Our answer may well be given in the words of Mr. Raimohan Dutt in the latest number of the *Boston Arena* to hand:—

A well-known editor in offering opposition to the granting of constitutional government to peoples supposed to be incapable of conducting their affairs, has observed:

"No people can enjoy the reality of constitutional government until it acquires political habits and discipline."

Now, while it is true that a people unschooled in self-government will be liable to make mistakes and fall far short of those who have long been accustomed to govern themselves, it is equally true that the only way for a people to learn to rule themselves is by practice, which will give them the proficiency that comes only through the discipline of experience. Tyrants have always urged that the people could not govern themselves, while the people have very frequently thought otherwise, even where the ruling class has been of the same blood and tongue. The child learns to walk after repeated trials, but the fact that he falls now and again is no valid reason for keeping him forever in a cradle. The swimmer makes many unsuccessful attempts before he becomes proficient; yet if he always remained on land he would never learn to swim. So it is in regard to infant nations and peoples who yearn for self-government. They might and doubtless would make many mistakes, fail now and again, but every such failure would help them to master the problem nearest their heart.

With reference to the question of public spirit, we will also take the liberty to remind Mr. Gokhale of the following passage in Mill's *Representative Government*:—

"Their moral capacities are equally stunted wherever the sphere of action of human beings is artificially circumscribed. Their sentiments are narrowed and dwarfed in the same proportion. The food of feeling is action: even domestic affection lives upon voluntary good offices. Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will not care for it."

* Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 35 ;

We wish to consider a few more passages from Mr. Gokhale's speech. They are printed below.

That same patriotism which, in other countries, had taken other forms, must lead them in their situation to work loyally with the British Government for the progress and prosperity of their country. It should be plain to the weakest understanding that towards the idea of independence the Government could adopt only one attitude—that of stern and relentless repression, for, these ideas were bound to lead to violence, and as a matter of fact, they had as they could all see resulted in violence.

Some of their friends were in the habit of saying that their plan was to achieve independence by merely peaceful means—by a general resort to passive resistance. The speaker felt bound to say that such talk was ridiculous nonsense, and was a mere cloak used by these men to save their own skins. Independence never had been achieved in the history of the world and never would, except by force: * * * Therefore, ideas of independence meant physical conflict with the Government of the country, and that necessarily would leave no option to the Government except stern repression.

Co-operation with the Government implies self-government. There can be no co-operation without self-government. Co-operation is possible only between persons and parties who occupy an equal status. In our present circumstances, there may be subordination and subservience, but no true co-operation. It may seem harsh to say so, but at present we can be only unpaid servants of officials, but not their colleagues. If Government wants co-operation on our part, which we are quite ready to render, it must also co-operate with us in furtherance of our own cherished aims. You cannot expect co-operation from people whose tenderest sentiments you trample under foot, and for whose opinions you do not care a straw. Moreover, we do not understand how co-operation with the officials can be our chief or sole duty. In England the British Government is at least as much identified with the welfare of the people as the Indian Government is supposed to be identified with ours. Yet the British people do not merely co-operate; they oppose and thwart the Government by all constitutional means whenever they find it necessary in their own interests to do so. Does Mr. Gokhale expect any Indian to believe Anglo-Indian rule to be more philanthropic, altruistic and wise in its relation and attitude towards us, than the British Government is in relation to the British people? If he does, he

gives us greater credit for credulity than we possess.

Mr. Gokhale says that Government is bound to repress ideas of independence, for these ideas are bound to lead to violence, and have in fact resulted in violence. We do not see why or how ideas of independence *must* lead to violence. People may be mistaken as to the efficacy of peaceful means, but still they may cherish hopes of becoming free by peaceful means. In the Alipur State trial, the published and unpublished writings and speeches of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, the best known Indian advocate of independence, could not be connected with a single act of violence. The presiding Judge and the prosecuting Counsel said distinctly that no objection could be taken to ideas of independence in themselves. Even the *Times* and Lord Morley have admitted that among extremists there is a school of violence, as well as a school of peaceful struggle,—“Physical Force Extremists” and “Academic Extremists.” Mr. Gokhale has always been accustomed to weigh his words. We do not know why he has now begun to talk like an irresponsible man. Christ spoke of himself as not bringing into the world peace but a sword, he spoke of the tares being burned in something like eternal hell-fire. Is he, therefore, responsible for the barbarous crusades and other unholy religious wars, and for all the horrors of the Inquisition?

Then as to repression. Let us first see how Mr. Gokhale describes the genesis of those ideas of independence which he thinks Government cannot but repress.

Though a certain hankering after independence must have existed here and there in individual minds from the very commencement of the British rule, independence, as a factor to be reckoned with, has been a growth of the last four or five years only. They had their origin in the despair which overspread the Indian mind towards the close of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, in the victories of Japan over Russia and in the general feeling of protest against European domination which had sprung up, as recognized by European observers in recent years throughout the East. It must be admitted that these ideas partly owing to their natural attractiveness and partly owing to a lack of political discrimination and judgment among the people had spread rapidly in the country;...

Mr. Gokhale will admit that the best way to cure a disease (we will, to please him, take it for granted that the desire for independence is, for Indians, a disease) is

to remove its causes. Now, what are the causes of this malady of love of freedom? Briefly, they are, according to him, (1) Human nature, (2) Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, (3) Japan's victory over Russia, (4) Asia's impatient protest against European domination and arrogance. Will Mr. Gokhale tell us which of these causes repression will remove? (1) Will repression change human nature? Will it crush out of existence the God-given yearning for freedom? Might it not, on the contrary, intensify popular resentment against any Government that would set itself to destroy God's handiwork? (2) Will repression be a reversal of the policy or measures of Lord Curzon? Will it not rather be a continuation and strengthening of his policy? (3) Will repression lead to a new Russo-Japanese war culminating in a victory of Russia over Japan, thus restoring European prestige in Asia? (4) Will repression in India make all Asiatic peoples acknowledge with bated breath the divine right of white men to domineer over and “exploit” all coloured races? Vain thought!

Then what is it that can repression do? It can probably, though not certainly, spread a death-like silence over the land. But the flame of love of freedom will still continue to burn in the hearts of the people, to burst forth in some unexpected moment. No, Mr. Gokhale's remedy is a quack remedy, *not different in essence* from the anarchist's or terrorist's prescription of the bomb or the revolver as a cure for police misrule or executive high-handedness, and equally inefficacious. We are sorry to have to say so. But the truth must be told.

We have shown that repression as a means of crushing ideas of independence is inefficacious. It is also unrighteous as being contrary to the laws of the universe. For as a desire for independence is implanted in us all, it cannot be right to seek to destroy it. Rather is it good for all mankind that all races should be helped and taught to be free.

For all these reasons we are sorry that the odious and unwise suggestion of repression should have come from a sincere patriot of the standing and character of Mr. Gokhale.

Do we then say that repression is not a remedy under any circumstances? Certainly

not. Under some circumstances it is part of a remedy. Those who are actually, either openly or in secret, connected with crime or violence, must be repressed. But a complete remedy must include the removal of the causes that lead to violence. Even after a rebellion has been crushed the wise ruler grants a general amnesty.

Mr. Gokhale says that as independence was never obtained except by force, therefore, those who advocate, or talk or think of independence, must be repressed. Let us grant Mr. Gokhale's premises. We do not know in the jurisprudence of what country this sort of punishment by inference is prescribed. The men who talk of independence may be fools who have not read history, they may have misread history, they may have too much faith in the power of passive resistance, they may think that in future the British people may become juster and more generous than they have hitherto been, &c., &c., they may never have cherished the idea of rebellion, they may be incapable of waging war; yet they must be punished. For that is the *ipse dixit* of the history-and-logic-ridden Mr. Gokhale.

"The apologists for things as they are, are ever seeking to discredit the prophet of progress and discount the vision by the claim that because a thing has not been discovered before, or because it has not been tried in some older land, it is chimerical or false. Every new discovery and advance step made by seer, scientist, philosopher, reformer and apostle of true progress has been obstructed by this old, old cry of faithless conventionalism."

But we say with Emerson, "the argument which is always forthcoming to silence those who conceive extraordinary hopes of man, namely, the appeal to experience, is for ever invalid and vain. We give up the past to the objector, and yet we hope. He must explain this hope..... The most exact calculator has no prescience that somewhat incalculable may not balk the very next moment."

(*The Over-soul.*)

"I watch the circle of the eternal years,
And read forever in the storied page
One lengthened roll of blood, and wrong, and tears—
One onward step of Truth from age to age.

"The poor are crushed; the tyrants link their chain;
The poet sings through narrow dungeon grates;
Man's hope lies quenched—and, lo! with steadfast gain
Freedom doth forge her mail of adverse fates.

"Men slay the prophets; fagot, rack, and cross
Make up the groaning record of the past;
But Evil's triumphs are her endless loss,
And sovereign Beauty wins the soul at last.

"No power can die that ever wrought for Truth;
Thereby a law of Nature it became,
And lives unwithered in its sinewy youth,
When he who called it forth is but a name.

"Truth needs no champions: in the infinite deep
Of everlasting Soul her strength abides,
From Nature's heart her mighty pulses leap,
Through Nature's veins her strength, undying, tides.

"Peace is more strong than war, and gentleness,
Where force were vain, makes conquest o'er the wave
And love lives on and hath a power to bless,
When they who loved are hidden in the grave."

Lowell.

But this is a matter-of-fact world, and we must not do so foolish a thing as quote poetry. So let us come back to sober reason again. We cannot admit that what has not happened in the past cannot happen in future. The past does not limit the possibilities of the future. Soul force, the being strong to suffer, may in the end prove mightier than physical force. We have a very limited knowledge of history. But we think, the settlement of international disputes and claims by arbitration is a *new* modern political method that has been successfully tried in at least a few cases. Are not Peace Conferences also something new? They are futile now, but will grow stronger by and by. Is it impossible that in future passive resistance, a growing sense of justice and generosity among the British people, a consciousness that the world can be best benefited materially and morally by each distinct people leading a separate yet co-ordinate existence, and the pressure of the world's enlightened opinion, all combined, may make it practicable for India to gain freedom without fighting?

If it be a vain hope, we shall not live to see its vanity demonstrated.

As Mr. Gokhale likes to be guided by past history, and as our own knowledge of history is limited, we ask him to enlighten us on two points: (1) Has any white race

in the past granted colonial self-government to a coloured race without a struggle? (2) Has Great Britain in the past acted in the above manner? (Even the republican Americans granted self-government to the Filipinos after the armed struggle of the latter under Aguinaldo.) If the answers be in the negative, what does his hope of attaining the colonial goal rest upon?

If he be justified, as surely he is, in hoping to attain colonial self-government by peaceful means, inspite of the teaching of history, why should it be madness to pitch one's faith in the efficacy of peaceful means in a somewhat higher key?

The talk of achieving independence by passive resistance, may be ridiculous nonsense. So far we have no quarrel with Mr. Gokhale. But we must protest against the uncharitable insinuation that this talk is "a mere cloak used by these men to save their own skins."

Now "these men" may say that they do not want to fight, for various reasons: (1) They may really believe in the efficacy of passive resistance; (2) they may consider all active resistance an evil, as Tolstoy is said to do; (3) they may believe that the future may have in store a better method of winning independence than war; (4) they may be against war, because of its impracticability and undesirability under the present circumstances of India; or (5) they may be at heart contemplating the adoption of methods of violence, thinking it practicable and desirable, but merely telling lies to save their skins. It may suit the tactics of partisans of the baser sort to impute the worst motives to one's rivals or opponents, but surely we are entitled to expect a more honourable course from Mr. Gokhale. And what are the facts? Have the Extremists shown greater solicitude for the integrity of their skins than the Moderates? One may, with some semblance of truth, call the former fools, mad men, fanatics, and so forth, but to say that as a class they have been particularly anxious to save their skins is a grotesque falsehood. Their opinions and their methods of work may be characterised in various ways, cowards there are among them as among their opponents, but many of them by their conduct have shown a fearlessness which

has not been exceeded by Mr. Gokhale or any other man of his party.

We are sure Mr. Gokhale meant his pronouncement to do good to the country, and believes it will have that effect. But we are afraid his speech may serve as an indirect, though unintentional incitement to violence. Love of freedom is an ineradicable passion. If relying on Mr. Gokhale's authority people come to believe that there is no other way to freedom than physical force, what would be the consequences? We are afraid he has unintentionally strengthened the cult of the terrorists. From this point of view, the advocacy of passive resistance is preferable.

The Murder of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie.

Madan Lal Dhingra, the murderer of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie, has been sentenced to death and will soon pay the penalty for his crime. His was a foul, treacherous and cowardly deed; and it is only a gloomy satisfaction to learn that the London Police, who know their work thoroughly well, have declared that the murder was committed because of some real or imaginary private grudge which Dhingra owed the person murdered, that there was no conspiracy at the bottom, and that the murderer had no accomplices. Our students go abroad to acquire knowledge and not to ply the trade of assassins. We are glad, therefore, that though one of them has gone wrong, the character of the rest remains unstained.

The murderer has posed as a martyr in his country's cause. But this attitudinising, whether deliberate or due to mental derangement, will deceive nobody.

Dr. Lalcaca died nobly in trying to save the life of the murdered man. Equally noble was the conduct of a student named Madan Mohan Sinha, who grappled with the murderer, fortunately with no serious injury being done to himself.

The murder of any fellow-creature is under all circumstances a sorrowful event, and we feel keenly for the bereaved families of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca. But the affair being a purely private one, we do not see why there should be so much hysterical language used in connection with it by statesmen and others. In the interests of sanity and sincerity self-restraint should be

exercised on all occasions and exaggeration avoided.

We know or can guess why the *Times* has opened its columns to Mr. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, to preach his advocacy of political assassination, and we can also guess why Reuter takes particular care to cable his views to India. *The Times* and Reuter want to damage the cause of Indian nationalism by holding up Krishnavarma as the typical Indian Nationalist. But we do not see why the Government which has stopped the circulation of the *Indian Sociologist* and got its printer punished, does nothing to bring the *Times* and Reuter to their senses. Are they too powerful for the Government? or is there any other reason?

Dying and living for one's country.

Dying for one's country has always been a catching phrase, and quite naturally so. It has everywhere and in all times appealed powerfully to the imagination of youth. It is a noble thing, a glorious thing, to die for one's country. But our young men should cherish no delusion on the subject. We are not prophets and do not pretend to be so. But from the use of what reason and knowledge God has given us we have concluded that India will not become free by fighting. Fighting is out of the question. Speaking generally, therefore, dying for making India free, in the ordinary sense, is also out of the question. Political assassination, too, as a means of regenerating the country, need not be considered. We do not believe in the quack remedy: "Only kill a few Englishmen or many Englishmen, and India becomes free and great." Political assassination has never made any country great. In the abstract, past experience does not indeed limit the possibilities of the future, but our faith that political assassination cannot raise India is based on something more fundamental than the past experience of nations. Many people seem to think every thing is fair in love and war. We do not hold that opinion. The old Hindu ideal was righteous war or *dharma-yuddha*. Even in the case of individuals, a challenge to an open fight was considered the only righteous and honorable method. We believe in the moral intuitions of our race, and therefore consider assassination wrong.

But even without discussing its ethical character, we may say that assassination is a method of weakness. A nation rises only by strength,—strength either to do or to suffer, or both to do and suffer. The only regenerative force is the service that comes of love, and not the killing that is prompted by hatred. We do not ignore the fact that in all Wars of Independence there has been much slaughter and much destruction. But there has been in all cases a very much greater amount of loving and reverent service of the Motherland.

Methods of destruction are out of the question in our country. We would urge all sons and daughters of India to be strong in the loving service of our Motherland; strong to do and suffer for her.

Our aim should be to live for our country, to spend all our waking hours in self-improvement and in the improvement of the land of our birth. We do not, of course, inculcate the despicable principle of life at any price. We do not ask anybody to emulate the example of Nanda Lal, the hero of Mr. D. L. Roy's well-known comic song, which has been specially translated for this Review by Mr. B. C. Muzumdar as follows:—

NANDALAWL.

(1)

Nandalawl did form one day this resolution dread:
For his country he must save his life well, —so he said.
People said: "Forbear, forbear, consider well we pray,"
Nanda said: "Ah! should I live like this for ever, eh?"
"If not I, then who will save my dearest Motherland?"
People said with one accord: "O bravo, bravo, grand!"

(2)

Nanda's brother of cholera lay prostrate on bed.
"Come now Nanda, nurse your brother" all the people said.
"Gladly I'll lay down my life," said Nanda, "well,—
but then,
Who will serve my bleeding country, and my countrymen?"
"Thus I see that for my life there is the greatest need."
People said: "Ah! true it is, and very true indeed!"

(3)

Nanda started once a journal, giving proofs of power,
O'er all heads, in prose and verse, abuses he did shower.
Praised him all, for Nandalawl for country worked so
sore;
Twice as much he slept as wrote, and ate full ten times
more.
Toothsome dishes he regaled on at his country's call.
People sang in chorus: "Bravo, bravo, Nandalawl."

(4)

Vilifying once a John Bull, he a leader wrote;
 John Bull came and held him rather tightly by the throat.
 Nanda cried: "Let go the grip, for throttled if I die
 "Who will serve my country then? O tell me, if not I!
 "I will do whatever you wish, lo, at your feet I crawl!"
 People said in wonder, "Bravo, bravo, Nandalawl."

(5)

Nanda never left his room, for safety that was wise,
 Never drove his carriage, since the carriage might capsize.
 He did think that boats might sink, trains might
 badly clash;
 Snakes and dogs infest the roads, carts might against
 him dash
 So to bed he stuck like glue thus with his best
 endeavour.
 People said "Live on our hero, Nanda, live for ever!"

No, we do not want any Nanda Lals in our country. We want all Indians to live as long, as actively, as deeply and as worthily for India as they possibly can. Should death come in the course of loving service, it would be the crowning glory of one's life.

Unrest among Indian Students in England.

It has been asserted by many Anglo-Indians and some Indians that there is great unrest among Indian students in Great Britain. If it be so, it would be worth while inquiring what has led to the growth of this unrest. If not quite paragons of all virtues, they possessed the reputation of being sober and hard-working and not devoid of the best traits in the character of the Indian people. If there has been a change in their character, we are afraid this is to be attributed to the repressive policy that is being pursued towards our students in India and abroad. We fail to understand why so much special attention should be paid to them which is not paid to students of other nationalities, and especially to those of the colonies, in England. They are certainly not more turbulent than other students. The rules which have been recently made and the newly appointed advisory committee will have the effect of greatly restricting—if not altogether preventing—the going of Indian students to England. They are watched and kept under surveillance. What wonder if this be the real

cause of the unrest among them. Addressing England, the poet sang,

"Strangers came gladly to thee,
 Exiles, chosen of men,
 Safe for thy sake in thy shade,
 Sat down at thy feet and were free."

Unfortunately the present generation of the Indian students are not realising the above description of England. In that country, the spirit of Imperialism is in the ascendant. We join with the poet in his appeal to his mother country—

"Not for revenge or affright,
 Pride, or a tyrannous lust,
 Cast from thee the crown of thy praise.
 Mercy was thine in thy might;
 Strong when thou wert, thou wert just;
 Now, in the wrong-doing days,
 Cleave thou, thou at least, to the right.
 * * * *

"Freeman he is not but slave,
 Whoso in fear for the State
 Cries for surety of blood,
 Help of gibbet and grave;
 Neither is any land great
 Whom, in her fear-stricken mood,
 These things only can save.
 * * * *

"Be not as tyrant or slave,
 England; be not as these,
 Thou that wert other than they.
 Stretch out thine hand, but to save;
 Put forth thy strength, and release;
 Lest there arise, if thou slay,
 Thy shame as a ghost from the grave."

Let the Advisory Committee and the rules meant to keep Indian students under surveillance, teach them subservience and restrict their freedom in going to, or mixing with all classes of people in England,—let them be done away with, and Indian students will surely resume their even tenor of existence and the signs of unrest now visible among them will disappear. Confidence begets confidence. Let them be treated with confidence and not looked down upon as so many ruffians and then we are sure they will not give any cause of offence or anxiety even to the Imperialistic Anglo-Indians.

Official threats.

Lord Morley has, through his Under Secretary, threatened to take drastic steps to

punish those "who were exciting disloyalty, while themselves keeping in the background." He was of opinion that it was necessary for the safety of the empire that these rebellious agitations, and waves of feeling, should not be permitted to attain maturity. We are sorry we can not congratulate his Lordship either on the sources of his information or on the wisdom of the steps he proposes to take. There is no rebellious movement in India that we know of. If there be any conspirators let them be punished by all means. But if, as His Honour Sir Edward Baker says, in the effort to secure the co-operation of the people, there is to be no nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent, and if the drastic Calcutta Police Bill is meant to provide for the kind of punishment contemplated, then it is easy to understand what movement or movements are meant. It is an irony of fate that whereas typically despotic oriental monarchies are growing more and more democratic, a democratic and liberty-loving people like the British are feeling compelled in increasing measure to curtail popular liberties in India. As for there being in future no nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent, we are afraid that has been the practice in many cases hitherto; this declaration may only embolden the police to make the practice more universal. In the absence of any emergency, the rushing through of the Police Bill before the birth of the enlarged councils has an ugly look.

The following extracts from the Calcutta Police Bill show its drastic character and how it places the people entirely under the irresponsible power of the Police, who have not given indubitable proofs of efficiency, intelligence and integrity. The Police Commissioner may prohibit

- (i) the carrying of swords, spears, bludgeons, guns or other offensive weapons in any public place;
- (ii) the carrying, collection and preparation of stones or other missiles, or of instruments or means of casting or impelling missiles;
- (iii) the exhibition of persons, corpses, figures or effigies in any public place;
- (iv) the delivery of harangues, the use of gestures or mimetic representations, and the preparation, exhibition or dissemination of pictures, symbols, placards or any other object or thing which may be of a nature to outrage morality or decency or which in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police, may probably inflame

religious animosity or hostility between different classes or incite to the commission of an offence, to a disturbance of the public peace or to resistance or to contempt of the law or of lawful authority.

Any Police Officer

(a) May direct the conduct of, and the behaviour or action of persons constituting processions and assemblies in streets;

(b) May prescribe the routes by which and the times at which any such procession may, or may not pass;

(c) May prevent obstructions on the occasion of all processions and assemblies and in the neighbourhood of all places of worship during the time of public worship, and in all cases when any street or public place or place of public resort may be thronged or liable to be obstructed;

(d) May keep order on and in all streets, quays, wharves and landing-places and all other public places or places of public resort; or,

(e) May regulate and control music or singing in any street or public place and the beating of drums, tom-toms and other instruments, and the blowing or sounding of horns or other noisy instruments, in or near any street or public place.

§1. For the purpose of preventing serious disorder or breach of the law or manifest and imminent danger to the persons assembled at any place of public amusement, or at any assembly or meeting to which the public are invited or which is open to the public,

The police officers of highest rank superior to that of Head Constable, who is present in the section in which such place of public amusement is situated, or such assembly or meeting to be held, may, subject to such rules and orders as may have been lawfully made,

Give such reasonable directions as he may think necessary as to the mode of admission of the public to, and for securing the peaceful and lawful conduct of persons attending at, such place, assembly or meeting;

And all persons shall be bound to conform to such directions.

2. The Police shall have free access to every such place of public amusement, assembly or meeting, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of sub-section 1 and to any direction given thereunder.

The Commissioner of Police may also, by order in writing, prohibit any assembly or procession, whenever and for so long as he considers such prohibition to be necessary for the preservation of the public peace or public safety:

Provided that no such prohibition shall remain in force for more than seven days without the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor.

Whenever a notification, order in writing or public notice has been duly issued under sub-section (2), sub-section (3), or sub-section (4) of the last foregoing section any Magistrate or Police-officer may require any person acting or about to act contrary thereto to desist or to abstain from such action, and in case of refusal or disobedience, may arrest such person.

(2) Such Magistrate or Police-officer may also seize anything used or about to be used in contravention of such notification, order or notice as aforesaid, and anything so seized shall be disposed of as any Magistrate having jurisdiction may order.

The power to arrest without warrant is dangerous and in the hands of a police like ours is most liable to abuse. Under the new Bill the Police are practically to be empowered to arrest any public man who has made himself obnoxious to them. We quote from the Bill:—

Any police-officer may arrest without a warrant any person committing in his presence in any street or public place any offence punishable under—

- (a) any section of this Act other than section 68B, or
- (b) any rule made under this Act, or

(c) any other law for the time being in force, if such person,—

(i) after being warned by a police-officer, persists in committing such offence, or

(ii) refuses, on being required so to do by a Police-officer, to give his name and address, or gives a name or address which the Police-officer has reason to believe to be false, or

(iii) refuses to accompany the Police-officer to a police-station on being required so to do."

"Public place" is so defined as to include "the banks of the river, the docks, the jetties, ware-houses, to which the public have access, the precincts of any public building or monument and all places accessible to the public for drawing water, washing, bathing or for purposes of recreation." "Street" shall mean any road, lane, footway, square, court, alley or passage, whether a thoroughfare or not to which the public have permanently or even temporarily a right of access. To all these, as well as to all places of "public amusement" or "public entertainment", which terms also are used in a far too comprehensive sense including boarding houses, and lodging-houses (students' hostels and licensed lodgings are sure to come under these categories), the Police shall have access. The proposed measure would make them supreme.

In the Bombay Act on which the Calcutta Bill is said to be based there is the following safeguard against police high-handedness:

"Sec. 19. Any police officer who—

(a) without lawful authority or reasonable cause, enters or searches or causes to be entered or searched, any building, vessel, tent or place,

(b) vexatiously and unnecessarily seizes the property of any person,

(c) vexatiously and unnecessarily detains, searches or arrests any person,

(d) vexatiously and unnecessarily delays forwarding any person arrested to a Magistrate or to any other authority to whom he is legally bound to forward such person,

(e) offers any unnecessary personal violence to any person in his custody, or

(f) holds out any threat or promise not warranted by law to an accused person,

shall for every such offence be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or both.

Instead of it we find the following in the Calcutta Bill:

No Magistrate or Police-officer shall be liable to any penalty or to payment of damages on account of any act done in good faith in pursuance of any duty imposed or authority conferred on him by this act or any rule, order or direction lawfully made or given hereunder.

In any case of an alleged offence by a Magistrate, police officer or other person or of a wrong alleged to have been done by a Magistrate, Police-Officer or other person, by any act done under colour or any excess of any such duty or authority as aforesaid or wherein it appears to the court that the offence or wrong, if committed or done, was of the character aforesaid, the prosecution or suit shall not be entertained or shall be dismissed, if instituted more than three months after the date of the act complained of.

The plaint in any such suit shall be rejected if it does not expressly allege that the act complained of was done maliciously and without reasonable or probable cause.

This bill is sure to be an effective instrument in securing the co-operation of the people.

Our Frontispiece.

This month our frontispiece represents a scene from the Ramayana. When King Dasaratha had resolved to raise his son Rama to the throne and retire, Manthara, the old maid-servant of Rama's step-mother Kaikeyi, brought her this news. Now, as Rama was a favourite of even his step-mothers, the news at first delighted Kaikeyi. But gradually Manthara with a woe-begone countenance filled Kaikeyi's mind with apprehensions of such dire misery if Rama should become King, that she began at length to be depressed in spirit, and apprehensive. Kaikeyi had

twice saved Dasaratha's life by careful nursing, and on each occasion he had promised to grant her a boon. Manthara now persuaded Kaikeyi to ask of the King two boons, namely that Rama should be exiled to the forests for 14 years and her own son Bharata should reign in his stead.



BENEGAL NARASINGHA RAU.

An Indian Wrangler.

Of the three Indian students who have this year come out as Wranglers, Mr. Benegal Narasingha Rau has stood ninth. We are indebted to the courtesy of his father Dr. Benegal Raghavendra Rau of Mangalore for his son's portrait, which we reproduce here. We have not been able to obtain the portraits of the two other Wranglers.

Buddha's Relics.

A long telegram to the morning papers from Simla announces the discovery near Peshawar of the remains of the pagoda which the Emperor Kanishka built over the ashes of Buddha. The telegram says :—

As soon as the base was discovered an eager search was made for the sacred relics of Gautama Buddha. This is a bronze casket in which was found a crystal box containing three pieces of charred human bone believed to be the ashes of Gautama Buddha.

It concludes :—

The discovery is of supreme importance to the Buddhistic races all over the world and how these will be disposed of is not yet known. It is not possible to place such well authenticated relics of Buddha in any museum, as it will be considered a sacrilege and it has been suggested that the relics should be distributed amongst the Buddhist nations who would preserve them with veneration and reverence. The other relics will probably be deposited in the Peshawar Museum.

Buddha is one of the incarnations of the Hindu god Vishnu. The discovery is, therefore, of supreme importance to Hindus also. As Buddha's personality is in fact one of the priceless possessions of all Indians, his remains should be treated as sacred. They should under no circumstances be removed from India. A monument should be built on the exact spot where the remains have been found, and the casket with its sacred contents deposited there. To the cost of erecting this monument, prince and peasant alike should be glad to contribute. It should not be made a religious question at all. Of course, China, Japan, Tibet, Siam, Nepal and Burma may also contribute. It would be the height of sacrilege to remove Buddha's remains from the land of his birth. How would Englishmen like a proposal to remove Shakespeare's bones from England? And yet how much greater is Buddha than Shakespeare! We cannot think of this discovery without deep emotion.

We do hope all our princes and nobility and other leaders will at once move in the matter, and request Government to keep the relics where they have been discovered, in a suitable building.

Roman Citizenship.

The white people conquered by Rome attained the rights of Roman citizenship

Dean Milman in his *History of Christianity* remarks :—

The Romans conquered like savages, but ruled like philosophic statesmen.

Writes Gibbon :—

"Those of the provincials who were permitted to bear arms in the legions; those who exercised any civil employment; all, in a word, who performed any public service, or displayed any personal talents, were rewarded with a present, whose value was continually diminished by the increasing liberality of the Emperors. Yet, even in the age of the Antonines, when the freedom of the city had been bestowed on the greater number of their subjects, it was still accompanied with very solid advantages. The bulk of the people acquired, with that title, the benefit of the Roman laws, * * and the road of fortune was open to those whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit. The grandsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Caesar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquility of the state, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness."

Passive Resistance.

(Passive resistance is quite a legitimate method in political agitation. Mr. Justice Wills, one of the most eminent and learned judges of England, in addressing the grand jury at Beaumaris Assizes on February 23rd, 1888, uttered the following remarkable eulogy upon those who practised passive resistance. He said :—

"The whole thing had been carried out with perfect good will and forbearance. Those who objected to the law made their protest by suffering these restraints to be made, * * * *. If, however, the people said that they were not willing to pay for things which they did not like, and that they simply submitted to restraints so as to show their protest against the law, *they would be perfectly justified in doing so. As long as they did this nothing could be said against them.* This was the kind of protest by which some of our best improvements in the laws, which years and years ago were found to be oppressive, were brought about."

We see that the exercise of passive resistance has been sanctioned by one of the highest authorities in England. They can not be charged with disloyalty who advocate its exercise, or practise it to get redress for their grievances.

Co-operation and unrest.

The advice to co-operate with the Government is a counsel of perfection. But it is

difficult to understand what is meant by "the Government." In India if that word means anything it means the local official, very often the District Magistrate. Moral support is to be given to him very often not in the interests of the people but to suit the convenience of that officer and of the foreign administrators and exploiters. If the Government really stands in need of the co-operation of the people, it should not ride rough shod over their feelings, injure their susceptibilities and wound their sensibilities.

Mr. Gokhale has been playing the *role* of an apologist of the Government. We do not find him laying stress on those causes which have brought about the present undesirable state of affairs in this country. He has not condemned the attitude which Viscount Morley of Blackburn has assumed towards the question of the Partition of Bengal. We ask the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale if he sincerely believes that the present unrest at least in Bengal can be cured unless and until the Partition is done away with or greatly modified on lines suggested by the leaders of public opinion in that province? We ask him again if he thinks that there can be produced rest in the country by breaking up all the beneficent organisations of the people on the flimsy pretext that they are unlawful associations, by deporting persons without trial or by transporting persons for life and confiscating their property for waging alleged war against the king by means of poems? Is this the way to secure co-operation? Mr. Gokhale deplures that "the worst harm done by this propaganda was that it had unsettled the minds of the student population of the country." But does he believe that the mind of the students has been settled by branding them as dacoits, by police surveillance, by the Risley Circular, the recommendations of the University Commission, and the attempts that are being made to stop the progress of high education in this country? Economic causes have contributed very largely to the production of the present unrest. Our old industries have been crushed; our trade has been destroyed; the land is very highly taxed. There is almost no avenue to distinction in any direction to ambitious men. The commissioned ranks

of the army are closed against the children of the soil. Posts of responsibility and trust carrying high salary are almost monopolised by foreigners who have hardly any sympathy or community of interests with those out of whose taxes they are maintained.

Famines desolate large tracts of the country almost every year and yet very little is done to prevent their recurrence. Mr. Gokhale should have laid stress on these causes of the present unrest.



THE DANCE OF SIVA.

From the original water-colour by Nanda Lal Bose.
By the courtesy of the artist.

Three colour blocks by U. Ray.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VI
No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1909

WHOLE
No. 33

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB

(Translated from Persian Mss.)

INTRODUCTION.

In 1903, Mr. William Irvine, I.C.S. (retired,) the historian of the Later Mughals, in his usual spirit of help to younger men engaged in research, lent me a work (No 252) from his private collection of Persian Mss, which was not known to exist in any other library in Europe or India and which no historian had yet used. It was the *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, attributed to the pen of Hamiduddin Khan surnamed Nimchah-i-Alamgiri, whose life is given in the *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 605—611. But of this authorship there is no proof, and none of the three Mss. bears his name. Subsequently Mr. Irvine sent me another and earlier Ms. (No 340) of the *Ahkam*, of which No 252 was only a copy. I took a transcript of the work carefully collating the two Mss. In 1905, I discovered another fragment of this work bound up with some letters of Aurangzib, with the leaves put together in disorder, in India Office Library Persian Ms. 3388. In October 1907, I found at Rampur (Rohilkhand) a fourth copy, identical with Mr. Irvine's in extent, but more correct and supplying useful variants. The owner, Nawab Abdus Salam Khan Bahadur, retired Sub-Judge, U. P., very kindly permitted me to take a copy of it. On the basis of these three Mss, (*viz.*, No. 252 collated with 340, No. 3388, and the Rampur copy,) I have edited the Persian text, which I shall publish soon, and also made the following English translation. The divi-

sion of the book and the arrangement of the anecdotes are my own. The passages printed in thick type have been translated from Arabic with the help of Prof. Abdul Hai.

Abbreviations.--

Ir. Ms.=Irvine Ms. No. 252.

Ms. N.=India Office Library Persian Ms. No. 3388.

Ms. R=Rampur (Abdus Salam's) Ms. of the *Ahkam*.

A. N.=*Alamgirnamah*.

Pad=*Padishahnamah* by A. Hamid Lahori.

M.U.=*Masir-ul-umara*

M.A.=*Masir-i-Alamgiri*

Khafi Khan=*Muntakhab-ul-Labab*

} in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

SECTION I

ABOUT AURANGZIB HIMSELF

§ I. Young Aurangzib fights with an elephant.

WHEN the Emperor Shah Jahan was staying at Lahor, he often engaged in [witnessing] elephant-combats in the garden of Shālamār. Once the Governor of Bengal sent him 40 highly praised game elephants. The Emperor sat at the balcony, while the four princes [his sons] witnessed the sport from horse-back. One elephant flee-

ing from its opponent came towards the princes. Three of the Emperor's sons fled to the right and left. Only Muhammad Aurangzib who was fourteen years old stood firmly without moving at all. The runaway elephant passed by him. The pursuing elephant, leaving its rival, turned towards him. The prince charged it with the spear he held in his hand. A blow from the elephant's trunk hurled the horse down upon the ground. Aurangzib leaped up and seizing the spear again turned to the elephant in order to throw it at its head. At this juncture the servants came up and the Emperor in great alarm descended from the balcony. Aurangzib slowly proceeded towards his Majesty. Itimad Khan, the *nazir*, who had come near,—considering that he, as one of the family of the Prince's maternal grandfather Asaf Khan, was an elder [relative], cried out in a loud tone "You are coming away slowly, while the Emperor is in an awful state [of alarm]." The Prince replied in a low tone, "If the elephant were here I might have walked faster. But *now* there is no reason to be agitated!" When Aurangzib reached his father, the Emperor presented him with one lakh of rupees and said, "My child, thank God that it ended well! If (God forbid it!) the matter had taken a different turn, what a dishonour would it have been!" Aurangzib salamed and replied, "If it had ended differently there would have been no dishonour in it. The shame lay in what my brothers did. [Verse]

Death draws the veil over emperors.

What dishonour is there in it?"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 15 a & b, M.S.N. 25 b—26 b.

Notes.—The true account of the incident is thus given in the *Padishahnamah* of Abdul Hamid i. A. 489—492:—Shah Jahan was witnessing an elephant combat from the balcony of Agra Fort (28th May 1633.) His three elder sons were on horseback on the ground. Two elephants named Madhukar (tusked) and Surat-sundar (tuskless) were ordered to fight. Madhukar on seeing its rival running away, charged Aurangzib, who kept his horse from turning back, and wounded the elephant on the forehead with his spear. The fireworks (rockets, *charkhis*, &c.) discharged by the servants had no effect on the elephant, which felled Aurangzib's horse with its *tusk* (not trunk.) Aurangzib jumped down from the saddle in time. Shuja forcing his way through the crowd and smoke, struck the brute with his spear, but his horse reared and threw him down. Jai Singh's horse shied. Meantime Surat-sundar returned to the attack, and Madhukar ran away from the Princes. Aurangzib was just 14 years

of age at the time. The Emperor presented him with 5000 gold coins, the elephant Madhukar, and other gifts of the total value of two *lakhs* of rupees.

Itimad Khan is evidently a mistake for Itiqad Khan, the brother of Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan. He was sent to Delhi as Subahdar early in March, 1633: (*Padishahnamah*, i. A. 472.) Died 1650. For *Madhukar* the printed text has *Sadlukar*, evidently a mistake.

§ 2. Aurangzib's early jealousy of Dara.

A mansion had been [newly] built at Agra for Dara Shikoh. He invited to it Shah Jahan and his three brothers. As it was the summer season, an underground room had been constructed close to the river, and mirrors from Aleppo, longer than the human stature, had been hung on the side towards the river. Dara conducted Shah Jahan and his brothers to see how the room looked. Muhammad Aurangzib sat down close to the door leading in and out of the room. Dara, seeing it, winked at the Emperor, as if to say 'See where he is sitting'. His majesty said, "My child, though I know you to be learned and hermit-like, yet it is also needful to maintain one's rank. There is a popular saying,— 'If you do not maintain your rank, you are an atheist'. What necessity is there for you to sit down in the path by which people pass, and in a position below and behind your younger brother?" Aurangzib replied, "I shall afterwards tell you the reason of my sitting thus." After a short time he rose on the plea of performing his mid-day prayer (*Zuhar*), and went back from the place to his own house without taking the Emperor's permission. When the Emperor heard of it he forbade him the Court, so that the Prince was debarred from the audience for seven months. After the seven months, the Emperor told the Begam Sahib [Jahanara, the Crown Princess], "Go to his house and learn for me the reason of his coming back on that day without my leave and of his sitting down on a low level." When the Begam Sahib went and asked him, he replied, "On the day when Dara Shikoh invited us, if that brother intentionally so acted that, after making his father and three brothers sit down in that underground room with one door, he repeatedly came in and went out for the necessary supervision of the entertainment, [I feared that] he might shut the door, and then all would be over [with us.] If he acted thus through

carelessness, it repeatedly struck me that I should do the work [of guarding the door] while he was inside the room. But His Majesty out of a sense of dignity forbade my action. So I came out after begging God's pardon." Immediately on hearing this the Emperor summoned the Prince and conferred favours on him. The Prince told Sadullah Khan [the Prince Minister], "Send me away from the Court by any means that you can, as I have lost my sleep and peace of mind." So His Majesty sent him from Lahor* to act as Governor of the Deccan.

Text—Ir MS. 15 b—16 a, MS. N. 24 a—25 b.

Notes.—On 1st Dec., 1645 Dara was given two lakhs of rupees for his new house on the Jumna at Delhi (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, ii 474.) This house was visited by Shah Jahan on 14th March, 1643 (*Ibid*, 333.) Dara's house on the bank of the Jumna at Agra was inhabited by the Emperor from 20th July to 8th Aug. 1644 (*Ibid*, 380, 386). Aurangzib was in disgrace at Agra from 28th May to 25th Nov. 1644 (*Ibid*, 376, 398) and was afterwards (16th Feb. 1645) sent as Subahdar to Guzerat (411.) The Emperor again visited Dara's house at Agra on 2nd Jan. 1645 (p. 403.)

§ 3. Young Aurangzib's Courtesy to Nobles.

Dara Shikoh behaved towards some of the nobles with enmity and towards some others with arrogance,—such as Ali Mardán Khan, Sadullah Khan, and Syed Mirán of Barha, who were commanders of five thousand each and intimate courtiers of Shah Jahan. But Aurangzib had special friendship with everyone of them; so that in his letters he used to address Ali Mardán Khan, (on whom Shah Jahan had bestowed the title of 'Faithful Friend'), with the friendly epithet 'Man of good deeds'; to address Sadullah Khan (who had the titles of 'Staff of old age' and 'Minister full of plans', and of whom Aurangzib, by reason of his having read with him, regarded himself as a pupil), as 'Minister full of plans' and 'the Head of humble pupils'; and Syed Miran Barha, whom the Emperor had entitled 'the Syed of Syeds', as 'The essence of the descendants of His Holiness the Syed of the Universe (i.e., Muhammad.)' Every one of these three nobles, and others besides them such as Afzal Khan Mulla Ala-ul-mulk (who from the rank of *khansaman* afterwards attained to the post of *wazir*), in their extreme love

for Aurangzib did every service required by friendship in concealing his secrets. His Majesty Shah Jahan was deeply grieved at heart to see the signs of [future] misfortune on the forehead of *Shah-i-buland-iqbal* (Dara Shikoh) and the marks of rise in the fortune of Aurangzib. He advised Dara against his bad acts and words. But when he found that Dara Shikoh did not profit by the good counsel, as has been well said (*Verse*),

If the blanket of a man's Fate has been woven black,
Even the waters of the Zamzam and Kausar† cannot wash it white,

he wished that Muhammad Aurangzib should change his behaviour to the nobles that they might give up guarding his secrets.

On a royal letter he wrote in his own hand to Aurangzib, "My child! it is proper for kings and their sons to have a lofty spirit and to display elevation of mind. I have heard that in dealing with every one of my officers you show the greatest humility on your part. If you do so with a view to the future, [know that] all things depend on predestination, and that nothing but contempt will be gained by this meekness of spirit." Aurangzib replied, "What your Majesty has, out of favour and kindness, written with your gracious pen concerning this humble slave, has come like a revelation from the heavens. Hail, true saint and spiritual guide! 'Thou givest honour to whomsoever Thou wishest and disgrace to whom Thou desirest,' [this text proves that honour and lowliness] are solely dependent on the predestination of the Master of Slaves and Creator of Earth and Cities. I am acting according to the Tradition narrated by Anas the son of Málík, 'Whosoever humbles himself, God bestows honour on him.' I consider wounding the hearts [of others] as the worst of sins and the most shameful of vices. I am not contradicting what has been written in your gracious letter, but I know for certain that it was written agreeably to [the verse], 'The temptations of the Devil, who creates suspicion in the hearts of men; and he is one of the genii and men.' (*Verse*),

I cannot say anything except excuses for my sins.

Pardon the sins of me, a wretch with
a blackened face and dark record!"

Text.—Ir. Ms. 22b—23b.

† Zamzam is a well at Macca and Kausar is a spring of heaven.

* This must be a mistake for Multan. Aurangzib was never subahdar of Lahore (the Panjab), but on 14th July 1652 he was appointed Subahdar of the Deccan on transfer from Multan.

Notes.—Mulla Ala-ul-mulk Tunī was created Fazil Khan (not *Afsal*) and *Khansaman* by Shah Jahan (*M. U.* iii. 524—530) Aurangzib appointed him *Diwan* i.e., *wazir* on 7th June, 1663, but he died on the 23rd. (*M. A.* 46). Anas ibn Malik (d. 93 A. H.) was the last of the Companions of Muhammad and the founder of the Mālikī sect.

§ 4. Shah Jahan's estimate of his sons.

The Emperor Shah Jahan used to say, "At times I fear that my eldest son [Dara Shikoh] has become the enemy of good men; Murad Bakhsh has set his heart on drinking; Muhammad Shuja has no good trait except contentment (i.e., easy good nature). But the resolution and intelligence of Aurangzib make it necessary that he would undertake this difficult task (*viz.*, ruling India.) But there is great sickliness and infirmity in his physical frame. (*Verse*)

So that, whom will he wish for as a friend
and to whom will his heart incline?

Text.—Ir. MS. 14 a. Not in MS. N. This anecdote occurs in many other collections, and is No. 5 in the lithographed *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*.

§ 5. Love-affair with Zainabadi.

The affair of Zainabadi was in this manner:

At the time when Aurangzib, then governor of the Deccan, was going to Aurangabad [his head quarters], on arriving at Burhanpur, the governor of which was Saif Khan, (who had married the Prince's maternal aunt, *viz.* Saliha Banu, the daughter of Asaf Khan), he went to visit her, and she too had invited him. As it was the house of his aunt, not much care was taken to remove the women of the harem out of his view, and the Prince entered the house without announcing himself. Zainabadi, whose original name was Hirā Bāi, was standing under a tree, holding a branch with her right hand and singing in a low tone. Immediately after seeing her, the Prince helplessly sat down there and then stretched himself at full length on the ground in a swoon. The news was carried to his aunt. Running barefooted [to the place] she clasped him in her breast and began to wail and lament. After 3 or 4 *gharis* the Prince regained consciousness. However much she inquired about his condition, saying, 'What malady is it? Did you ever have it before?' the Prince gave no reply at all, and remained silent. The joy of the entertainment and hospitality was destroyed, and the matter turned into mourning and

grief. It was midnight when the Prince recovered his speech, and said, "If I mention my disease, can you apply the remedy?" When his aunt heard these words, she in extreme gladness gave propitiatory alms (*tasadduq*) and made sacrifices (*qurbān*) and said, "What to speak of remedy? I shall offer my life itself [to cure you.]" Then the Prince revealed the whole matter to her. On hearing it, she [almost] lost her consciousness and became tongue-tied not knowing what to answer. At last the Prince said, "You have uselessly made all these entreaties in inquiring after my health. When you are not giving a reply to my words, how can you treat me?" The aunt replied, "May I be your sacrifice (*tasadduq*)! you know this wretch, (*viz.* Saif Khan;) he is a bloodthirsty man, and does not care in the least for the Emperor Shah Jahan and yourself. On only hearing of your request [for Hirā Bāi] he will first murder her and then me. Telling him [about your passion] will do no other good than that I shall have to sacrifice my life. But why should the life of that poor innocent girl be destroyed for no offence?" The Prince replied, "Indeed, you have spoken the truth. I shall try some other device."

After sunrise he came back to his own house, and did not eat anything at all. Summoning Murshid Quli Khan, who was the Prince's subordinate and Diwan of the Deccan, he discussed the case in detail with him, as he was his trusted confidant of secrets. The Khan said, "Let me first despatch him (i.e., murder Saif Khan), and if after it anybody slays me, there will be no harm, as in exchange of my blood-price the work of my saint and spiritual guide (i.e., the Prince) will be achieved." The Prince said, "Indeed, I know that you are so ready to sacrifice your life for me. But my heart does not consent to making my aunt a widow. Besides, according to the Quranic Law, one cannot undertake a manifest murder with a knowledge of religious law. You should speak [to Saif Khan], relying on God [for success.]" Murshid Quli Khan set off without any grumbling and told everything to Saif Khan, who replied, "Convey my *salam* to the Prince. I shall give the answer of this to his maternal aunt." That very moment he went to the women's apart-

ments and told [his wife], "What harm is there? I have no need for [Aurangzib's] Begam, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan. Let him send me Chattar Bai, his own concubine (*haram*), so that she may be exchanged [with Hira Bai]." And immediately afterwards he sent the aunt in a litter to the Prince; when she objected saying that she would not go, he insisted, 'Go quickly, if you love your life.' So she had no help but to go and tell everything to the Prince, who was highly pleased and cried out, "What of one [inmate of my harem]? Immediately take with yourself in the *palki* in which you have come both of them, as I have no objection!" The aunt sent a report of the facts to her husband by means of an eunuch. Saif Khan said, "Now no cover is left [for me to take refuge in,]" and mounted and sent the *Bai* to the Prince without delay.

Text.—Ir. MS. 20 a-21 a.

Notes.—There are many mistakes in the above account. Saif Khan who had married Malika Banu (not Saliha), the eldest sister of Mumtaz Mahal, was removed from his governorship of Khandesh at Shah Jahan's accession (1628) and never again employed there. Malika died on 25th Aug., 1641 (Ab. Hamid's *Pad.* ii. 241.) Her husband, Saif Khan Mirza Safi (*M.U.* ii. 416—421), died in Bengal in May, 1640 (Ab. Hamid's *Pad.* ii. 198.)

The following version of the episode given in the *Masir-ul-Umara*, seems to be the correct one:—

Mir Khalil, successively surnamed Muftakhar Khan, Sipahdar Khan, and Khan-i-zaman, a son-in-law of Asaf Khan, was sent to the Deccan as Chief of the Artillery in the 23rd year of Shah Jahan, 1649—50. (Text has 30th or 3rd year. Both dates wrong, *vide M.U.* iii. 501.) In 1653, he became commandant of Dharwar. It was only in Aurangzib's reign that he became Subahdar of Khandesh [July 1681. Died July 1684. (*M.A.* 246)] Zainabadi, who was beloved by Aurangzib before his accession, was, it is said, in the Khan's harem as his concubine. One day the Prince went with the ladies of his harem to the garden of Zainabad Burhanpur, named *Ahu-Khanah* [Deer Park] and began to stroll with his chosen beloved ones. Zainabadi, whose musical skill ravished the senses, and who was unique in blandishments, having come in the train of Khan-i-zaman's wife (the Prince's maternal aunt), on seeing a fruit-laden mango-tree, in mirth and amorous play advanced, leaped up and plucked a fruit, without paying due respect to the Prince's presence. This move of hers robbed the Prince of his senses and self-control. With shameful importunity he procured her from his aunt's house, and became infatuated and given up to her, in spite of all his severe continence and temperance and pure training in theology. The story goes that one day she gave him a cup of wine and requested him to drink it. All his professions of reluctance and entreaty were disregarded. Then the poor Prince (at last)

prepared to drink it, but that sly enchantress snatched away the cup (from his hand) and said 'My purpose was to test your love and not to embitter your mouth with this wicked and unlucky liquor!' This love-affair proceeded to such a length as to reach Shah Jahan's ears. Dara Shikoh, who loved not Aurangzib, made capital of this incident to slander his brother to the Emperor, saying, 'See the piety and abstinence of this hypocritical knave! He has gone to the dogs for the sake of a wench of his aunt's household.' By chance the rose of her life withered in its very spring-time, and left the Prince seared with the brand of eternal separation. She is buried at Aurangabad close to the big tank. On the day of her death the Prince became very unwell; in extreme agitation he rode out to hunt. Mir Askari (Aqil Khan), who was in attendance, secured a private audience and remonstrated, "What wisdom is there in resolving to hunt in in this (disturbed) state?" The Prince replied, (*Verse*) 'Lamentation in the house cannot relieve the heart, In the solitude alone you can cry to your heart's

content.'

Aqil Khan recited the following couplet [of his own composition] as apt for the occasion:

'How easy did love appear, but alas how hard it is!
How hard was separation, but what repose it gave to
the beloved!'

The prince could not check his tears, but committed the verses to his memory, (*M.U.* i. 790-792,) after vainly trying to learn the modest poet's name. (*Ibid.* ii. 823).—

Now, when did the episode happen? Aurangzib was twice Subahdar of the Deccan, *viz.*, 1636—1644 and 1653—1657. It was only during the second of these periods that this Khan-i-zaman, Murshid Quli Khan Khurasani (*M.U.* iii. 493), and Mir Askari served in the Deccan. Therefore, the date seems to have been 1653 at the earliest, when Aurangzib was 35 years old and the father of six children; he was not exactly a passionate youth who might consider the world well lost for love.

Akbar made it a rule that the concubines of the Mughal Emperors should be named after the places of their birth or the towns in which they were admitted to the harem. (Waris's *Padishahnamah*, 45, b). Hence we have ladies named Akbarabadi, Fatihpuri, Aurangabadi, Zainabadi and Udipuri. Zainabad is the name of a town near the bank of the Tapti opposite Burhanpur. In Inayatullah's *Ahkam* (131 a.) our heroine's tomb is mentioned, though her name is wrongly given as Zainpuri.

§ 6. Aurangzib's precautions in beginning the War of Succession.

At the time when Aurangzib left Aurangabad in order to fight Dara Shikoh, and encamped at Harsul, four miles from the city, he ordered that there would be a halt of ten days there that his men might get their remaining needments ready. Nobody else durst remonstrate with him. Only Najabat Khan, who was a friend of firm fidelity and great boldness, said, "Stating the intention to

march and then ordering a halt in this manner, would embolden the enemy." Aurangzib smiled and said, "First tell me of the manner of their being emboldened, and then I shall give my answer." The Khan replied, "When the enemy will hear of our long halt here, they will send a strong force to bar our path." Aurangzib said, "That is the very essence of policy. If I march quickly I shall have to encounter the whole army [of Dara at one place]. But if I delay here, my struggle will be with the first division [of the enemy's force]. It is easier to defeat the first division than to defeat the whole army. In case he himself [=Dara] boldly comes on, and crosses the Narbaba, his condition would be this: (*Verse*)

The man who goes far from his asylum and home
Becomes helpless, afflicted, and forsaken.
In the water even the lion becomes the prey of fishes,
On dry land the crocodile becomes the food of ants.

This delay is for the above purpose and not for whiling away my time. Nay more, there is another object, to which the advantage already mentioned is subordinate (or corollary). This second object is that I may know the circumstances of the men accompanying me, both poor and rich; if a man delays in spite of his being well-to-do, then it is better not to take him away any further from this place, because in future this state of things will cause a total failure. In case I make a quick march, those nobles whose sincerity is doubtful, may show negligence and delay, and then the distance [from my base] being great, it would be impossible to remedy the evil, and I shall have either to helplessly leave them in their negligence or to return and correct them."

When Najabat Khan heard this, he kissed Aurangzib's feet and cried out, "**God knows best where to send one on a prophetic mission.**"

The above blessed saying was verified by this fact that Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan, one of the officers appointed to the Deccan, did not come* with Aurangzib during the first day's march, and on the second day's march he submitted "In consideration of my being a servant of Shah Jahan, I have no help but to remain here as a private person (*faqir*.) I have no connection with Dara Shikoh. One of my daughters has been married to you and

another to Murad Bakhsh. I have no relationship with Dara Shikoh which it might be necessary for me to respect. Your Highness knows well that I have not shown, in any battle or halt, any shortcoming or holding back which may be attributed to cowardice or disloyalty."

Aurangzib replied, "Indeed, the claim of fidelity to salt is not distant from men of pure blood [like you]. But assemblies are being held here; I wish to see you [daily] for some days, and shall give you leave to depart when I resume my march. What need is there that you should turn *faqir*?" Shah Nawaz Khan said, "This, too, is opposed to a servant's duties. It is Shah Jahan's work to cherish his old servants."

After this Aurangzib gave out that he was down with looseness of the bowels. The nobles who came to pay the [customary] visit to the sick, were ordered to enter alone and one by one, leaving their attendants outside. Thus, on the second day, ~~when~~ Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan came. Shaikh Mir promptly arrested him, tied his hand and neck, and placed him handcuffed and chained on the *howdah* of an elephant. That very moment Aurangzib gave the order to march. After reaching Burhanpur, Shah Nawaz Khan was imprisoned. After the victory over Dara Shikoh, at the entreaty of Zebunnisa Begam,—who had abstained from food for three days saying that she would keep fasting till her maternal grandfather was released,—Aurangzib with anger and displeasure ordered him to be set free and appointed him Governor of Ahmadabad, which province had been without a Governor since Murad Bakhsh left it. But Aurangzib said, "My mind is not free from anxiety [about him]. I have issued this order under compulsion, but I shall reconsider it carefully afterwards. As he is a Syed it is hard to order his execution. Otherwise, there is the well-known saying, 'A severed head tells no tale.'"

What he had said did finally come to pass. After Dara's flight, the Khan joined him in the battle of Ajmir and was slain in the midst of the fight.

Text—Ir. MS. 25 a—26 b.

Notes.—Aurangzib started from Aurangabad on 5th Feb. 1658 to contest the throne. At Harsul (or Arsul), 4 miles N. E. of the city, he halted for one day only. (*Alamgirnamah* 43-44). But a halt of one month (18th Feb.—20th March) was made at Burhanpur. "Shah

* Ir. Ms. reads *came*.

Nawaz Khan Safwi did not accompany Aurangzib, but lingered at Burhanpur under various pretexts. So the prince on reaching Manduah (25th Mar.) sent Muhammad Sultan and Shaikh Mir back to Burhanpur to arrest and confine Shah Nawaz Khan in the fort of Burhanpur" (*Ibid*, 52). Shah Nawaz Khan Safwi, the father-in-law of Aurangzib, was a Syed of very high pedigree. (Life in *M. U.* ii. 670). At the end of Sept. Aurangzib from Multan ordered his release and appointed him Subahdar of Guzerat. Slain in the battle of Ajmir, 14th March, 1659. (*A. N.* 209, 323).

§ 7. Battle of Khajwah.

On the night preceding the day which had been fixed for the battle with Shuja, when about 7½ hours of the night had worn on, the Emperor learnt that Rajah Jaswant Singh, who had been given the command of the Van, had determined to go over to Shuja with his own troops, who numbered 14,000 cavalry and infantry, and that during his journey he had laid a severe hand on (*i. e.*, looted) the followers and animals of the Imperial Camp, so that the orderly arrangement of the army had been broken up, and a great panic had seized the men, many of whom had joined this wretch (Jaswant)'s force and were advancing with him in the path of misfortune. The Emperor was then engaged in the *tahajjud* prayer; on hearing the report he made a sign with his hand [as if to say] 'If he has gone away, let him go away', but gave no other reply. After finishing his prayer, he summoned Mir Jumla and said, "This incident, too, is a mercy from God, for if the hypocrite had taken this step in the midst of the battle, it would have been hard to remedy the mischief."

Then he ordered the kettledrums to be beaten and his mount to be got ready. Riding an elephant, he passed the rest of the night in that condition.

When the sun rose it was found that the army of Shuja was coming on from the left side firing its artillery.* A number of men, whose day of death had arrived, were slain. Aurangzib ordered the driver of his elephant, "Make my elephant reach Shuja's elephant by any means that you can." Just then Murshid Quli Khan, who was the Emperor's counsellor and close companion, said, "This kind of audacity is opposed to

the manner of emperors." Aurangzib replied, "Neither of us has yet become emperor. Men become emperors only after showing this sort of daring. And if after one has become emperor his courage decreases, his authority does not last. (*Verse*)

"That man [alone] can clasp tightly in his arms
the bride of kingship
Who plants kisses on the keen sword's lip."

Text.—Ir. MS. 4, b, —5, a, MS. N. 33, a—34, b.

Notes.—The battle of Khajwah took place on 5th January, 1659, and ended in the utter rout of Shuja. For a full account of the battle see *Modern Review*, May, 1908, pp. 439 *et. seq.* Murshid Quli Khan, Khurasani; (*Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 493—500) the able revenue administrator of the Deccan during Aurangzib's viceroyalty, was slain in the battle of Dharmatpur, and so could not have been present at Khajwah. The other Murshid Quli Khan, Nawab of Bengal, entered the Imperial service long afterwards. *Tahajjud*, the last prayer of the night, is usually said after midnight.

§ 8. Aurangzib's Last Will and Testament.

"Praise be to God and blessing on those servants [of Him] who have become sanctified and have given satisfaction [to Him].

I have [some instructions to leave as my] last will and testament :

FIRST,—On behalf of this sinner sunk in iniquity [*i. e.*, myself] cover [with an offering of cloth] the holy tomb of Hasan (**on him be peace!**) because those who are drowned in the ocean of sin have no other protection except seeking refuge with that Portal of Mercy and Forgiveness. The means of performing this great auspicious act are with my noble son, Prince Alijah; take them.

SECOND,—Four rupees and two annas, out of the price of the caps sewn by me, are with Aja Beg, the *mahaldar*. Take the amount and spend it on the shroud of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five rupees, from the wages of copying the Quran, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the faqirs on the day of my death. As the money got by copying the Quran is regarded with respect by the Shiah sect,† do not spend it on my shroud and other necessities.

THIRD,—Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince 'Alijah ;

* MS. N. reads differently : "It was found that the force with Aurangzib was not even one-fourth of Shuja's army. There was a short artillery-fight. He (? Shuja or Aurangzib ?) came on from the left side with his own Vanguard."

† The reading in MS. N. may be taken to mean, "As the money got by copying the Quran, is suspected by the Shiah sect to be an unlawful [kind of wealth]."

as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lies the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful [practices at my funeral]; this helpless person (*i.e.* Aurangzib) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the survivors.

FOURTH,—Bury this wanderer in 'the Valley of Deviation from the Right Path' with his head bare, because every ruined sinner who is conducted bareheaded before the Grand Emperor (*i.e.*, God), is sure to be an object of mercy.

FIFTH,—Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with a coarse white cloth, called *gazi*. Avoid the spreading of a canopy and innovations like [processions of] musicians and the celebration of the Prophet's Nativity (*maulud*.)

SIXTH,—It is proper for the ruler of the kingdom (*i.e.*, my heir) to treat kindly the helpless servants who in the train of this shameless creature [Aurangzib] have been roving in the deserts and wilderness [of the Deccan]. Even if a manifest fault is committed by them, give them in return for it gracious forgiveness and benignant overlooking [of the fault].

SEVENTH,—No other nation is better than the Persians for acting as clerks (*mutasaddi*). And in war, too, from the age of the Emperor Humayun to the present time, none of this nation has turned his face away from the field, and their firm feet have never been shaken. Moreover, they have not once been guilty of disobedience or treachery to their master. But, as they insist on being treated with great honour, it is very difficult to pull on well with them. You have anyhow to conciliate them, and should employ subterfuges.

EIGHTH,—The Turani people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night-attacks and arrests. They feel no suspicion despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat in the very midst of a fight, which means, in other words, 'when the arrow is drawn back';—and they are a hundred stages remote from the crass stupidity of the Hindustanis, who would part with their heads but not leave their positions [in battle]. In every way, you should confer favours on his race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can.

NINTH,—You should treat the Syeds of Barha, who are worthy of blessing, according to the Quranic verse, '**Give unto the near relations [of the Prophet] their dues,**' and never grow slack in honouring and favouring them. In as much as, according to the blessed verse, '**I say I do not ask of you any recompense for it except love to [my] kinsmen**', love for this family is the wages of [Muhammad's] **Prophetship**, you should never be wanting [in respect to them], and it would bear fruit in this world and the next. But you should be extremely cautious in dealing with the Syeds of Barha. Be not wanting in love of them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon wants to seize the kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little, the result will be your own disgrace.

TENTH,—As far as possible the ruler of a kingdom should not spare himself from moving about; he should avoid staying in one place, which outwardly gives him repose but in effect brings on a thousand calamities and troubles.

ELEVENTH,—Never trust your sons, nor treat them during your life-time in an intimate manner, because if the Emperor Shah Jahan had not treated Dara Shikoh in this manner, his affairs would not have come to such a sorry pass. Ever keep in view the saying '**The word of a king is barren.**'

TWELFTH,—The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the kingdom. Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years. The escape of the wretch Shiva took place through [my] carelessness, and I have to labour hard [against the Marathas] to the end of my life, [as the result of it.]

Twelve is blessed [among numbers]. I have concluded with twelve directions. (*Verse*)

If you learn [the lesson], a kiss on thy wisdom,
If you neglect it, then alas! alas!

Text.—Ir. MS. 8b—10 a, MS. N. 1b—3b, incomplete, ends with the 9th. clause.

Notes.—Alijah was the title conferred by Aurangzib on his sons Muazzam and Azam. The latter is evidently meant here, as he was with the Emperor shortly before his death.

THE MAN OF LAW

[AN ESSAY IN THE MANNER OF ELIA.]

I am, I do not hesitate to tell thee, gentle reader, a strange bundle of narrow prejudices, absurd idiosyncracies, violent antipathies, chockful of perverse pronouncements on men and things. In brief, I dislike twenty things that the wise, wary world positively dotes upon.

One of my pet aversions *was*—I can no longer use ‘the ignorant present’ with a clear conscience—law and lawyers. Some cannot abide a gaping pig; some are mad if they behold a cat and others, when the bag-pipe sings in the nose; and I felt an unconcealed disgust at the sight of those gentlemen of the long robe, those “togaed Romans” in modern life. The shady tricks of pettifoggers of the Brass type and the splendid forensic eloquence of King’s Counsels and Queen’s Counsels—I deemed the difference between these twain to be as slight as that ‘between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee’ or, at best, as significant as that between Alexander and the Robber in Mrs. Barbauld’s charming dialogue. The hocus-pocus science always turned my stomach, set my teeth on edge, stank in my nose, offended my ethical sense.

Accident (or shall I call it special providence?) brought me a few days ago—a juror to the High Court bound—to that ‘stately pleasure dome’ where lawyers most do congregate and there was to my dazed vision such a sudden revelation of beauty and of grace and withal of the pomp and circumstance of law that I was enthralled by the magic and the mystery of that edifying sight. The scales fell from my eyes, I ‘purged them with euphrasy and rue for I had much to see’ and straightway worshipped the *genius loci* with fear and trembling. It was now borne in upon me that I had sinned all my life against the mighty spirit of Law and I cried *misericordia* and *peccavi* with the most sonorous orthodoxy. I believe there was joy in Heaven when I repented, in that Heaven where there is no marrying nor

giving in marriage, a Heaven of an interminable file of breaches of marriage contracts as I take it, a genial Heaven for lawyers to live and kick in.

But who knows that I was singular in my aversion to the noble science of law and its useful professors? There is a dead level of sameness in human nature and ‘the pride and prejudice’ or ‘the sense and sensibility’ of one may find an exact *replica* in the minds of a hundred others. I verily believe at this moment of emancipation from the thralldom of the Idola that there are others—forlorn brothers—still dwelling enchained in Error’s Cave and should I not labour for their salvation and help them to shake the chains of ignorance off and receive a true awakening of the Soul? Do I not owe it to the honourable profession as an *amende honorable* for my past delinquencies?

So with no further prologue, prelude or preamble, I now blow the trumpet and sound ‘a call to the unconverted’ exhorting all who have ears to hear to listen to ‘Law’s serious call’. Repent ye, for the Kingdom of God (which is the fulfilment of the Law) is at hand.

Lawyers are my theme; let satire be my song. There are lawyers and lawyers; and I do not hold a brief for all sorts and conditions of them. The bigwig with a roaring practice and a soaring ambition—he is not the man for me. He is trudging from Court to Court, from Original side to Appellate side and *vice versa*, ‘improving each shining hour’ with ‘the chink of the guinea which heals the wound that Honour feels.’ He, poor fellow, has no time to breathe; driven to star-board, driven to lar-board, he is sweating and swincking like Vulcan at the forge, puffing and panting like a street dog on a sultry day, fretting and fuming like a porpoise, plying his Ark over a veritable Deluge of Cases and References, the very picture of Talus, the iron man, busy with his heavy flail. He wades through the dry places of ponderous tomes, seeking rest and

finding none. Pity the jaded creature, 'heaving forth such groans that their discharge doth stretch' his blue or black silk gown almost to bursting; drop a tear on his worn-out case (or cases!) and turn your admiring eyes to 'the fat and greasy citizens that sweep on,'

Intent on high *designs*, a *thoughtless* band,
By forms unfashioned, fresh from *Exam's* hand,
Fierce in their native hardness of soul,
True to *imagined* right, above control,

—I mean, the junior members of the learned profession.

They are a galaxy (milky way, milky in more senses than one are their ways) of stars, a race of gods. Behold them, not 'solitary in the field,' holding their heads high, the gold-mounted eye-glasses stuck so jauntily on the bridge of the nose, the gold watch-chain peeping beneath the ample folds of the gown 'as the primrose peeps beneath the thorn,' the diamond ring adorning the finger untouched by a fee (gifts both of that milch-cow of these iron times whose golden fleece many a Jason of modern Bengal carries off along with that great enchantress Media with her 'soft eyes and low replies'), clad in robes of the newest sheen, with the *Samla* serving as a powdered wig, trim and spruce like bridegrooms, 'decorating and cheering the elevated sphere they have just begun to move in, so full of life and splendour and joy.' They are not fantastic, but something man may question without crossing their hands with gold or silver. Your busy Man of Law does not abide our question, he cannot spare a word to throw at a hungry client, he is in a perpetual whirl of engagements, hurrying to his case that has been taken up, or looking up a precedent in a musty record of antediluvian cases like one searching for a pin in a bushel of corn; but the junior you have always with you—ready to serve you at your need, to befriend you or to defend you, to give you advice *gratis*, decent not to fail in offices of politeness. Him should you capture, please and waylay. Evidently the iron has not yet entered into his soul nor a golden fee into his pocket. He is the young cub with all his woes (and all his wealth) to come in the *paulo-post-futurum* tense. If the swarthy Moor's occupation was gone, the spruce Junior's occupation is *not yet come*. He does not depend

on the good-will of clients, the courtesy of judges, the officious help of touts, the hand-leading of seniors, the puffing notice of the Weekly Notes Reporter. He is the Laughing Philosopher in public, something else in private. He is the true Stoic, the man like unto the gods, not elated by joy, nor depressed by sorrow. His 'mind to him a kingdom is.'

You should see him among his fellows. There he is in his glory, strutting like a player or sitting like great Cham. Behold there they are—like Arthur's Knights, they sit round the table in the spacious hall and with talk of wars and rumours of war entertain the company. How varied is their lore, how delightful their budget of news, ranging 'from grave to gay, from lively to severe'. Now it is a stinging epigram on some unlucky wight on the floor of the British House of Commons, now it is a *bon mot* on some popular actress of the Indian stage; now it is a wise word on the Reform Scheme of Viscount Morley and now it is a witty speech on some matrimonial scheme of an associate-in-arms, a *fratres jurati*, a brother in law. What a blissful life is this they lead, in ease and dalliance, 'thus sitting thus consulting' the Calcutta Gazette and the Indian Law Reports at long intervals, 'annihilating all that is made', from the Sultan of Turkey to the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, 'by the valour of their tongue,' that 'chartered libertine',—lounging and lolling all the while on a day-bed!

But soft, wary reader, a word in your ear. All are not loungers that look so. Like the crane in Pilpay's Fables, there are some that appear quiescent but wake into life and activity as soon as the silver back of a tiny fish of a client turns up. One of these flies spoil the whole broth. Them do I not hold up for admiration or imitation. They are wolves in sheep's clothing, looking like the innocent flower but hiding the serpent under it. Peace to all such!

Your true loungeur is known by sight. He has an eternal and absolute command of Time. Who was it that said 'Time flies'? It seems he had never been among these folks. They have devised a net to catch that old thief Time. The busy men of law have no time to lose, and these juniors have no time to *lose*. They are *Idlers* and *Ramblers*,

Tatlers and Spectators, Loungers and Connoisseurs, Adventurers and Examiners, all in one,—*Guardians* too of that precious commodity, Indian liberty, a vanishing quantity in the political arithmetic of these days.

But methinks I hear the thin-faced trio—the mathematician, the political economist and the utilitarian philosopher—impatiently ask, wherefore do they exist? *Cui bono*, re-iterate they, thus hoisting the lawyers with their own petard? But may we not silence them with the sufficient reason, *pro bono publico*? Not a few in this world exist for themselves or for their families. Do not crows even live thus? But these worthies—‘may their race increase’—live for others. The world’s wheels would be at a standstill if these Herculeases would not push it on and set them forward by their criticism of its ways, and the world would indeed be in a parlous state without such words of censure or warning. For what good do they exist? Yea, may we not ask with equal cogency, wherefore do the stars shine? Wherefore do the flowers blow? Wherefore does the rainbow fill the sky like a triumphal arch? Wherefore does the canvas glow beyond e’en Nature warm? Take these away and the æsthetic element of life will be gone. The same benign power that made the butterfly and the bird of paradise and did not stock the world with the stinging bee and the slimy silk-worm sent these junior lawyers into the world with the command ‘you have got Sparta, adorn her’ with your presence. Let us take the good the gods provide. ‘A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.’

With his phosphoric restlessness, his absolute command of unlimited leisure and his unstinted activity, the junior always finds something to do. His avocations are indeed endless. Sometimes you find him inditing verses, odes, songs, sonnets, ditties, dirges, dithyrambs, elegies, for interment in the poet’s corner of the vernacular monthlies; sometimes he contributes on the sly crisp paragraphs or smart leaderettes, facts and comments, notes and news, *obiter dicta* and *ipse dixits* to the dailies; nay on grand occasions he rises to the dignity of an article or a leader. Besides, the correspondence column is almost entirely provisioned by him. Nor is he behindhand in manufacturing more durable ware—not

hard-ware exactly—when he has nothing better to fill up his blank existence; he translates a Bengalee novel into novel English or transmutes a French detective story into a stupendous vernacular romance or if he is ‘too full of the milk of human kindness’, he turns Key-smith for the philanthropic object of saving students the trouble of thinking for themselves.

Wide indeed is the field of activity that he bustles in. The electric car receives his liberal custom, hotels and restaurants and *asramas* (the genuine *Swadeshi* word,) exist for him, the theatres look upon him as their guide, philosopher and friend, the shoemakers and tailors and laundresses of the town look up to him as their open-handed patron. He is the life and soul of every Literary Society or Social Reform Committee, Club, Reading-room, Association, Institute; now you find him making a speech at a public meeting or making a scene at a public theatre, now you find him canvassing for a wealthy client at a Municipal polling or voting in his own right (as a registered graduate) at a university election and after all these labours and sundry games and sports and gup and gossip he unbends his mind over a book—figuring as a Saturday Professor in one or another of the numerous private colleges of the town, philanthropic concerns that supply him with an ostensible means of livelihood. This is his pet avocation; it is here that he does the greatest good to the greatest number of his fellow-creatures. To the students he is at once a warning and an example; to the teachers—ignorant slaves to routine a model and an ideal, exhibiting in his method how to combine the useful and the beautiful. He is a *dilettante* doing the work *con amore* while the perverse professional pedagogue lives for the work, in the work and by the work. One teaches and the other lectures, one lives to learn and to teach and the other learns (and teaches too) to live. But enough of these antitheses.

A cry of vandalism has recently been raised to abolish the Law Classes attached to all Colleges. The fiat has gone forth and that ‘two-handed engine at the door’ (the Vice-Chancellor of the University who is at the same time one of His Majesty’s Puisne Judges) stands ready to smite and

to smite once. This drastic measure will be tantamount to the closing of the granaries of Egypt in the days of Joseph and a shortage in the supply of lawyers will be the woful consequence. The remote issue of this fatal step will be grievous in the extreme. The beautiful and the graceful element of Indian life will be gone. Sweetness and Light will be extinct, renown and grace will be dead, the wine of life will be drawn and the mere lees will be left this vault to brag of. Life will be weary, flat, stale, unprofitable, without this charming feature. The world will but present a poor show when these gay, dashing citizens will cease to exist. For are they not the lions of the town?

When Socrates, the arch-talker, was prevailed upon to plead his cause before his ungrateful countrymen he averred that he deserved not to have his life cut short but to be maintained in the Capitol at the State charge as a public benefactor. In our times the proposal has more than once been made in England that the members of the great talking-house of the nation should obtain a money grant from the State in consideration of their great public services. May we not make the same proposal on the same ground with regard to this glorious band of Junior Lawyers? If Socrates brought philosophy down from Heaven upon the earth to inhabit among men, they have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and restaurants. Surely the gift of the gab deserves as much encouragement here on the Congress platform in India as on the floor of the House of Commons in England. What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose. Observe what grandeur, what dignity, attend their steps in the spacious halls of Justice! The daily contemplation of that superb Gothic structure ennobles their spirit since 'to look on noble forms makes noble through the sensuous organism that which is higher.' It frees, arouses, dilates their soul and all low, grovelling views of life, petty considerations of pounds, shillings and pence, the fever and the fret for yellow dirt, 'the eternal want of pence that vexes public men,' these cause them no anxiety. The innocent gaiety, the pleasant excitement, the unproved pleasures free

of their daily life, the feast of reason and flow of soul at their snug little tables and the bracing walk up and down the fine airy hall aid digestion, promote circulation of the blood, give a tone to the system and destroy the incipient seeds of dyspepsia. How near do they come to the ancient ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano*! Can anybody deny that a liberal subsistence allowance should be settled for life upon this glorious company of carpet-knights, this noble race of cavaliers and gallant men, this blessed band of patriots, philanthropists and peripatetic philosophers with a view to enable them to maintain the dignity of their august position as arbiters of fashion and apostles of culture in Indian Society? Cannot a small quota of the ever-increasing military expenditure with which the Indian exchequer is perennially saddled be diverted to the more useful channel of maintaining these knights in state? It is needless to add that the foolish practice of encouraging struggling law-students with scholarships and exhibitions should be discarded at once, for it is an open secret that an Indian student is never without funds for prosecuting his law-studies even if he had to struggle hard at the Arts stage. It is *after* he has obtained his degree in Law that he is *in forma pauperis* and then and not till then should he be accommodated with pecuniary aid.

Truth requires it that I should acknowledge in all gratitude the small mercies that a paternal Government has at times meted out to a remarkably small section of Junior Lawyers—a microscopic minority so to say—by taking them under its protection and dubbing them *moon-safes*, safe indeed by that snug provision from moon-struck madness. The corruption of a lawyer is the generation of a Munsiff. But how few these are out of the gross band of law-graduates who annually crowd the bar? Besides what an Ovidian Metamorphosis! From the bed of Ware of a Vakeel's Library to the *Chowki* of a Munsiff, alas, what a fall! Unto what a pit from what height fallen! Bless thee, man, how art thou translated! How thou inhabitedst lax in that happy valley, hadst ample room and verge enough gaily to burgeon and gladly to grow, like the fig-tree in 'Malabar or Decan' in Milton's splendid lines, but now transplanted to strange soils, transported to climes unknown,

cribbed, cabined, confined, bound in to saucy Judges and Peshkars, removed—*horresco referens*—to the *fauces Averni* of the Judicial Service, their unbound spirit in bonds again, driven from pillar to post, from post to pillar—curses on the departmental rule of triennial transfers—packed off, bag and baggage, from Sandip to Sasseram, from Shahabad to Shazadpur, or from Hathazari and Phatikchhari to Ghoramara or Nilphamari, nowhere casting the roots deep in the soil, veritable air-plants in the conservatories of Government, a gipsy tribe leading a nomadic existence, miniature specimens of the Wandering Jew! Indeed, if the paternal Government are really solicitous of preserving this breed, they must preserve

it in all its purity and vigour; the unique graces should not be marred by an eternal round of humdrum duties—the burden of an honour unto which they were not born—of clearing heavy files of rent-suits and title-suits. Indeed it is high time to move Government (there is much virtue in memorials) to prevent such a beautiful species from being extinct or becoming a *rara avis* like the dodo in Madagascar or that fearful old fowl, the lion of the Indian forests. May the sad day never come when these uncrowned Kings of Bengal will follow in the wake of the Kings of Oudh and the glory of India be extinguished for ever!

ELIA Junior.

THE FATAL GARLAND

BY SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHAPTER XXII.

SHOKTIMOYI was in the Prime Minister's palatial garden-house. But the dazzling scene of grandeur that burst upon her vision, affected her for a minute only. Her soul was too lofty to be enwrapt by glittering show. Furthermore, surroundings like these, she felt, were her just due. Predestined by birth to fill a throne, she had now fulfilled her destiny, become a queen, and was not royal splendour the tribute of a queen? The spacious room she entered was adorned with mirrors, which lined the four walls. Near them stood luxuriously fitted couches, around which flowing creepers twined their tendrils. Here and there were white marble fountains, decked with flowers, from which fell showers of rose-water, mingling its sweet odours with the fragrance of the blossoms and filling the room with exquisite delight. Shokti was accompanied by several beautiful female attendants, robed in rich attire. And as she looked it seemed she was surrounded by a hundred fairies in lovely gardens without number. The reflecting mirrors wrought such charm that the girl felt herself transported into paradise. But in the midst of

this unearthly splendour she saw a maiden poorly dressed, a hundred times reflected. And then she smiled, for this poor maiden was herself. Now a sense of proud gratification came upon her. All these extraordinary splendours were for her. She, the poor girl, who had walked the highroads as a pilgrim from shrine to shrine, and knew not home nor rest, now swayed her sceptre over thousands, who at a wave from her fair hand would sacrifice their lives to do her bidding.

Her servants led her to the bath. Four attendants spread before her four regal robes of different hues, set with pearls and diamonds and other precious stones.

"Begum Sahiba" they said, "Which of these will be your bridal dress?"

Shokti beheld them one by one and then replied with scorn upon her lips, "I do not find them worthy; have you none better?"

The women were struck dumb at this reply. At length one took heart to say, "Begum Sahiba, for these very robes three Begums quarrelled and are enemies and yet your Highness says they are unworthy."

"These are the garments," said another, "worn by the mother of the Nawab Shah,

the late Sultana Sahiba. Since her death three Begums have attempted to obtain them. But the Nawab Shah would not yield them and put them by. He has now sent them to adorn your Highness for the bridal."

"I do not want them", said the Hindu maiden coldly, "send them to the three Begums as a present from the new Begum."

"And the fourth robe?"

"The fourth? Which of the Begums was the favourite of the Nawab Shah hitherto?"

"Motia Jan."

"Then send this robe to Motia Jan."

"As your Highness orders," was the girl's reply, "but what will our new Begum wear?"

"Have you no sari? A sari and a veil are all that I require."

The maid opened a chest and took out saris richly embroidered and of various colours and veils of many kinds. From these Shokti selected a white sari studded with diamonds and a white veil with pearls embroidered.

Then came the bath. That finished Shokti donned her costly garments and now attired as a bride lay half reclining on a cushioned couch in soft repose. The maids were busy with their mistress; one dried her glossy hair, another fanned her gently, a third one stained her feet with henna and others sprinkled her fair form with attar and rose-water. Two maids brought out a jewel box and placed rich ornaments before her, whose brilliance was unparalleled, and whose workmanship was marvellous beyond compare. Gold, rubies, emeralds, turquoise, diamonds and pearls sent their bright lustre till the eye was dazzled. The diamonds were of clearest crystal, and when the maid held up before her a diamond necklace of a hundred rows and a tiara thickly studded with starry gems like the milky way, it seemed as if a thousand sunbeams flashed. She had seen jewels in the palace of Dinajpore, but never any so magnificent, so superbly beautiful as these.

At last she chose from the glittering heap before her some diamond ornaments. Her toilet complete, she went back to the hall of mirrors. The Nawab was impatient to receive his bride and waited with anxious heart to hear that she was ready. Now Shokti saw the gem-adorned figure reflected as she had seen the simple maiden there before. She scarcely knew herself, her beauty

was entrancing, she saw it herself. But the terrible truth came home to her—for whose sake was she thus adorned? slowly the tears collected in her eyes; was this her bridal day, the day her heart had longed for? Wealth, power, state, all these were hers, but her soul wept, what was it all to her? What is life to a woman when her love lies slain? Ganesh Dev was not hers, would never be. Was she not selling soul and body for mere shew, was she not losing everything, her very honour by this act? Was this the vengeance she had prayed for? On whom did now this dreadful vengeance fall? The curses she had called upon Ganesh had turned upon herself and now destroyed in her all that makes woman godlike. How terrible she seemed in her own sight, the dignity of womanhood polluted, could she still claim to be of human kind? A dreadful thought took hold of her, she was a ghou, a demon in fair form. She had lost all connection with her former self, she could no more approach the people of her race, she was an outcaste, the very thought of her filled them with loathing. And above all, Ganesh, what would he think of her? If he had never loved her, still he had honoured her, revered her name, but now? Alas! why had she not remained a pilgrim, become a sanyasini like her aunt, rather than sell her soul? Her noble spirit shrunk at these reflections, but repentance came too late.

A maid came in and broke her reverie. "The Nawab Shah awaits your Highness' pleasure. Shall I send word that the Begum is ready?"

"Yes, ask him to come in." Then Shokti left the room and called a maid and said, "Where are the garments that I wore? Bring them here." And now she stripped off her ornaments, took off those regal robes she wore and gave them to her maid. The girl became surprised and murmured. "But Begum Sahiba, what will the Nawab say?"

"That concerns me alone. Go bring me my things at once."

The woman obeyed silently. Shokti now donned her pilgrim's garb and then returned to the hall of mirrors, where the young Crown-prince stood awaiting her. Seeing his bride still in her old attire, he exclaimed in great astonishment, "What does this mean? Is that dress fit for the queen of Bengal?"

"I am not yet Queen of Bengal. While yet the war continues I shall wear this dress."

Gais-ud-din felt sore at heart to hear her speak so proudly, to see the strong defiance in her act. He tried to persuade her, speaking gently. "Beloved, for your sake I have pledged all wealth, prosperity and kingdom. Bright happy looks from you should strengthen me in this my hour of danger. Still in their place what do I see, what mood is this?"

And he advanced towards her, but the proud girl retreated, saying, "Protector of the World, touch me not. My vow is taken, while this war continues, I cannot be—"

The Crown-prince stood amazed, his eyes flashed anger. Before she finished speaking, he broke in, "Am I to act according to your orders? You should heed my bidding, not I yours. You are my wife now, my own property, whatever you may say."

Shokti's strong soul was roused, scorn flashed from the midnight lustre of her eyes. Her tone was firm when she replied, "Then may it please your Highness to know that I am not your wife and never shall be. Allow me to depart, or else I shall—"

She could not finish, for a maid entered and said hastily, "Protector of the World, Kutub Shah requests that you will see him at once, he waits outside. Great danger is impending."

The Nawab yielded to Shokti's superior strength and humbly replied, "Forgive me dearest, I will be your slave. I now go forth to fight and know not whether I shall return to see my bride or not. Is there not one embrace from her for whom I am about to die? Grant this, beloved, and death itself will lose its sting."

The maiden stood unmoved and resolute. "Protector of the World, I must remain true to my vow. As long as this war lasts I cannot be your wife. If you do not wish to bring sorrow on both you and me, abstain from further entreaties, else you will learn that not a hundred body-guards will keep me prisoner in your harem."

From without the sound of shouting was heard. Kutub rushed in exclaiming loudly, "Be quick, my lord, be quick. If you delay we shall be taken prisoners. The attendants are already in the palanquins. Let

the Begum Sahiba be placed in another in great haste. We must escape through the forest."

And this was the happiness for which the young Prince had staked all, this the bridal day which to attain men were laid low and women fled and wept. All he had gained was a cold reply from the maiden he adored, and with the bitter memory of this upon him and the desire of his heart for once unsatisfied, Gais-ud-din, dejected and morose, set out upon his path of danger.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Badshah was working out his own destruction by obstinacy and want of judgment. He had made enemies all around, both at home and abroad, and he had no fixity of either policy or purpose. His military advisers were worried to death by a succession of contradictory orders. Naturally the results were only too often unfavourable, and in such cases those who had executed the Sultan's orders were subject to severe reprimands, but whenever good results were obtained the Badshah withheld the due credit from those who deserved it. This caused an undercurrent of discontent in the council. The army was demoralized and dispirited. Food was scarce in the land. The able-bodied peasants had been taken from the field to bear the Sultan's arms, and the work of cultivation had fallen upon the women and children. The famine-stricken country was unable to supply the army with proper rations. It had become difficult for the soldiers to secure two meals a day, and now to reach the climax of their adversity, the fortunes of war were against them, for if they succeeded in beating the enemy once, they were defeated thrice in return. The war could not continue much longer at this rate; more than a year had passed since its beginning. Again and again the Council advised the Sultan to make peace with the Raja of Dinajpore and with his help overpower the Crown-prince. So far the Sultan had stubbornly neglected this advice, but the time had come when he could do so no longer. Gais-ud-din, whose forces had increased enormously, was rapidly advancing upon the Capital with a large army. The suc-

successful man draws a following. When people saw that the Crown-prince had the advantage over his father, they flocked to his standard in large numbers. The other seven sons of the Sultan, having vainly tried to check his course were clamouring for more troops. And the council, with one accord, urged the Sultan to make peace with Ganesh Deb, who was encamped near the Capital and defeating the Sultan's men wherever he met them. If the Imperial forces were united with those of Dinajpore, they could oppose the Nawab Shah with greater strength. This was the only way to escape from the dilemma. The Sultan fully recognised the truth of all this. But he was disgusted with what he had brought upon himself, and fumed against fate which compelled him, the all-powerful Sultan, to seek aid from the puny Raja of Dinajpore, who by rights should cling at his feet.

Yet though he cursed the fates, he was helpless, and the more he realised this the more his irritation increased.

A general meeting of the council was convened. The Commander-in-chief himself had left his camp to be present in order to give the Sultan an exact idea of the critical position. His explanation, however, was received with reproach.

"Has not that wretched little Dinajpore been brought to subjection yet?" asked the angry Badshah. "General, you are good for nothing. You are slow in carrying out my orders. On every side do I see signs of negligence."

The Council remained silent. At last the General replied, "Ruler of the Universe, had we only been allowed to keep our troops two days longer at Dinajpore, we should have subjugated the Raja. But by your Majesty's orders we were obliged to give up the attack and immediately march towards Subarnagram."

Then the aged minister, Azim Khan's father, spoke up and said, "Prince Sharif-ud-din, whom your Majesty has made crown-prince, surrounded Gais-ud-din on the road to Bonogram and sent for more troops, but—"

"My belief is that Sharif-ud-din was deceived by false news," interrupted the Badshah.

"Your Majesty has been misinformed", replied the minister, "for want of sufficient

troops it was impossible to blockade Bonogram properly by either land or water. If Azim Khan could have arrived there one day earlier, Gais-ud-din would certainly have been captured."

"What is this I hear, Azim Khan? If you had been a day earlier, victory would have been ours, then why were you late?"

"Your Majesty, how was it possible for me to be at Bonogram when I was fighting Ganesh in Dinajpore? Prince Farid Shah was ordered to join the Nawab Sahib Sharif-ud-din."

"But my orders were that you as well should join Sharif-ud-din, leaving Nawab Shams-ud-din in your place."

"That order came later. When it reached us we could not get to Bonogram in time. We were delayed in the first place by the strong current of the Purnabhaga river, swollen to excess during the rains. Next the heavy rains and the bad condition of the roads made rapid transport impossible. When we reached the scene of action, we found we were too late."

"Impossible! Never before did I hear such an explanation from the mouth of a commander-in-chief. I see my mistake now in having made you General."

The General remained silent not daring to give vent to his just anger. But the minister replied, "It will do us no good to dwell upon the past. We are wasting time, for every minute Gais-ud-din is gaining strength. If he is not defeated soon, it will be difficult to save the kingdom. It must be decided at once whether or not to make an alliance with Dinajpore."

Necessity compelled the Sultan to give in. He yielded at last with very bad grace and said addressing the minister, "Very well, you may propose an alliance, but take care we do not have to suffer the indignity of a refusal."

Azim Khan had already sounded Ganesh Dev. The sanyasini being the cause of the dispute, Ganesh Dev's conditions were that she should be exempt from any further punishment, and that he should obtain remission of tribute to compensate him for losses incurred in the war. The Badshah consented to these terms, and the Maharaja of Dinajpore was invited to a royal durbar to be held the next day, so that both parties might sign the treaty. As a proof of good

faith the Sultan sent his grandson, Saheb-ud-din and suite, to remain as hostages in the Dinajpore camp.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ganesh Dev came to the Durbar, but the Badshah's conduct was not worthy of a man of honour. He had invited the young Raja as a friend, but the reception he accorded him was anything but friendly. Not even a seat was offered to the guest.

Ganesh Dev being a scion of one of the oldest and most aristocratic families of the land, showed his lofty nature in his countenance and manners, and when he entered the assembly so far outshone all there by his proud bearing, that the Sultan seeing it, got vexed. He saluted the Emperor with chivalry, but there was not a trace of submission in his action. The great Badshah felt touched to the quick that he the overlord, should have been unable all this time to curb the proud spirit of this young prince, and he showed his contempt in this discourteous behaviour. The assembly were aghast at the Sultan's manners, and dead silence ensued. At last the Emperor spoke in a stern voice, "Ganesh Dev, what do you want?"

The latter, who had already noticed the signs of an approaching storm, said calmly and respectfully, "what I want I have already stated, and you Majesty having assented to my proposals, I have come hither to sign the treaty. But if your Majesty wish to raise the question afresh, in compliance with your desire I state that I want the acquittal of the sannyasini, and that the losses I have sustained should be made good by the remission of the tribute money for Dinajpore."

The Sultan knit his brow and said, "But how am I to be recompensed for the losses I have sustained through your rebellion?"

"I will help your Majesty in the war against the Crown-prince."

"That a feudatory chief is bound to do whether he wishes it or not. By refusing to help me in war against an enemy, you render yourself liable to punishment. What is to be the punishment for your rebellion?"

"That should have been decided before I came here. By pledging your good faith you brought me into your power. To harbour

any thoughts of punishment now would be a breach of that good faith."

"To meet cunning with cunning is no breach of good faith. There is no other way of keeping the peace. Azim Khan, arrest this man."

No one had thought the Sultan capable of such mad conduct. Azim Khan stood as if rooted to the spot and stared at the Emperor in amazement. It was he who had negotiated with Ganesh Dev and brought him to the Durbar, relying on the Sultan's word. Thus, unwittingly, he had been the agent in this treachery. His whole nature revolted against this injustice. Unable to keep silent any longer, he spoke and said, "The Maharaja has come hither trusting your Majesty's word of honour. If this faith is broken, the Emperor's fair name will be tarnished, and in future no one will place confidence in him."

"Silence, you are insolent. Karim-ud-din, from today you are my General. Arrest these two men, this insolent Azim Khan and this rebel of Dinajpore. This punishment should have been inflicted on them long ago."

"Protector of the World," spoke the newly chosen General, "the retainers of the rebel of Dinajpore are at the gate. What is to be done with them?"

"Arrest them also."

The Badshah's orders were obeyed. Azim Khan and Ganesh Dev were led away in the custody of Karim-ud-din. When the aged minister of State saw this, he struck his forehead with the palm of his hand and exclaimed loudly, "Sultan, Sultan, what have you done? You have left us no means of defence. You have arrested the leader of the army and that for no fault of his."

"For no fault of his?" roared the enraged Badshah. "I kept him in his post so long simply because he is your son. I now see that he is at the bottom of all this mischief."

"And since your Majesty has arrested the ruler of Dinajpore, war must continue with both parties. God alone knows where all this will end."

"You must have gone out of your head, where is your reason? If I put Ganesh Dev in prison, then who will fight me?"

"His army. Does your Majesty think his mother will bear his arrest quietly? As

long as a single able man remains in his Raj he will fight for the Raja."

"But if he is put to death--then?"

"It seems your Majesty has forgotten the fact that Prince Saheb-ud-din is kept as hostage in the enemy's camp. If the rumour of the Maharaja's arrest gets abroad, the young Prince's life will be in danger."

"The soldiers who came with Ganesh Dev are also prisoners. The news will not reach the enemy's camp very quickly. Make the most of this opportunity and release Saheb-ud-din."

"Your Majesty," replied the minister in despair, "who will carry out your orders? Listen to the advice of one whose hair has grown white with age and experience. Release Azim Khan and make friends with Dinajpore, otherwise we shall be ruined. Satan seems to have entered you."

"You are my Satan," exclaimed the Sultan angrily. "Do you know that your son Kutab is Gais-ud-din's adviser? Hence all this trouble."

"On that very account I have cast him off."

"But that does not benefit me. I verily believe that Azim Khan is also secretly plotting with Gais-ud-din for my destruction. Else can you explain why the enemy has not yet been defeated?"

This was too much for the aged minister. He lost his repose, the insult stung him deeply, and he called out indignantly, "For shame your Majesty, for shame, such suspicion is unworthy of a king. I fully now expect the charge that I myself belong to Gais-ud-din's party."

Sultan Sekander Shah was beyond himself, he seemed to have gone mad and unhesitatingly replied, "I have my misgivings as to that as well, else why should you be so anxious to prove your own innocence?"

How terrible they sounded, those words of cruel accusation from those royal lips to that dervish-garbed, saintly man who had served the crown with unswerving loyalty for so many years. He stood aghast a while, but soon his calm returned and solemnly he replied, "Sultan Sekander Shah, Allah himself must be against you, or this misguiding spirit would not have taken hold of you. I now resign my post of duty. Heed my last words of warning. The road that you have taken leads to ruin, retrace your steps ere yet it is too late."

The assembly were so exasperated by the Sultan's evil conduct, that they seemed paralyzed. They did not stop the departing Minister of State with even a sign. A wave of disapproval filled the room when the door closed behind him. The assembled nobles now gave signs of discontent and Sekander Shah saw what was going on, still he did not change his course. The assembly then adjourned, feeling more dispirited than ever. On the next morning the war-council met again.

It had been raining the whole of the previous night. The weather seemed to be in sympathy with the general sentiment in the Sultan's court,—gloom every where, in doors and out. But worse than gloom was in store, for suddenly a storm cloud burst upon them. A guard rushed in trembling with haste and fear and loudly called, "Your Majesty, the Nawab Shah Gais-ud-din is approaching. Nawab Jalal-ud-din is unable to check his progress. The enemy will soon be upon us."

The Sultan turned pale with agitation and called out nervously, "Azim Khan, call Azim Khan."

"He is a prisoner by your Majesty's orders." It was Karim-ud-din who spoke.

The Sultan's eyes flamed with excitement. "Go, take your troops and help Jelal-ud-din. Give orders for the release of Azim Khan and bring him here."

Karim-ud-din departed but returning presently informed the king, "The small number of troops we have here are being accoutred, and I shall lead them to the fight by your Majesty's orders."

"And Azim Khan, where is he?"

"He has fled."

"Fled?"

"Yes".

"Whither."

"I hear he has gone to join the Nawab Shah Gais-ud-din."

The great Badshah could not grasp the truth. The room, the house, the people all seemed to swim round him in mad confusion. "Bring Ganesh Dev," he called out.

"He too has fled."

"He also fled? Oh my Minister, my Minister, what shall we do?"

"The Minister has departed as well. I hear it rumoured he too is joining Gais-ud-din."

This roused the Sultan's feeling to its height. Still the crisis did not crush him. He rose and in a voice half frantic with despair called out, "All gone, deserted! Then behold your Sultan, I will myself be your commander."

This created a reaction, a storm of patriotism took hold of the assembly. They saw their leader helpless, this fanned the dying spark of their courage into a flame. They rose to their feet like one man and in high spirit with one voice exclaimed, "Victory to the Badshah!"

Preparations were soon made. It being the time of war, troops were ready to be called to action, and in an hour all was ready. Soon they were on the march, Sultan Sekander Shah himself leading his army. The whole of the next day the battle raged between sire and son, and continued for three days.

The end of this war is known to all who are acquainted with the history of Bengal, the annals of the land record it. On the third day Sekander Shah was killed. His lacerated body was laid to rest in the silent tomb of the immense "Adina Masjid", prepared years before to receive the mortal remains of the great Sultan. His son, the rebel Gais-ud-din, succeeded his father to the throne.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ganesh Dev had pitched his camp on a lofty clearing in the forest skirting Banshiharipore not far from Pandua. Just below the camp stood a small clear-water lake. And this lake had a legend attached to it. Why should it not? Has not every brook, every tree, nay almost every stone a legend to its credit in this soft land of dreams and poetry? Then why deprive a crystal lake of that privilege? To the lofty imagination of the Oriental each slight act must carry with it something that makes an impress on the mind. As to satisfying the material need only, that is beneath his dignity. And so there was a crystal lake and with its waters the soldiers quenched their thirst. It must needs have a halo or the lake would cease to be a lake.

Then to the legend. At the beginning of the war when the Maharaja of Dinajpore had been declared a rebel by the Government, Azim Khan, under the Sultan's orders, was pursuing him. Owing to the small number of his troops Ganesh Dev was unable to engage in a pitched battle. Tired out by constant pursuit, overcome by thirst and faint for want of food and rest, the soldiers reached this spot. Not a drop of water was seen anywhere around. In despair at the situation, the Raja was on the point of surrender, when the sannyasini, who had gone in quest of food, suddenly appeared with provisions. She soon saw the exhausted condition of the men and pointed to a spot at a little distance, asking the Raja whether he had searched for water there. Ganesh replied that the whole vicinity had been searched. "But let us look again," replied the priestess confidently. She then pointed in a certain direction, and to the delight of the thirsty men a clear sheet of water appeared before their view. They raised a shout of joy, and moved by the inborn religious impulse of their race, prostrated themselves at her feet ere they rushed to the wave to quench their thirst.

The cool water mixed with the hereditary faith of the Hindu in the supernatural, soon worked magic. There were divine properties in this lake, for it had strengthened them as nothing else could do. This soon became a firm conviction. This lake meant even more, its influence was lucky to their regiment, for after they had drunk of this water, they were so strong that they could disperse the foe without great difficulty. They therefore called this lake the Gift Lake. They did not remain there long that time, because the war continued, and the enemy was pursuing them. They retired to Dinajpore to strengthen their forces. But the fortunes of war turned in their favour, and gradually they succeeded in defeating the foe and advancing upon the capital. When again they came near Pandua, by this lake they must pitch their camp and nowhere else. This they did a week before their Raja was inveigled into the Sultan's presence, from which, as we have seen, he had the good fortune to escape.

AN OFFICIAL VINDICATION OF THE DEPORTATIONS*

THE article which has appeared in the July number of the "Nineteenth Century and After" on the Indian deportations by Mr. Streatfeild, a Bengal Civilian, needs comment and correction. Mr. Streatfeild has presented the official version with that fulness of detail which as an official he had at his command. The article is a vindication of the deportations as necessary to prevent grave "internal commotions". The measure, he argues, is "preventive" and not "punitive". This indeed is a mere side issue, a minor question of detail. But its obvious unsoundness may perhaps serve to prepare the reader for the unsoundness of the whole position taken up by Mr. Streatfeild. If the deportations are not a punishment but mere detention for reasons of State, may we enquire why the gentlemen who have been deported are all confined in gaols, and subjected to the restraints of prison discipline? But this is, as I have said, a minor matter which is important as throwing light on the character of the defence which Mr. Streatfeild sets up. Mr. Streatfeild's justification for the deportations is that it is difficult to obtain "evidence which can be accepted in a Court of Law in cases which have a political flavour". I entirely dissent from this view, which indeed is disproved by facts to which I shall presently refer. The most important political case in Bengal of recent date is undoubtedly the Alipur Bomb case. The accused were thirty-five in number; the trial lasted for nearly a year and throughout the public followed the proceedings with keen interest. Fourteen of the accused were convicted and the rest discharged. Thus in the most important political trial held in Bengal, the evidence was found to be such that a Court of Law could substantially accept it and act upon it. Take again, the numerous cases in which Indian Editors were charged with sedition. These were all political cases and

in more than ninety per cent. of them the writers were convicted and punished—sentenced to terms of imprisonment which Indian opinion has condemned as excessive. Evidently here also evidence was forthcoming which a Court of Law could accept and act upon. But we are told by Mr. Streatfeild in support of the inadequacy of the existing law "that the police are seriously handicapped in prosecuting for seditious utterings by the fact that political speeches are usually made in the vernacular and that the precise meaning of vernacular terms and expressions is exceedingly difficult to determine". I am a Bengalee; and the Bengalee language is my mother tongue. I hope it will be readily conceded even by Mr. Streatfeild himself that I am at least as familiar with it as he is. Speaking as a Bengalee who uses his mother tongue constantly in the daily intercourse of life, I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Streatfeild's remark involves a libel upon our language; and those who know how to use it have never found the smallest difficulty in expressing themselves with the utmost accuracy and precision. My remark is amply borne out by the issues in the sedition cases to which I have referred. In almost all the cases in Bengal the language used was Bengalee, the subject matter of the indictment was expressed in that language. If there were really this element of vagueness and want of precision inseparable from the use of our language, how came it about that there were definite findings followed by convictions and punishments? What is true of the Bengalee is I think true of other Indian languages, *viz.*, that vagueness and want of precision form no part of their defects. In the Tuticorin Riot case Mr. Chidambaram Pillay was charged with making speeches inciting to violence and murder. The speeches were delivered in Tamil. They were made the subject matter of the indictment and Mr. Chidambaram Pillay was, upon the speeches that he delivered, convicted and punished. I for my part do not think that the

* This article was sent to *The Nineteenth Century and After* in reply to Mr. Streatfeild's article in the July number of that review, but was not published on the ostensible ground of want of space.—Ed. M. R.

conviction was right and all India holds the punishment as monstrous; but the point which I want to urge is that the difficulty referred to by Mr. Streatfeild exists only in the imagination of those who will not look at facts straight in the face, that the Indian languages are sufficiently precise, and the Indian police sufficiently capable to be in a position to report speeches delivered in the Indian languages. It must, therefore, be held that the ordinary law is quite capable of dealing with political cases of this kind, and that the plea for the assumption of extraordinary powers as the only effective remedy is inadmissible. As an instance of the supposed vagueness of our language, Mr. Streatfeild refers to the discussion which took place in the High Court about the word "Swaraj". There is no more vagueness about the word "Swaraj" than there is about the word "Self-Government". "Self-Government" has a double signification in Indian political phraseology for which the English language is in no way responsible. Self-government may mean autonomy within or outside the Empire. Swaraj in the same way may mean Self-government within or outside the Empire. The High Court accepted the view—and this is in no way connected with linguistic considerations—which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who had first used the word in a political sense, put upon it, *viz.*, that it means Self-government within the Empire as in the Colonies.

Mr. Streatfeild in defending the deportations says, "These firebrands are well-known; and there is no reason to doubt that the persons deported belong to this class. In a matter of this kind private malice may lie, but public repute does not". In other words, the men who have been deported are, according to Mr. Streatfeild, "firebrands" by "public repute". We need not go to the dictionary for the meaning of the word "firebrand". Mr. Streatfeild explains the sense in which he wants us to understand the word in the present case. The firebrands are "those who by open preaching or by covert instruction are instilling into young, unformed, but enthusiastic minds the poison of anarchical disregard for human life and property, and of reckless opposition to the established order of things". To say this of Krishna Kumar Mitra, Aswini Kumar Dutt, not to

speak of the others who have been deported, is a foul libel upon them. The High Court of Calcutta has just disposed of a similar libel against Lala Lajpat Rai by pronouncing it "a malicious libel". Let me here quote an extract from an article written by Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra in his paper the "Sanjibani", when an attempt was made upon the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal :—

Dear Countrymen,—We firmly believe that only a microscopic number of our people have been misled by the idea of doing good to the country by murder, but the thought that there should be even one young man who has thought this has made us miserable. But tears are of no avail if we do not move heaven and earth to bring back our boys to the right path. Listen! No nation on earth has ever gained anything by murder. Read the history of the world, and you will find that nations which have tried to gain freedom by terrorism have only degraded themselves and worsened their condition. God reveals his wishes through the history of the development of humanity. He is the Father and Preserver. Anybody who sets himself against His wishes is inevitably crushed. Wrong-doing can never help a good cause. This is an eternal truth.

The extract speaks for itself. Everybody who reads it, will agree with me in thinking that the writer is no "firebrand", but a man of the highest moral principles, speaking with great earnestness to young men, urging them to follow the paths of virtue and morality in the prosecution of public ends. To deport such a man without a trial and then to declare to the world that he is a "firebrand", wedded to anarchical principles, who has done his best to infuse the poison into young minds, is a piece of calumny which we cannot sufficiently condemn. But it serves to show the character of the apology which has been set up in justification of the deportations.

Mr. Streatfeild makes an attack upon the Swadeshi movement, and he repeats the old, old theory which has again and again been exploded, but which as often has been reaffirmed by its supporters with a magnificent disregard of actual facts. It will be remembered that Lord Morley when he was in the House of Commons said in 1907 that "The situation in Eastern Bengal was strained owing to the bitterness between Hindus and Mohammedans consequent on the attempts made to compel Mohammedans by violence to abstain from purchasing foreign goods". An attempt was made

about the same time under official inspiration to connect the Swadeshi movement with the Hindu and Mohammedan riots. All this lead to a spirited protest from the leaders in both the Bengals which once for all disproved the theory which Lord Morley had suggested and which Mr. Streatfeild now affirms in a different form. We quote an extract from this manifesto of the Bengal leaders:—

Mr. Beatson Bell, C. S., the trying officer at Dewangunge, has observed that boycott is not the cause of the disturbances. Another Special Magistrate at Dewangunge, himself a Mahomedan gentleman of culture, observes in one of the cases, "there was not the least provocation for rioting, the common object of the rioters was evidently to molest the Hindus." In another case, *Emperor v. Habil Sircar*, the same magistrate observes as follows:—

"The evidence adduced on the side of the prosecution shows that about 4 or 5 P.M. on the date in question, the accused Habil Sarkar had read over a notice to a crowd of Mussalmans near the shop of Ramani Saha at Dewanganj *hat* and had told them the Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca have passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. Soon after the Kali's image was broken by the Mussalmans, the shops of the Hindu traders were also plundered. In some of the shops fire was set to some heaps of papers by the Mussalmans for the purpose of searching the shops of the Hindus by the light of the fire, etc. * * In my opinion the witnesses do not make any false statements in their evidence."

Mr. Barniville, C.S., the Sub-divisional Officer of Jamalpur, in his report on the Melanda Hat riots finds "that some Mussalmans proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus." In the Hargilchar abduction case against Jani Sheikh and others, Mr. Barniville in committing the accused persons remarked "that these outrages were due to the announcement that the Government had permitted the Mahomedans to marry Hindu widows in *nica* form."

I fear Swadeshi has been held responsible for many things; but it has certainly not created any ill-will between the Hindus and the Mohammedans; for the movement has immensely benefited the weaving classes—the Jolahs—who are mostly Mohammedan. I will not say that there have not been excesses in connection with this movement but I ask is it possible to point to any movement, the most beneficent that we can think of, which in some stage or other, general in the period of its greatest enthusiasm, has not been attended with excesses?

Swadeshim is in no way responsible for creating ill-feeling towards the Government or the English people. The Government has become unpopular by reason of its own measures, by the persistent pursuit of a policy of reaction for over sixteen years and if there is any feeling against Englishmen in India it must be set down to what is unfortunately only too true in a large number of cases—the demeanour of Englishmen towards their Indian fellow-subjects.

Let us not throw the responsibility of the tension that now exists upon a great and beneficent movement which might have been attended with some excesses at the first start but which is now settling down as a permanent factor of Indian life and is calculated to confer inestimable benefit upon the people and the Government by stimulating the industrial development of the country.

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THE GODS OF KULU

MANY English writers have insisted on, and it seems to me, somewhat exaggerated the differences between the various classes of the inhabitant of India. But none of these differences is, as far as my own observation goes, so great as the difference between the men of the hills and the men of the plains. The Bengali and the Panjabi, the Hindu and the Musulman have a great deal in common; but when we enter

the Himalayas, we seem to pass into a new atmosphere of thought and feeling. The change of moral atmosphere, is like the change of physical atmosphere, easily perceived but not so easy to describe. Still a few points may be noted. "Widow marriage" we are told in the Census Report India "is a badge of social degradation". Kulu no degradation attaches to widow marriage and it is not uncommon. Pol

gamy is by no means exceptional, as it is among the Hindus of the plains. The marriage of very young children is not usual and marriage is often postponed till after the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony is often dispensed with in favour of a civil contract. Sometimes there is not even a civil contract and the young man and woman merely live together with the knowledge of their parents. No disgrace is thought to attach to such a relationship, and the two are spoken of as husband and wife. The Kulu husband when he does not get on with his wife, often sells her with her own consent to another man; a practice which Hindus and Mahommedans from the plains find extremely shocking. If, however, the marriage customs are lax, the observance of caste rules is extremely strict. In general character the people are singularly cheerful and good-tempered, and crime and extreme poverty are almost unknown.

While the people of Kulu may be called Hindus, their religious beliefs and practices differ in many respects from those of the plains. I believe that English officials employed in Kulu have at different times written about the local divinities but none of these writings have fallen into my hands, nor have I any opportunity of consulting libraries. The following account is therefore based only on my own observations and on what I have heard from Kulu peasants. I shall follow a topographical order, so that any visitor to the valley interested in the matter will have little difficulty in verifying or correcting my statements in so far as they relate to external facts. As for the stories given, it will be obvious in most cases and I wish it to be understood in all, that I do not vouch for their truth but merely repeat what has been told me.

The valley of the Beas runs south from Ralla to Larji. It is almost everywhere very narrow, but below the junction of the Sarbari it broadens out for about a mile into a meadow. The Sultanpur dak bungalow lies on the western side and near the northern end of this meadow, and as almost all visitors to Kulu stop in the bungalow for at least a night, we may take it as a centre of reference. Eastward and somewhat northward from the bungalow, where the meadow is bounded by the main road, is the temple of Ghorī Deo. It should be

noted that *deo*, which is an evil spirit in Hindustani, means a god in the Kulu language. The temple is a small plain building without any architectural ornaments. Inside is a low, dark room containing the *pindi* or body of the god. This always stays in the temple. When a god takes part in a procession he is represented by his *mukh*, which consists of hollow silver masks about ten in number carried on a *rath*. In Kulu proper the *rath* somewhat resembles an easy chair with a cloth thrown over it so as to cover the whole of the front. The masks are placed on the cloth. In Seoraj the *rath* is like a box standing on one end, or still more like a truncated pyramid, since the upper square is a little smaller than the base. The four faces are covered with masks. There is a difference of opinion as to the theological question whether the god lives only in the *pindi* or in the *mukh* as well. The *pindi* of Ghorī, so far as I could make out through the gloom, for of course I was not allowed to enter the temple, consists of two square blocks of stone placed close together. There is no attempt at representing the form and features of an individual god. In fact, this would be impossible owing to the want of skilled sculptors in Kulu. Even the *mukh* of one god is like the *mukh* of another. These masks are of course made by the silversmith, but in the case of some gods, such as Piruthan, one of the masks is of supernatural origin and not made by any human hands.

Ghorī Deo is the god of the village Dhalpur. On three festivals during the year in April, July and October his *rath* is carried round to every house in the village and he receives at each an offering of incense. He is consulted by the villagers about their private affairs and speaks through the mouth of his *gur*. For, in general, a god has attached to his service; a *pujari* who worships him daily; a *kardar*, who attends to his property; and at least one *gur* through whom he speaks. The *pujari* must be a Brahman, the *kardar* whose work is secular, not religious, may be a landholder, and the *gur* may be of any caste. The wind bloweth where it listeth and a god may choose any man as the instrument by which he reveals his will. The word used in Kulu for a man who is in the condition of being possessed by a god is

ubharna. In this state he may run knives into himself, or take hot coals in his hand.

Ghori is not a very great god and is only worshipped in his own village, Dhalpur. Twice a year he pays homage to the greatest of the gods Raghunath. Still, he can shew his power when offended. Many years ago an assistant commissioner thought that the temple of Ghori which is plainer in appearance than an ordinary stable disfigured the meadow, as indeed it does. He had the walls and roof removed, but when the workmen tried to remove the *pindi*, they found it buried itself more deeply in the ground and resisted all their efforts. After some days of vain exertions, one morning the coolies saw a snake coiled round the *pindi*. They knew it was the god, and fled in terror. The assistant, too, felt the wrath of Ghori. He had taken furlough and was on his way to Bombay. One of his children died on the Kandi and his wife became mad. Then like Pharaoh he repented, and sent three hundred rupees of his own money to repair the temple of the god. But the *kārdār* kept back most of this money for himself, and received the punishment of Ananias. He himself, and all his family, except one son, died. For a long time, the temple was left unrepaired, and Ghori had nothing but wooden boards to shelter him from the sun and the rain. But in the year of the cholera, the villagers sought the help of their god, for as a Kulu friend said to me, men seek the gods when they fear misfortune, not when they are happy. Ghori promised that if his temple were rebuilt, Kali should not so much as set her foot in Dhalpur. The temple was rebuilt and Ghori kept his word. While in all other parts of Kulu men were dying, there was not in Dhalpur a single case of cholera.

Ghori came originally from the neighbouring state, Mandi. In the old days before the British raj, the raja of Kulu went to war with the raja of Mandi and led his troops across the Bhubhu pass as far as the little village of Guma. On his return after a successful campaign his pony became lame. Then a boy who kept cows began to *ubharna*, and Ghori said through the boy's mouth that if the raja would take him to Kulu and give him land and a temple he would heal the raja's horse. The boy led the servants of the raja into the forests near Guma, where they

found the two stones that make the *pindi* of Ghori. These stones were taken to Kulu and placed, first in the raja's palace, then near where the post office is now, and then in the village of Dhalpur. But in none of these places was Ghori contented, and he would not be quiet till he obtained his present home, to which he still clings so tenaciously. The difficulty in accepting the story is that the two stones are obviously artificial.

A few steps in front of the temple of Ghori is the *pindi* of Nanda Deo, the dumb god. This is merely a stone half-sunk, in the ground, like many others scattered through the meadow. On either side of and behind this stone, there are three other larger stones whether in their original position or placed there on purpose I can not say. A flat stone has been put on the top of them, so that a sort of tiny roofed enclosure open in front has been formed. All these stones are natural, not cut or shaped in any way. It will be obvious that Nanda Deo is a very insignificant god. He is a servant of Ghori, who himself is only a second rate god. His chief duty is to look after the cattle in the meadow. When a cow gives birth to a calf, it is usual for the owner to offer something to Nanda Deo. He is consulted if there is any sickness among the cattle. He has the same *gur* as Ghori, but while Ghori speaks through the mouth of the *gur*, Nanda Deo can only express his meaning by signs and gestures. It is on this account he has received the name of *Nanda* or dumb. He is not fastidious in his tastes. He will accept a pig, an offering which more respectable gods would refuse.

From the god of the village we naturally pass on to the god of the house. The only household god with whom I am personally acquainted is Gaint, the god of my old friend Rirku who lives in a house in Dhalpur on the border of the meadow between the dak bungalow and the Sessions House. In Kulu, an Englishman is not allowed to enter the house of a Hindu, for he would pollute it by his presence. But last April Rirku's old house was pulled down and Gaint was removed into the new house. There was a great dinner, to which about forty people were invited and *lugri*, an intoxicating liquor made from rice, was drunk freely till late at night. In the evening Rirku began to

ubharna. It was on this occasion that I saw the god. He is a trident, consisting of a long iron bar terminating in a point and a curved cross bar also terminating at either end in a point. The cross bar is nailed to the long bar at such a distance that the three points lie in the same straight line. He is kept in a basket, and along with him are the tongs used for the fire on which incense is burnt to him, and an iron chain with which men possessed by a *bhut* or evil spirit are beaten till the evil spirit is driven out. Gaint chose the day for entering the new house. Three goats were sacrificed, two to Gaint himself and one to Ghorī. The family god goes wherever the family goes. Thus Gaint was brought by Rirku's father from Seoraj. Often four goats are sacrificed on entering a new house. Besides those given to the village god and the household god, one is offered to Narsing Bir and one to the *jogni*, that is to say, the nymph or fairy who is the companion of the household god. She has no *pindi* and is only known to exist because she appears in dreams or because the god speaks of her. However this time Gaint's companion did not get a goat.

Gaint was also consulted when the foundation of the house was laid and when the first slate was laid on the roof. The workmen had to put off making the roof for several days owing to the unfavourable answers of Gaint. On both occasions he received a goat. The village god, too, is consulted, and if the answers agree all is well. If not, some suspicion falls on the claims of the *gur* to be an interpreter of the god, and things have to be postponed till a satisfactory agreement is obtained. Formerly the household god used generally to speak through the mouth of Rirku. But the mouthpiece of a god must be *chokha*, pure, beyond the ordinary purity of members of his caste. Either because Rirku learnt the Roman alphabet, or because of some other impurity accidentally incurred, the god seldom speaks through him now. When it is desired to consult Gaint, three objects are selected, such as for example, a small stone, a flower, and a blade of grass. These are rolled up in three balls of cow-dung and the balls are covered with ashes so as to be indistinguishable from one another. Then the inquirer fixes in his own mind on one object to stand for yes, a second for no, and the third for no

answer at all. Then a small child is asked to pick up one of the balls. This is opened and the answer obtained. The process is repeated several times to exclude all possibility of accident. If the same answer is given again and again, the will of the god is clearly known.

Gaint, like other iron gods, has no *rath* or *mukh*, and under ordinary circumstances does not leave the house, so that he is only seen by members of the family. He is a jealous god as far as his own worshippers are concerned. In 1897, Labhu the brother of Rirku, went with me to a place in the jungle called Falain, two marches distant from Sultanpur. On our way there, he worshipped at a temple of Kali. The next day he was seized with violent colic pains and no medicines I had with me were of any use. Presently Labhu began to *ubharna* and it appeared that his god Gaint was angry with him for worshipping Kali. He decided to return home and offer a goat to Gaint and set out the following morning. From the very moment he started on his homeward journey he felt much better.

In such cases *ubharna* comes on spontaneously, but at other times it is induced artificially. I saw this in 1901 on Tirpoin, one of the western hills bounding the valley of the Beas. On some burning coals, the root of a plant called *dhup* or *gugal* is placed. It gives out fumes smelling like incense. Round this, three or four *gurs* sit on the ground rocking themselves backwards and forwards. After a time, the condition called *ubharna* comes on, and then people ask the *gur*, or rather the god who speaks through him, questions concerning the coming harvest, the health of men and cattle, &c. The *gur* when he has returned to his original state does not know what he has said, and, I am told, that if he himself wished to ask anything of the god, he could only do it by means of a friend who would question him when he was inspired and repeat the answer to him when he was in his natural condition. I have never seen a *gur* run knives into himself, like the priests of Baal, but I hear that this is not uncommon. *Ubharna* is considered the clearest evidence of divine power. "Except for *ubharna*," Rirku said to me "I should not believe in the gods." "But the gods give rain." "Who knows whether

rain comes from the gods or comes of itself? Only *ubharna* is certain." And another Kulu friend said, "Every god arises through *ubharna*."

When a sacrifice is offered, it is the custom to lead the goat before the god, to see whether he accepts it. If the goat shivers it is accepted, and its head is immediately cut off with a sword. But if it remains still, it is rejected and is taken away for the time. It need hardly be said that the flesh of the animal is eaten by human beings and that the god's portion is only the smell. There are gods such as Jamlu on Tirpoin who require the goat to be killed in Musalman fashion, by cutting the throat. Some say that the god Jamlu is himself a Musalman, although his wife is a Hindu, and that he cares nothing for Hindu rules about eating and drinking. But others deny this, and say that Jamlu is a Hindu in everything except the mode of sacrifice he prefers. There is no doubt in the case of another god, not known indeed in Kulu, but much worshipped in Allahabad and the surrounding districts. This is Ghazi Mian, who is an historical character and came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni. He was first made by the Musalmans a *shahid* and *pir*, martyr and saint, because he had died fighting the Hindus and then made by the Hindus themselves a god. In his case, the goat must not merely be killed in Musalman fashion, but must be killed by a Musalman butcher, whose services are engaged whenever a sacrifice is offered.

We return to the gods worshipped in Kulu. Between the *dāk* bungalow and the temple of Ghorī is the *rath* of Raghunath, the most conspicuous object in that part of the meadow. It is not like the *rath* of any other god, but resembles somewhat a little house on wheels. These wheels are, or rather were, twenty four in number, six on each of four axes. The house itself, if it were on the ground, would be rather like a small garden arbour. It consists of an inner part, just big enough for a man to sit in, and an outer veranda. The whole is covered by a peaked roof. The floor is raised on poles a few feet above the level of the wheels. Raghunath, who is identified with Rām, is the greatest of all the gods. His home is not in the *rath* but in

the raja's palace. He has no *pindi* but a *murat* or image. It is about six inches long, made of gold in the shape of a man, and this is the way in which it came into Kulu. Many years ago, perhaps two hundred or more, there was a raja of Kulu who like Naaman was a leper. At that time the chief god was Puari. The raja asked help from Puari and all the other gods of Kulu, but in vain. Then one of the courtiers said: "There is a god in Ajodhya who can heal the raja's sickness." So a servant was sent disguised as a *sadhu* to the temple of Raghunath in Ajodhya. After waiting some years, he found an opportunity to steal the image and escape with it to Kulu. Then the raja was healed of his leprosy and he knew that there was no god in all the earth equal to Raghunath. The other gods were, it is true, not rejected, but they have been compelled from that time to pay tribute and homage to Raghunath, the god of gods. Puari still lives in the raja's palace, but his glory is gone. Every god thinks that to his kingdom there will be no end, but sooner or later the time comes, when he fails to give rain or to cure disease, or in some way or other to satisfy the needs of his worshippers, and then he is deserted for other gods.

Raghunath has sixteen *pujaris*, who take it in turns to serve him. The turns of service recur at intervals of four days and each turn lasts the whole day from morning to evening, so that the god has always four *pujaris* in attendance. Besides these he has servants to fetch his water and to cook his food. His attendants have to wake him early in the morning, to bring him his morning and evening meals and to put him to bed at night. When Raghunath first came to Kulu, a *pujari* came from Ajodhya with him. One of this man's family has been ever since attached to the temple as a priest.* If the old priest dies without leaving sons, a new one is brought from the same family at Ajodhya. But his duties are no longer so much those of a *pujari* as those of *guru* or spiritual guide of the raja. Raghunath has no *gur* and does not speak by the mouth of any man. Letters containing different statements, perhaps as many as ten in number, are placed before him, enclosed in envelopes so as to exclude

* The present priest is the seventh in descent.

all imposture. The one of which Raghunath approves moves apart from all the others, and is opened and read.

In the year 1896, there was a long season of dry weather and the people went to Raghunath and asked for rain. He promised to give rain if his temple were repaired. He was asked to fix a day and he promised that the rain should come in four days. I can testify to this, from personal knowledge, for I was told of the promise on the day it was made. The work of repair was immediately begun, but Raghunath was assured that if rain did not fall at the appointed time, the repairs would be stopped and the workmen sent back to their homes. However Raghunath kept his promise. He does not always shew his power so clearly. There was a quarrel between a brother and sister about some family jewels which had disappeared, and each accused the other of stealing them. After purifying themselves, both went to Raghunath and asked him to punish the real culprit within a given time. I was then leaving Kulu and so did not hear the result, but on my return next year I asked a friend. "I shall never believe in Raghunathji again" was the answer, "nothing happened to either of them." The anger of the gods may be great, but it is certainly slow.

Raghunath comes out of his temple four times in the year. Two of these occasions are festivals held throughout India; Basant Panchmi, and Dasehra, but the other two are peculiar to Kulu. On one of these the god is bathed in the Beas and on the other in the Sarbari. His wife Sita, and the lion Narsingh who is the god himself in another form, accompany him, and are bathed with him. At all these times the raja must be present. Though he has retained very little of his former political importance, the raja is as necessary as ever for religious purposes and has, in fact, become a *rex sacrorum*. It is however only for the worship of Raghunath that he is indispensable. His close connection with the god is shewn by his receiving the golden staff of Raghunath, as a symbol of authority, immediately on his accession.

On Basant Panchmi and Dasehra, Raghunath is placed in his *rath*, which is dragged by forty men or more to an assigned spot in the meadow. Close by is a small square

paved bit of ground on which at the time of the festival an altar is erected and enclosed by a tent. Here the god is carried from his *rath*. Dasehra is the most important Kulu *jacha* or festival throughout the whole year. It lasts five days. On the first, the god is taken to his allotted place. On the second and third, the other gods pay salaam to him. All the gods of Kulu, three hundred and sixty in number, come, that is to say, all the respectable gods who keep a *rath*, not inferior gods such as Gaint and Nanda Deo. A god who stays away is fined. Some of them have to come long distances, five or six days' journey. Each god has a special place provided for him and is accompanied by his *pujaris* and a brass band. Preparations for so many people have, of course, to be made some days before the *jacha* begins. After a god has paid his respects to Raghunath, which is his first duty, he takes the opportunity of calling on his friends among the other gods. As most of the gods live far apart this is the only time they can meet one another. On the fourth day, the names of all the gods present are written in the Persian character, sad to say, and not in the indigenous Tankri. Then the most important gods are taken before the raja. On the fifth day, Raghunath is again placed in the *rath* and taken down to the bank of the river Beas. There he receives as a sacrifice the *ponj bolli* or five gifts, that is to say, a buffalo, a ram, a pig, a cock and a fish. The first three remind one of the *suovetaurilia* and the coincidence can hardly be accidental. It is sometimes said that Raghunath himself hates blood and that the animals are not offered to him but to Kali. This theory is, I suspect, due to the influence of the Hinduism of the plains. A raja once tried to stop the sacrifices but a severe pestilence broke out and he himself died in consequence. The whole festival concludes as elsewhere in India by the burning of Rawan. This takes place on an island in the Beas called Lanka *tapu*, the island Ceylon. Then the *rath* is dragged back to its usual place in the meadow and Raghunath goes to his temple in the raja's palace.

While the principal object of the festival is to honour Raghunath, business and pleasure are not neglected. There is much buying and selling. Men, as well as gods,

greet their old friends from different parts of the valley. Often a circle is formed of men dancing round a god, while a small group of spectators looks on. Every one puts on his best clothes and the women wear all their jewels. In one corner of the meadow whirly-go-rounds moving in a vertical plane are erected and these are for many a great amusement. The scene has some features of resemblance with a London bank holiday, but the differences are all in favour of the Kulu people. These hill peasants have nothing of the rough, noisy manners which characterize the lower classes in England. They can enjoy themselves freely without ever passing beyond the bounds of propriety. The women make no attempt to conceal their faces. But although they are not timid and self-conscious like Indian women in the plains, their behaviour is perfectly modest. Good taste, which in other countries is the result of education, seems to come to these people by nature.

In the adjoining hill state of Mandi, Dasehra is not an important festival and only lasts a single day. The chief god Madhab Rai, who is said to be the same as Krishna, comes out of his temple, and that I am told is all that happens. There is not even, as in other parts of India, a representation of the burning of Rawan. The chief festival of Mandi is Shivratri, which is of little importance in Kulu. Then eighteen gods come to salute Madhab Rai. It seems clear that Dasehra is not an indigenous hill festival or else it would be observed in Mandi as well as in Kulu. Even in Kulu, the representation of the story of Ram and Sita, is not as in the plains, the most prominent feature of the festival. There is no abduction of Sita, no mimic combat, only the destruction of Lanka. That Raghunath came from Ajodhya is no doubt an historical fact. Probably he has taken the place of the indigenous god Puari in an old hill festival which has received some few Hindu modifications.*

On the eastern range of hills at their southern extremity, can be seen indistinctly the temple of Shivaji, locally pronounced Sibji. He is also called Bijli Baba, Father Lightning, a name which recalls Jupiter Tonans. He is the god next in rank to Raghunathji.

* Some years ago the raja of Kulu had Ram Lila performed as in the Panjab. The Pandit boy who acted Ram on that occasion afterwards went mad, and it has not been thought good since then to repeat the performance.

His *pindi*, I am told, is a *lingam* like that of Shiva elsewhere. Every three years it is struck by lightning, or rather thunderbolts, and shattered to pieces with such violence that the pieces are thrown far and wide in the surrounding field. Men are then summoned from the neighbouring villages. They bring with them a *kilta*, *ghi* and some silk cloth. After collecting the pieces and restoring them to their original place, they rub them with *ghi*, wrap them in the cloth and then cover the whole with the *kilta*. In the morning, the *pindi* is completely restored just as if nothing had happened. It is on this account the god gets his name of Bijli Baba. Sibji has many *mukhs* and one of them, distinguished by its extreme ugliness, is of supernatural origin. This one stays in the temple and is never placed on the *path* with the others. The story of its discovery is as follows. A Brahman named Bhabhi had some land in the village Ganakla on the further side of the hill, and had employed labourers to dig his field. Early in the afternoon his wife brought the men their usual meal. While they were resting under a tree she took a hoe and began to work herself. When she struck the ground, she heard a groan and a voice saying "do not hit me." On removing the earth the *mukh* of Sibji appeared. The woman hid it in her bosom, lest it should be seen by any of the labourers, and took it home. She placed it in a box of *mah*, a kind of *dal*, and locked the box. The *mah* began to overflow the box, and continued to increase in quantity so that at last the whole house was filled. On account of this miracle Sibji is called Mahdeo.†

The Brahman Bhabhi and his wife were astonished at the miracle but did not know if it was the work of a god or an evil spirit. So they said, "If you are a god let the *mah* diminish to its original amount, but if an evil spirit let it stay as it is." Then the excess of *mah* disappeared. Bhabhi and his wife put the *tika* on their foreheads and worshipped the new god. It was a few days later that the *pindi* was discovered. The Brahman noticed that his cow was giving much less milk than usual. He suspected his cowherd and beat him in spite of his denials. Then one day he secretly followed the cow and

† It need hardly be said that this is a false etymology.

cow-herd into the forest, and saw the cow enter a thick cluster of bushes and go up to a stone on which she herself poured the milk from her udders. Now the cowherd was dumb, but the god came into him, and he began to make signs. The Brahman said, "If you are really a god, give this man the power of speech." That night the cowherd asked for his dinner, speaking for the first time in his life. Then the god said that he was Sibji and that the *lingam* and the *mukh* were his. The Brahman and his wife took Sibji into their house and he blessed them. They had been childless, but now children were born to them, their cattle multiplied and their fields gave abundant harvests. At that time there was a raja of Nagar, which was then distinct from Kulu, who was afflicted by leprosy. He heard of the new god and was healed by him. In gratitude he gave Sibji a temple and lands. All this happened, it should be noted, long before Raghunath came to Kulu.

Paley argues, if I can trust recollections more than thirty years old, on *a priori* grounds that Christianity must have been attended by miracles at its origin. To me it seems possible to go further and say, that not merely Christianity, but all religions must have been at their origin attended by miracles. As may be seen from the above narrative this was the case with the worship of Sibji. Moreover not only must there be miracles at the birth of a religion but fresh miracles must be performed from time to time, or else the faith of the believers will grow cold. Gods cannot, any more than men, always maintain a reputation on the strength of their past achievements. "If the gods did not sometimes shew their power," a *gur* of Sibji said to me, "who would believe in them?" Then he told me how Sibji had shewn his power to a raja some years ago. This raja had read English at Lahore and doubted the existence of the gods. So when Sibji had left the palace to return to his temple, the raja said in his heart "If Sibji be really a god let him come back to me." By that time Sibji had reached a little village half way up the hill. Then the men who were carrying the *rath* felt an irresistible force compelling them to turn back, and indeed it seemed to them as if it were not they

that were carrying the *rath* but the *rath* that was dragging them along. So they came into the presence of the raja, and the raja knew that Sibji was in truth a god.

At Dasehra, Sibji comes with the other gods to pay his homage to Raghunathji. But at another festival called *Ra ri jach*, the king's festival, he himself is the chief god, for then Raghunath does not come. This *jacha* is the most important after Dasehra, and is attended by sixteen gods. It is held in the spring, in this year on April 28th. Sibji is taken to the raja's palace and then accompanies the raja who is borne in a palanquin to an allotted place on the meadow, at some distance from the spot where Raghunath stands during Dasehra. Sibji has several *gurs*. One of them I have known since 1903, when I pitched my tent on another part of the hill on which Sibji's temple stands. He used to supply me with milk then, and now he often greets me when he comes down into the valley. It is to him chiefly, I owe the account of the introduction of the worship of Sibji into Kulu. Altogether the attendants of Sibji are two or three hundred or more in number, so that it costs a good deal to bring him to a festival. When Sibji came to Kayasth *Kothhi*, the hill where he now is, there was a god Piruthan living in a village called Trambli lower down on the slope of the same hill. But Sibji would not tolerate his presence there, and turned him out of the *Kothhi*. Piruthan went to Piri, a village which belongs to the Maharaja Kothi, that is to say, to the western range of hills. He is now the god of the village Piri and occupies a position exactly similar to that of Ghorideo, and I am told his *pindi* is of the same shape. Piruthan, it is said, came originally from Cashmere. It may be observed with reference to all the gods mentioned, except the household god Gaint, that there is a tradition of their coming from some other country, and I believe these traditions to be founded on fact. As has already been said, the *pujari* of a god must be a Brahman. Now as far as I can make out, by inquiry into special cases, there are no real Kulu Brahmans. Every Brahman family came from some other part of India. If the *pujari* has a foreign origin, it is natural to suppose that the god has a foreign origin too. But

though the gods are foreign, the mode of worship seems to be indigenous.

It is not likely however that the old snake gods have been borrowed. I lived near the temple of Nag Deo, one of these gods, for some time in 1903, and used to drink water taken from a spring sacred to him. The temple is empty, but the god is seen to come out of it from time to time, in the form of a snake. Though a small god, he is very good in giving rain. When prayers to all other gods fail, some dirt is thrown into the spring of Nag Deo, and the god sends rain to wash away the pollution.

A very important god who seems to be indigenous is Jamlu. He is a puzzling god, and I have found it difficult to ascertain the truth about him as the statements made to me often contradict one another. My chief informants are: (1) Rirku who has lived all his life in Kulu and faithfully represents Kulu beliefs; (2) Kam Kant who belongs to a *purohit* family settled for many hundred years in Mandi.* He has not been long in Kulu, and is inclined to interpret old customs in accordance with the beliefs of modern Hinduism, but he has been at Melana the "head quarters" as he says of the worship of the god. Jamlu is more worshipped in Kulu, than any other god, not excepting Raghunathji or Sibji. He is not known, as far as I can learn, in Mandi or Kangra or the *ranjab*, but in Kulu he has as many as fifteen or sixteen distinct temples. One of these is on the further side of the Maharaja Kohthi, but the principal temple is at Melana, some twenty or thirty miles north-east of Sultanpur. The people of this neighbourhood speak a dialect of their own distinct from the Kulu, Lahouli or Spiti languages. Jamlu is worshipped in the form of a sword. This is kept in the temple and placed before the *gur* when he is under the divine influence. Small horses of silver or gold are given to the god and he is the only god to whom such offerings are made. Once a year, in the month of Phagun, about the time of the spring equinox, there is a festival in his honour. A hundred or more goats are then sacrificed, but one of these is killed unlike the others, in Musalman fashion (*halal*) and its flesh thrown away instead of eaten. At Dasehra, Jamlu does not

come to the Dhalpur meadow. He is the only really important god who has no *rath*. But he shews some deference to Raghunath. He sends his *pujari* and some servants, with his bell and *darch* (the bowl in which *dhup* is burned) as far as the further side of the river at Sultanpur. They do not cross the river, but they ring the bell and burn incense on their own side when Raghunath leaves his temple. In the *bhandar* or treasury of Jamlu at Melana besides many images of horses, there is an elephant with a rider who is said to be Akbar.

As to the nature of Jamlu different accounts are given. Rirku says he is a Mahomedan god, perhaps Akbar Badshah, while Kam Kant identifies him with a Hindu *rishi*, Yamdagni. This identification is not, as far as I can learn, known to the Kulu people, and I believe it to be merely an example of the influence of Brahmanical theory. Jamlu might be a Musalman god like Ghazi Mian, but I think there is no evidence of any Musalman warrior or saint dying at Melana. There are hardly any Moslems in the Kulu valley. Now in the time of Attila the Huns used to worship a god under the symbol of a sword, and much earlier the Scythians used to have an annual festival in which they offered sheep, horses and human beings to a sword.† The annual festival, the sword and the offerings of sheep and horses all occur in the worship of Jamlu, for no doubt the silver horses have taken the place of an original horse sacrifice.

Some fifty or sixty years ago a new god arose, not in Kulu but in the neighbouring Kangra valley. I heard of him from a servant named Dhobu, who told me that his father introduced the worship of the god. As I was interested in the birth of a new god, I wrote to inquire of a Hindu resident in Kangra. His account was: "A boy used to take cows to the jungle to graze. While doing so, he used to go and sit with a sadhu or faqir by the river side. The cattle used to go and eat up corn in a farmer's field. After a long time the farmer became so angry that he ran after the boy in the hope of catching him and beating him to death. The boy being very much afraid of the farmer ran and ran into the jungle and everywhere to escape from the farmer and save his own life but the farmer

* These *purohits* came from Bengal to Mandi in the eleventh century with the ancestor of the present raja.

† See Gibbon who quotes Ammianus Marcellinus and Herodotus.

would not leave the boy but ran and ran. At last the boy called aloud and ordered a tree to open its trunk.* The tree opened itself and the boy entered. The tree trunk shut itself again after him. Then the farmer could do no harm to the boy and returned home. After many years the boy became a god, began to speak in another man's mouth and show his godly strength. That god is worshipped by whole Kangra and is called Dewat Sidh." When I was listening to Dhobu I was under the impression that there was some truth at the bottom of the story and that the boy really existed, though of course without further inquiry it is impossible to make out what actually happened. If this be so, a human being has become a god. "All the gods were once men," Rirku said to me. He put forward this Euhemeristic theory spontaneously without any suggestion of mine. Whether it be true or not, I do not know, but that some of them were is shewn by the example of Ghazi Mian.

The worship of Kali was introduced in the year of the cholera—1892 I think—into the village Galchet north of Sultanpur. The goddess said through a boy, that if the villagers made her a *rath*, she would not let the cholera come among them. The *rath* was made and there was no case of cholera in the village. A negative fact of some interest is, that the worship of Krishna is almost unknown in Kulu. I am told that uneducated peasants have not so much as heard Krishna's name.

When inquiring into Kulu religious beliefs, it should be remembered that the inhabitants of the chief town, Sultanpur, have come from Kangra and the Panjab. There are also Lahoulis engaged in the wool trade, but so far as I know there is not a single Kulu shopkeeper. Hindustani is generally spoken in the town and not the Kulu language. The townspeople observe the usual Hindu festivals, such as Holi and Dewali for example. These are not Kulu festivals and are unknown in the distant villages. But many of the inhabitants of Dhalpur, a village near the town, have learnt to observe Holi, and have adopted the objectionable practice of squirting red

fluid over one another. It is not a pretty festival and one wishes Kulu could be preserved from these foreign influences. The Christian missionaries, the Musalmans, and even the Aryas and the Sikhs are so far removed in thought from a Kulu peasant that they can do no harm. But contact with orthodox Hindus from the Panjab does much mischief. I can only refer in passing to the deplorable fact that education in Kulu is given in Urdu, instead of in the native language.

Lest I should become too tedious, I leave now the gods of the upper world. Before describing some other supernatural beings, I will digress for a little while and speak of two Kulu festivals. The first of these, *nauli*, or the feast of the new grain, is also held in Mandi and Kangra. The Kulu people are almost all employed in farm work. But most of the grain is not produced for sale. It is meant for the use of the farmer and his family. If there is a surplus it will be sold, while a deficiency must be supplemented by buying. But in normal years the excess or deficiency is a small proportion of the whole. "It is a little wonderful" says Robinson Crusoe, "and what I believe few people have thought much upon, *viz.*, the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, procuring, curing, dressing, making, and finishing this one article of bread." The Kulu peasant knows these things well. From the time of ploughing and sowing till the baking by the women of the house, almost all the work is done by himself, his servants and his family. It is only for grinding the grain that he goes outside his farm. In Kulu watermills are used and the miller is usually paid in kind by some handfuls of flour. Labour expended in producing articles for our own use is not wearisome. The men and women laugh and sing as they reap the harvest or guide the oxen that tread out the corn. Even the children take delight in helping as soon as they are old enough. Still the farmer's life is always one of anxiety. Want of rain may parch the growing crops or hail beat them down. All the more does he rejoice when his work is brought to a successful end. The bread which is the result of his labours has for him a far greater significance than for the dweller in towns who buys it for a few pence at a

* Another Kangra friend tells me this is a mistake. It was a stone which opened. The stone is near Hamirpur and has become a place of pilgrimage.

shop. It has been obtained at the cost of much toil, of many fears and hopes, and must not be treated lightly or used wastefully. "We reverence bread very much" a *zemindar* said to me. Above all to be revered is the first grain of the new crops. This becomes the symbol, as it is the chief result, of the whole labour of the past year. The friends and relations of the family are invited to join in eating the new grain. All rejoice that they have lived to eat the bread of another year. But the dead are not forgotten. The food for a dead man is placed in a dish in the middle of the room. The son takes pure spring water in his hand and makes three circles of water round the dish. Then the food is given to children in the name of the dead man. It is only after this that the living begin to eat. The dead care very much for their share in the feast and if they are neglected will appear in dreams and complain. This household festival is called *nauli* and has no fixed date, since the corn ripens at the beginning of June in the valley, but at the end of the month or in July on the hills. In Kangra, I am told, the festival is held everywhere on the first of Baisakh.

The Kulu people are proud of their *ghrath* or watermill, and think it a hardship for the people of the plains to have to grind corn by hand. It is much smaller than an English watermill, and the wheel moves in a horizontal not a vertical plane. In old days, it is said, Parameshwar lived among men, but when they invented the *ghrath*, he was afraid and fled to heaven, thinking to himself: "Men have become so clever; before long, they will make me, too, their servant."

The second festival is, so far as I know, only observed in Kulu. It is called Dayali, a word resembling Dewali, but I suspect the resemblance is merely accidental. Sometimes however the Kulu festival is called the village Dewali to distinguish it from the town Dewali which is the usual festival held throughout India. This latter festival is not observed in Kulu except in the town Sultanpur. Dayali occurs at the same time as the Roman Saturnalia and the modern European Christmas. Every evening during the festival, which lasts a month, men walk in procession

singing obscene songs. Women stay in their houses at these times. The goddesses leave Kulu from shame, and do not return till the end of the month. There is a curious practice observed about the same time as Dayali, but not I am told really connected with it. Mummers go from house to house singing and acting as in English villages. They take with them what is called the *harn*. It is somewhat in the shape of a goat and is made by two boys with a cloth thrown over them. The antics of this animal are the chief part of the performance.

In all religions, a distinction is made between the gods of light and the gods of darkness, the powers which work for good and the powers which work for ill. The chief evil spirit in Kulu is Narsingh Bir. His name is reluctantly mentioned and he is often spoken of simply as the god. He has no temple, nor *pindi*, nor *rath*; he never sends rain, nor any good thing, but only brings calamities. Some times like the Erlking he falls in love with a fair boy or girl, and then the child fades away and dies. So it happened to a very pretty child, the little daughter of one of my friends. "The worst thing of all is death," the father said when he told me of his loss some months afterwards. When a new house is built, there is always a danger that Narsingh Bir may choose one of the workmen as his victim. A few years ago, some Sikh masons employed in Kulu, were warned of this, and advised to offer a goat to the god. They said "We do not believe in your gods; we believe in Parameshwar and our own *gurus*." It was pointed out to them, in reply, that the *gurus* might have power in the plains, but they had no power in the hills where the Kulu gods reigned. But the Sikhs would not listen. Now one night Rirku had a dream. He saw a man dressed like a raja sitting on the ground among dirty dishes and cooking vessels. Then the sweeper came to Rirku and said, "The Raja Sahib asks permission to enter the house." But Rirku answered "What kind of raja can this man be? He sits on the ground among dirty vessels instead of sitting on a chair in a clean place. I shall not let him enter the house;" and, while saying this, Rirku woke from his dream. He went to the house very early in the morning and told many people of his dream, and all feared

that some evil was signified. So indeed it proved, for at nine o'clock one of the Sikh workmen fell from the roof to the ground and was so seriously injured, that at first it was thought he would die. However after spending a fortnight in the hospital he recovered.

Narsingh Bir does not like flowers, especially red or white flowers, to be plucked in the daytime, for he often comes to smell them himself. There was a Hindustani boy, Baiju, staying in the house of some Kulu friends, who used to pick the wild flowers on his way to school. He was warned by many people, including his Kulu school-fellows, not to do so, but he paid no attention to the warnings. Before long, he fell dangerously ill. The Assistant Surgeon said the illness was typhus fever, but there is every reason to believe it was the work of Narsingh Bir. For the boy grew worse and worse, till one night it seemed as if he could not live to the morning. The doctor, after staying with him for sometime, had gone back to the hospital to send medicine. Then the boy began to mutter unintelligible words, and all the people standing round—it was in the middle of the night—said he must be possessed by the god. So Marchu, a man very skilled in *mantras*, was sent for. He took some mustard seeds in his hand, and soon confirmed the suspicion that the boy was possessed. Then he made two balls, one of ashes and one of flour, and offered them to Narsingh Bir. But this was not enough. A life must be given for a life. Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin, but an angry god may often be appeased by the substitution of an innocent victim for the real offender. So Narsingh Bir was promised a goat, and from the very time the promise was made, Baiju began to get well. Four days after the goat was sacrificed. But Marchu committed a sin, for he said, "I will offer the goat myself and take half the flesh, and by means of my *mantras*, I will compel the god to accept it whether he is willing or not". However the god refused the goat until the owner of the house came and offered it. Baiju was soon restored to complete health, but Marchu was punished for his presumptions and died a fortnight later.

As already mentioned, the sign that the goat has been accepted is its shivering

when about to be sacrificed. Last autumn (1908) Labhu's wife was possessed by the god and demanded a goat. The goat had been taken all round the boundary of the farm to the place of sacrifice, when it fell down unconscious. Although the animal was killed and given to Narsingh Bir, men feared that the omen was bad. In fact, Labhu's poor wife died not long afterwards. This March (1909) Narsingh Bir was seen by Bholu. There is a narrow path, leading from the meadow to the village of Dhalpur, used only by walkers. I have never seen any one riding along it even in the day time. But Bholu saw at midnight, ascending this path, a man in white clothes mounted on a white horse. Fortunately, he guessed at once, who the stranger was, and did not ask his name or speak to him.

Another class of supernatural beings is the *jognis*, who may be compared with fairies or the Greek nymphs. Some are the companions of the gods. Gaint, for instance, has a *jogni* living with him. Others dwell in the forests, and their favourite home is a tree growing on the edge of a precipice. About one of this kind of *jognis* I heard the following anecdote. "My grandfather was a woodcutter and used to work in a forest near the village Shim in the upper part of the Kulu valley. One day he had climbed a tree overhanging a cliff, the finest tree in the forest, intending to lop off a branch. But suddenly he was seized with blindness and it was with great difficulty that his friends were able to help him down by means of a rope. On consulting the mustard seed it was afterwards discovered that the tree was the dwelling place of a *jogni*. My grandfather remained blind for the rest of his life and no medicine was of any use to him." There was a *gur* living in the village of Shamsar in Seoraj who used to tend sheep. One day when out with his flock he fell asleep and did not wake up till it was quite dark and all the other shepherds had gone home. Then he saw two women standing before him who said: "It is too late for you to go home now, come with us, but first bandage your eyes." He did as he was told, and when he opened his eyes again he found himself in a beautiful room in a cave. In front of him was a lady seated on a golden throne who welcomed him

and gave him food in a golden dish. He slept in the cave that night and in the morning the lady told him that whenever he wanted food he need only spread out his coat and whatever he asked for would come to him. But he must never share that food with any one, and above all, he must never tell what he had seen or he would die. After that his eyes were bandaged, and he was taken back to the spot where he had fallen asleep. For some time all went well, but one day his wife surprised him eating the magic food, and insisted on taking some for herself. After this, the food never came again. But the foolish woman would not be warned and worried her husband till he revealed the secret. His death followed, as the *jogini* had foretold.

The beliefs of which we have tried to give an account may seem naive to the reader, but he would fall into a great mistake if he inferred that the inhabitants of Kulu were an unintelligent and superstitious people. On the contrary they are perfectly sensible and practical in the affairs of their daily life. As for superstition, that word is applied to those supernatural doctrines which the speaker does not himself hold. To a Kulu peasant, as I can testify from personal experience, the beliefs of the Christian missionary seem superstitious. When stories about the gods, heard at different times during sixteen years, are brought together, it may seem as if they occupied a large place in the mind of the peasant, but

this is not really the case. It may be only once in a month, or once in several months that he is influenced by his belief in the supernatural. He does not perform any weekly or daily *pūja*, as the Englishman does, or at any rate did thirty years ago. The Kulu people are, no doubt, ignorant of almost every thing outside their own country but so too is the petty shopkeeper or inferior clerk in England. There is this difference, that while the hillman has the good sense and modesty not to talk about what he does not know, the London cockney, whose conceit is as boundless as his ignorance, is ready to express an opinion as to the proper government of any part of the world. Compared with the people of the plains, the Kulu people seem to me to have less national vanity and more national self-respect. They do not shew the same curious eagerness to be praised and patted on the back by any European. "We do not want English women to teach us the shastras" a Kulu friend said to me, "let them stay at home with their husbands, and live according to the shastras themselves." When an Englishman pays respect and makes offerings to the gods, as many Englishmen in the valley do, it is taken as a matter of course, not as a matter for special gratification. The Kulu people cannot doubt the existence of gods whose power has been proved so often and their faith is neither strengthened by the belief nor weakened by the disbelief of foreigners.

HOMERSHAM COX.

THE LAST MEETING

I.

IT was during the hazy height of summer. The fiery tropical sun was just "sloping slowly to the west". On the marble pavement of a somewhat bare room in Prabhat Chandra's mansion sat Kusumkumari, his wife, thinking of the "days that are no more". Was she not happier, she thought, when her husband was but a raw recruit in the ranks of the lawyers in an out-of-the-way *mofussil* station? In those days they were far from rich. But then their wants were

limited. And the young couple had ample leisure to realise the rosy dreams of nascent love. Prabhat Chandra used often to come back home from court early because he had no engagement there. A client seldom crossed their threshold. In those days often would Prabhat Chandra caress his little wife and recall to his mind the familiar lines of Michael Dutt—

"Tho' ours the home of want, I ne'er repine:
Art thou not there, e'en thou, a priceless gem,
mine?"

But for the fallings out that tended to make love lovelier they spent a life of unalloyed joy and happiness.

At that time Prabhat Chandra's highest ambition was to rise above want. But with increase of practice his ambition grew. Fortune favoured him; and the circle, the limits of which he had once thought unattainable, soon became too small to hold his ambition. The leadership of a *mofussil* bar had no longer any charms for him, for there he had no worlds to conquer; and he migrated to the metropolis with a view to practise in the High Court.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men." And Prabhat Chandra had "taken it at the flood," for it led on to fortune. Prabhat Chandra soon became a man of position, an ornament of society, one of the recognised leaders of the bar. His daily routine was as follows: in the morning clients; then court; after that meetings, conferences, visits. In the evening he would come home tired longing for rest. But alas! he had to get up the cases for the next day and consult the law reports. Often he had to work as late as midnight. He had been fortunate in fame and friendship, and even more fortunate in money-matters. But his leisure had become exceedingly scarce.

People called Kusum the fortunate wife of a fortunate husband. She felt it was so,—but at times it pained her to think that her husband's ever-increasing circle of business was taking him farther and farther from her. That was just the reason which made her ask herself whether they were not happier when her husband had to struggle for his living in an out-of-the-way *mofussil* station. She was buried in thought when one of her children—a boy of seven—rushed into the room and said—"Ma, Lalit Babu is come."

Kusum was startled from her reverie. Lalit had come! Lalit her son-in-law—the husband of her only daughter Nirmala! His father was a rich man, very touchy, always anxious about his dignity. Proud Prabhat Chandra had often to bend his stiff neck before him. It was seldom that the patrician father allowed his son to accept the invitation of Nirmala's kith and kin. What had made Lalit come as an unbidden guest so unexpectedly? Kusum's eyes beamed with joy. But the glow vanished

suddenly "e'en as the levin flash doth fade upon the summer cloud". Kusum's countenance became pale when she came to realise the gravity of the situation. She heaved a pensive sigh, and then bade her son bring Lalit to her chamber.

II

In his younger days it had been the dream of Prabhat Chandra's life to go to England with a view to compete for the Indian Civil Service Examination or failing that to qualify himself for the bar. But chill penury, which is responsible for so many things in this world, made the realisation of that dream impossible. Though he had not been able to visit England yet he could not give up his partiality for some European habits and customs. His sons wore the European dress. They were educated in European schools in the midst of European children. And even his daughter Nirmala had been brought up in European ways of thinking—thanks to her being put in a Convent school. A firm believer in the evil effects of child marriage, Prabhat Chandra had stood firmly against the entreaties of his wife as long as he could as regards his daughter's marriage. As compromised at last Nirmala was married when she had completed her fourteenth year. This was the most fatal blunder of Prabhat Chandra's life. Unable to resist the temptation of marrying his daughter to the son of an immensely rich and well-known man he overlooked the probable effects of the education he had given her. Lalit's father's partiality for orthodox Hindu customs was perhaps as great as Prabhat Chandra's partiality towards those of Europe. But he was a known figure in society. This modern Shylock after amassing an immense fortune had sought to enter the ranks of the "aristocracy". And by judiciously spending some money on charitable institutions with which high Government officials were connected he had managed to get the title of a Rai Bahadur, and then that of a Raja. He considered himself far above the level of the common herd of his neighbours, and "made his house higher than the houses of his neighbours". He had issued orders that Prabhat Chandra should never send his daughter to any social function without his having obtained sanction previously.

It was this very order that Kusum had transgressed to-day. She had sent her daughter to a social function at the house of one of Prabhat Chandra's friends-- even without telling anything to her husband. She would return in two or three hours. And who ever imagined that in the mean time the impossible would happen--that Lalit would come? That was why she turned pale when she heard of the visit of her son-in-law.

Still Kusum was in the dark about the real situation. At the social function to which she had sent Nirmala, Lalit too had been invited. And having espied his wife in a carriage that entered the gate which led to the Zenana he had gone to his father-in-law's place only to make assurance doubly sure. Lalit did not wait long, but left Prabhat's residence very soon. He was sure Nirmala was not at home. For had she been at home he, surely, would have met her. Moreover on his way to the carriage he asked his young brother-in-law, "where is your sister"? And the artless words of the innocent child confirmed the misgivings of the doubting husband.

Lalit sulkily entered his carriage and ordered the driver to drive home. Kusum had been watching her son-in-law's movements from a window. She heard the reply of her little son. Her head began to reel and she sat down to contemplate the consequences of her thoughtless action. The traveller who has lost his way on a mountain, in a dark and stormy night, does not realise his danger more keenly when a flash of lightning reveals to him that he is standing on the brink of a steep precipice than did Kusum realise her perils on that day. She shuddered to think of the consequences of her own action.

III.

Lalit came home; and after changing his dress went to his mother and told her everything. His father, the Raja Bahadur, had an engagement with a high official that afternoon. His coachman had instruction to inform him of the return of his son, for the Raja Bahadur had expressed his intention to go in the carriage and pair after his son's return. The house to which Lalit was to have gone was not far off. But the coachman came to tell him that the

horses were tired and it would not be safe to work them on such a hot day. The Raja Bahadur was astonished at the news. And on interrogating he learnt that Lalit had been to his father-in-law's place.

Bidding the coachman harness another pair, he ordered his valet to call his son. The valet returned, and informed him that Lalit had gone to see his mother in the inner apartments of the house. The Raja Bahadur followed his son there.

"Is it so"? said the mother after hearing the whole thing from Lalit.

It was just then that the Raja Bahadur entered the room, and asked his son, "What made you go to your father-in-law's place uninvited?"

Lalit's mother acquainted her husband with the facts of the case, with some bitter comments of her own on the conduct of the parents of her son's wife.

The Raja Bahadur had been noting with great concern that his son was growing careless of the dignity of his exalted position. He was now extremely glad to know that far from being careless he had indeed grown careful about that dignity. He began to hope that his son-- should he only follow in the footsteps of his father--would be able to maintain the traditions of his exalted position and even add lustre to them. He wrote a letter to Prabhat Chandra, and then went out to pay his "humble respects" to the European official-- dreaming of the brilliant future of his only son.

IV.

Kusum was afraid of incurring the displeasure of her husband. But the danger came from another and an unexpected quarter. Returning from Court Prabhat Chandra found the Raja Bahadur's letter on his office table.

The purport of the letter was that the Raja Bahadur was surprised at the conduct of Prabhat Chandra, whom he had strictly forbidden on more than one occasion to send the Raja's daughter-in-law to any social function without the Raja's permission. The daughter of Prabhat, he emphatically maintained, had risen by the very fact of her marriage with a Raja's son far higher in society than her parents could ever dream of doing. In conclusion he express-

ed his desire to know what Prabhat Chandra had to say in justification of his unpardonable conduct. He also wished his daughter-in-law's father to state whether the latter could tell him why he would not be justified in disowning his relationship with his son's relatives by marriage.

Prabhat Chandra read the letter and felt deeply insulted. His wrath resembled that of the rhinoceros which rushes headlong to punish the immediate cause of its anger. Had he not received this insulting letter, he would perhaps have regarded his wife as the offender. But now her offence appeared to him to be nothing more than a well-meaning mistake. He put the whole blame on the Raja Bahadoor and wrote to him in answer—

"DEAR RAJA BAHADUR,

"I have received your insolent letter, by writing which you have transgressed the bounds of common decency. I do not consider myself bound in any way to offer an explanation of my conduct. On no such condition did I give my daughter in marriage. My friend to whose house I have sent my daughter is in no way inferior in position to yourself. At least no sane man would consider him to be so. You are proud of your purse and conceited of your titles. As for the money you have spent in purchasing your titles I too may spend quite as much on a nobler cause. But I consider it derogatory to my self-respect to dance attendance on and await the pleasure of any and every government official. You state that your next step would be to disclaim relationship with your untitled relatives. Let me tell you that I am proud to think that I can still afford to spurn at the so-called honours for which you have sacrificed your birthright. You threaten to cut off all connection with me! I see no reason to be sorry for that. A gentleman ought to apologise for the insolence which characterises your letter. Unless I receive an apology at an early date I shall be compelled to cut off all communication with you."

The Raja Bahadoor's anger knew no bounds when he received this reply to his letter. He vowed that he would never send for his daughter-in-law; and was sure Prabhat Chandra would have to bend his knee in supplication on behalf of his daughter.

Prabhat Chandra, on the other hand, thought that his daughter was not a burden to him, that he would never beseech the Raja Bahadoor to take her back. That would be derogatory not only to his own dignity but also to that of his beloved daughter.

Who could have dreamt that a single mistake committed unwillingly by Kusum would ever have led to such unforeseen disasters?

V.

A year rolled by. The Raja Bahadoor did not send for his daughter-in-law; and the chance of his doing so became indeed very remote. He would have asked—nay ordered his son to marry again, but he was afraid lest by doing so he would incur the displeasure of European officials, who disapproved of polygamy as a remnant of an old world barbarism.

Prabhat Chandra, too, stood firm against the entreaties and tears of his wife. He was determined not to humiliate himself and his daughter by entreating the Raja Bahadur to take back his daughter-in-law.

Kusum was very unhappy—for she always considered herself the cause of her daughter's unhappiness.

On her return from the party Nirmala became aware of what had happened. She was not aware of her father-in-law's injunction or else she would never have gone. Her first impulse was to write to her husband explaining the whole thing, and pleading her innocence. But immediately it flashed upon her that she could not and would not throw the whole blame on her loving mother with a view to get her own self absolved. Then she thought, she would gradually explain the whole thing in her letters in answer to her husband's. But those much longed for letters never came.

It was Lalit's first impulse, too, to write to his wife if she had been aware of his father's order. He was but a young man. And his love naturally led him to consider his wife innocent. "Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind". But then what would he write and how? Then he realised that even if Nirmala were innocent it was beyond his power to see her or to bring her home without the sanction of his infuriated progenitor. Then he understood his mistake

and cursed himself. Both the husband and wife were yearning for each other. Yet they were helpless. Such was the irony of fate.

Nirmala grew weak and weary—like an unopened bud withered in the heat of the summer sun. When asked what ailed her, she could speak of no definite ailment; and the doctors could find nothing wrong in the system save general weakness for which they prescribed the usual remedies. But she grew weaker and weaker. Kusum's maternal instinct detected the malady which professional medical skill could not diagnose. She told her husband, "See how Nirmala is pining away. Is not her life dearer to you than your vaunted sense of honour and your mistaken ideas of self-respect? Do go to her father-in-law, and appease him". But Prabhat Chandra shook his head sadly, "You are mistaken. What if they decline to hear me? For the sake of my daughter I would gladly undergo that degree of humiliation; but if I fail the shock would be too much for poor Nirmala. Remember what risk I run". Kusum could say nothing in reply. But her mother's heart was sad.

Prabhat Chandra made it a point to take Nirmala with him for a drive every afternoon to tell her pleasant stories to make her cheerful. But his efforts were unavailing. Nirmala grew weaker and weaker; and the smile on her pale lips resembled the faint streaks of lightning that momentarily gleams on autumn clouds that have "outwept their rain".

Another year rolled by. The doctors diagnosed the disease, and declared that it was the beginning of the end—a case of galloping phthisis.

The news fell like a thunderbolt on poor Prabhat Chandra's head.

VI.

It was on the eve of receiving the much longed for title of Maharaja, the be-all and end-all of his endeavours, that the Raja Bahadur was translated to a world where the distinctions and the honours of this frail world, let us hope, are not recognised. And in due course Lalit received letters of sympathy from those high European officials to bask in whose smile his father had considered to be the final beatitude of life.

For some time before his death, the shadow of the angel of death hovered around him, the Raja Bahadur, who past master in the art of wheedling government officials, had tried to lead his son into the mysteries of that alchemy, but with scanty success. Lalit was sad, and the paternal influence was uncongenial to him. He could realise that by his own folly, he had chosen a desert where his youthful heart had found a blooming garden. He could not forget his wife—the idol of his life. Even "stony limits cannot hold lovers".

When the Raja Bahadur died, he thought of writing a letter to his son-in-law. But then what would he write such an aeon of neglect and folly? On these thoughts he meditated to pay him a visit after the *Sradh*.*

The day after the *Sradh* Lalit received a letter from Prabhat Chandra written at the hill station to which he had gone in vain hope of prolonging the life of his daughter. The letter was brief, simple and pathetic. After briefly stating the progress of the disease, he went on to say,— "After an age I am writing simply because I understand Nirmala's last wish to see you once before her death. She has but few more days to live. I would have taken her back to the cutta. But that is no longer possible. I would not be able to bear the fatigues of the journey. I have, therefore, to request you to come here but for once—and delay. I hope, considering the circumstances, you will try to forget the past, and accede to my request. If you inform me of your coming, my man will wait for you at the railway station".

Lalit read the letter. He felt as if the sun blotted out before his eyes. It might be too late even to ask forgiveness from Nirmala? For that necessity he had been yearning all the while. He tried to picture before his mind the emaciated invalid, waiting for her husband who had been to her a source of pain and anguish, and would perhaps have thought he knew, be the cause of her death. And tears welled out of his eyes.

Next day he started for the hill

* Funeral solemnities.

hout informing anybody about his desolation.

VII.

When Lalit entered the *bungalow* occupied Prabhat Chandra the sun was setting behind the hills. The hill tops were steeped in lustrous afterglow of the dying luminary, the western horizon was streaked with accession of ever-changing hues.

On the veranda lay Nirmala reclining in easy chair—her emaciated form covered with blankets and rugs. A bright light shone in her sad eyes and “on her pallid cheek and forehead came a colour and a life” as she saw Lalit enter the precincts. Lalit came to the veranda and passed by the chair. He could never imagine that the life-like invalid lying almost buried under a heap of clothes was all that remained of his once beautiful wife. Naturally at sight he could not recognise her. And he passed into the waiting room.

Nirmala saw him pass. She felt a sudden pain in her heart, and pressed her breast with her hands. Her eyes closed.

Lalit was taken to the drawing room where Prabhat Chandra was awaiting his arrival. After a few minutes’ conversation with his son-in-law Prabhat Chandra perceived

that the wandering eyes of his son-in-law were seeking for somebody they could not find. He understood it all. He rose, and said to Lalit—“Come let us go to see Nirmala”. Lalit followed his father-in-law.

They came to the spot where Nirmala lay. She did not stir. Her hands were still crossed on her breast. Her eyes were closed. And on her pale and thin lips were the marks of anguish. He, for whom she had been waiting and yearning all these lonely years of her barren life, came to her at last, to find her beyond the reach of pleasure or pain—gone whence she would never return.

As the father and the husband of the departed girl stood by the side of her still warm corpse, the former felt his proud defiant spirit crushing his mortified heart; and the latter realised only too late that by a single mistake he had “wilfully excluded himself from her who would have been his paradise”, and felt, in the language of the Eastern poet, “even like a man who has wilfully blinded himself at night and finds in the morning no light dawning upon him”.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

THE SOCIAL CONQUEST OF THE HINDU RACE

POLITICAL dominion is never permanent unless it is based on a social conquest of the subject races. The social conquest must, in the nature of things, be the political subjugation of one race by another. Political power is acquired by means of military superiority and skill in diplomacy; it is also maintained by the same means. The social conquest is a slower process; it cannot be accomplished with the help of machine guns and disciplined armies. Even Alexander or Chengiz Khan could not effect a social conquest of other nations by the use of force alone. Force can crush the organised physical strength of a weak people. It can demolish the forts, and scatter

control over the hearts and minds of their subjects. The sword is worse than useless for the rulers when they set about the task of conquering their subjects socially. It actually mars the success of the enterprise. It must be sheathed in the scabbard: it must be put away out of sight for the moment.

The necessity of a social conquest as a means of consolidating and perpetuating the political conquest can be understood by all who know the conditions under which alone a strong nation can establish and maintain its rule over other peoples. No nation can lose its birthright of independence until it has been so demoral-

and self-respect, religious enthusiasm and the sense of individual responsibility for the social welfare. The decay of the moral calibre of a nation paves the way for foreign domination which, in turn, accelerates the process of decline by its very existence. Professor Seeley says that subjection to a foreign rule is one of the most potent causes of moral deterioration. Thus moral decrepitude is both the cause and the effect of foreign rule, just as fever attacks the man whose system has been weakened by intemperance or unhealthy living and at the same time renders him more unfit to resist disease and physical decay.

The social conquest is an essential part of the political conquest, because the latter can never be stable and enduring if the manly qualities of the subject race are not impaired. If the conquered people manage to keep alive their self-respect and dignity through centuries of foreign political supremacy, they are sure to enter into their inheritance of independence some day. Sooner or later, the unsubdued heart and mind of the sturdy race will seek its outward sign and symbol, its embodiment in the world of fact, *viz.* a national state. The great duty of a subject people consists in guarding the Promethean spark of national pride and self-respect, lest it should be extinguished by the demoralising influences that emanate from foreign rule. The natural almost inevitable effect of foreign domination is the gradual loss of the virtues which distinguish free men from slaves. The extinction of these requisites of national existence proclaims the death of the nation. The social conquest is necessary for killing the soul of the nation. National pride is the greatest asset of a fallen race. Conquerors will always teach us that we are an inferior people: their laws and their methods of administration will impress this truth on our minds. A subject people should try to resist the social conquest before they can hope to avert or remedy the evil consequences of the political conquest.

Political conquest proclaims to the whole world with beat of drum the fact that the winning race is more efficient than the race which has been defeated. Battles are generally examinations of nature's great university. The issue of international conflict is isolated engagements

but by the relative social efficiency of the rival nations. The English beat the French in the titanic struggle for empire in the 18th century, not because they possessed better ammunition or accidentally won a battle or two, but because their policy exhibited a persistent vigour and a constancy of purpose which were unknown to the French administrators. Victory in war, therefore, indicates something more than mere military pre-eminence: it is the sign and seal of racial superiority.

The conquered race is also conscious of it. What is known to the world cannot be hidden from it. It feels its heart sink: it gives up everything for lost. It loses hope, courage, self-confidence. It ceases to consider itself the equal of the ruling caste. It learns to think that there is a natural inequality of capacity between the two races. Thus, in course of time, it kills its own soul, for how can it repudiate the message of Fact thundered forth by History written in blood—how can it shut its eyes to the great truth that stares it in the face—"Thou hast fought and hast failed. Thou hast put forth thy greatest strength and hast been overcome. Thou hast tried to do thy best and that best has not availed thee." This feeling begets despair, for how can that nation expect to do better in the future? If it could not provide for the maintenance of national honour and institutions in the days of its freedom when it was master in its house, how can it hope to acquit itself more creditably in the dark days of foreign rule when it is bound in the fetters of laws, police, detectives, cantonments, prisons and convict establishments? This thought works its moral ruin.

The truth of the superiority of the conquering race is thus instinctively recognised by the subject people. They need no preachers to expound it to them. Their surroundings teach it to them. The Reality of the present bids them believe it, whatever the voice of Pride and Hope, bringing a message from the ancient history of the race, may whisper in their ears. Seeing is believing, and imagination cannot exert a greater influence on the heart and mind of the nation than its daily experience in the present.

The great problem, then, which the leaders and thinkers of a fallen race have

to solve is this: How to fight this battle against nature and fact? How to keep alive national pride and self-respect in the midst of circumstances and environments which tend to impair and undermine these virtues? How to keep up the little moral vitality which the nation possesses and to develop it to the full height which it is capable of attaining? The patient is sick unto death: there is continuous *moral bleeding*, which is infinitely more dangerous than any loss of wealth; how to stanch the wound and prevent this incessant Moral Bleeding, this decay of the Manhood of the Race? A nation that has lost its gold and diamonds may recover them: but a nation that has parted with its pride and self-respect, cannot regain its material prosperity, for it has lost its Character, its Soul, its Life. And the dead do not enjoy the fruits of the Earth and its bounty.

The social conquest is the process which increases this Moral Drain by giving the rulers opportunities of acquiring and asserting social superiority in everyday life over the conquered people. If they exercise merely political dominion, assess taxes and collect them, enact laws and execute them, they can be conquerors and legislators, tax-gatherers and constables, but they can never be *masters* of their subjects. Something more than military occupation and political sovereignty is required in order to render their position impregnable, and make them the real and undisputed rulers of the people. Dominion is acquired by the sword, but it is generally preserved and perpetuated by other means. As time goes by, the sword is superseded by more efficient weapons, which are not so terrible to behold, but which are more fatal to the national life of the subject race than the keenest Toledo blade. Force can defeat and conquer: it cannot crush. It can bind: it cannot make one bend. Political conquest binds the subject race: it does not make it bend. How to achieve the latter result is the great problem which confronts the conquering race.

Let us take an example. It is believed that the Pariahs of Southern India are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants who were conquered by the Aryans. It is also known that the number of Aryans who colonised Southern India was very small com-

pared with that of the aborigines. The Aryans were more vigorous, and more united among themselves, and possessed better weapons. They went and defeated the forces of the dark chiefs who could not plan and organise and who sometimes joined the enemies of their race through shortsighted selfishness. The Brahmans settled in the land. So far everything is plain. A nation has been conquered in battle by another nation which is numerically weaker but morally and physically stronger than it. But then how has it come to pass that the Pariah of the Deccan prostrates himself before the Brahman in the street and voluntarily stands aside as the latter approaches him? There is *now* no law requiring the Pariah to demean himself in this way. He cannot be punished by British courts of law if he refuses to compromise his self-respect by thus saluting a representative of the race which conquered his nation. The Brahman is not armed with weapons: he is generally a weak scholar, whom the Pariah could easily beat in a hand-to-hand encounter. And yet we behold the curious spectacle of hundreds of Pariahs, possessing fine physical stamina, bowing to a single Brahman in the street even in the twentieth century when there is no law requiring them to do so. The Pariahs could combine and even thrash the Brahman, who has no means of punishing them for their insolence. They can at least refuse to acknowledge his social superiority, now that they need fear no consequences. But, in spite of these favourable circumstances, these Pariahs bow to one who is himself really, though not in name, a Shudra. How does this happen? Here is a difficult psychological problem for us to solve. Sir Henry Cotton relates a story which throws floods of light on this question. He says:—

"I remember well the impression created in my own mind on my first arrival in India, when, on walking out in the evening with a Brahmin subordinate, the Hindoos whom we might meet would accost me with the respectful gesture they will accord to official rank, while they would prostrate themselves and rub their forehead in the dust before my companion. To him they rendered a genuine obeisance; to me they showed a sign of artificial respect only. The sense of official relationship was entirely swallowed up by the stronger feeling of social subordination."

(NEW INDIA. pages 141—142, 1st edition.)

Sir Henry must have felt that the Brahman and not he, was the real ruler of

the people : he was merely a constable while the Brahman swayed their hearts and minds. The position of the latter was secure : he could not be dethroned easily. Sir Henry must have envied the Brahman who was only an ill-paid employe of the British Government.

Thus we have only to ask and answer the question, How did the astute Brahmans of old secure for themselves a permanent position of predominance in the South? We must understand the Brahman's policy in those ancient times, if we desire to fathom the significance of British policy in India in the twentieth century. History repeats itself, and our own wisdom of five thousand years ago is today employed against us by another race.

I have already said that the social conquest is not accomplished by means of force. Nay, the use of force takes away from its significance altogether. A little pressure may be applied, but the process must chiefly be completed through skill and patience, self-restraint and perseverance. The conqueror who has won victory on the field of battle must unbend and in a way stoop to conquer socially. The social conquest is thus an enterprise radically different in its nature from the political subjugation. It is more difficult : it cannot be achieved in the course of a winter campaign : it is almost imperceptible to the victims of the operation. It is an opiate which is administered to the subject race : it is a slow poison which does not immediately destroy but which undermines the vitality of the nation.

The requisites for the success of the Social Conquest are :

(1) The control of almost all the social activities of the subject race by the rulers, especially of such as are essential for social welfare and therefore confer special prestige on those who guide them.

(2) A common platform on which the rulers and the ruled may meet on terms of *in-equality*.

(3) The existence of a class of persons among the subject peoples who should come forward to meet the rulers on this platform.

These three things having been once secured, the ruling race is fairly on the way to success in its enterprise. The Brahmans of old were great masters in the art of bending others to their will. They could indeed make strangers bend even when they did not

first bind them. Let us see how they set about the business.

They first controlled all the activities of the subject population. They offered knowledge to all : they made themselves *gurus*. A teacher is a necessary institution in all civilised communities. They alone knew the art of healing : no other class could learn it, so they became Vaidyas also : whenever a man fell ill, he thought of the Brahman : he praised his beneficence. Then they became priests, the ministers of religion, the trustees of the sacred lore. No marriage could be celebrated, no corpse could be burned, without the presence of the Brahman, who alone knew the sacred *mantras*. They alone studied astronomy : no one could even find out what day of the month it was without asking the Brahman. Further, they monopolised the teaching of such subsidiary branches of knowledge as poetry and rhetoric which do not minister to man's daily needs. Thus all social activities were brought under control : look where you would, you were sure to see a Brahman. You could not ignore him : you could not escape him. In all relations of life, he held the upper hand : he was here, there and everywhere. Knowledge is power, and none realised the truth of this saying better than Brahmans. They thus appropriated to themselves the functions of priest, teacher, physician, poet and philosopher. These are the only active forces in society : the majority of men are only passive recipients of influences emanating from the active and energetic portion of the community. The brain guides the movement of the body. The Brahmans became the *brain* of the new community which they founded : the body was represented by the vast hordes of aboriginal tribes, the least competent of which are the Pariahs of today. The others ranged themselves in the social system under the Brahman at various distances from him. The chiefs he placed next to himself and so forth.

Then the Brahman needed no force to rule the people. He himself had become the greatest force of all in that society—the intellect and the conscience of it. He received spontaneous homage from the children and grand-children of those who had forgotten how he had come into the land and conquered their ancestors. The memory of the

conflict died out: the fact of the Brahman's all-pervading activity and benevolence was patent to all. The social leaders whom he had replaced were forgotten; his claim to leadership could not but be recognised by their descendants. He was so wise, so beneficent, so worthy of worship: let him rule. The sense of racial self-respect naturally grew weak and finally perished as time went by. Brahmanisation was in progress: the Brahman gave freely of his knowledge: he instructed his subjects in the doctrines of his religion. He had deprived them of national independence, but then he offered them something more valuable in return, the gift of eternal life. So the children of his enemies became his pupils, his converts, and his patients: the conqueror successfully established himself as Patron and Leader. Then the social conquest was completed. Then Hindu dominion was finally consolidated.

It is clear that the existence of the two other requisites of success must have helped the Brahman in his work. He recited *kathas*: the "native" audience listened to him. He rewarded those that came. The refractory spirits who stayed away out of national self-respect were not honoured by the rulers. He opened a dispensary: the "natives" flocked to it. Those that did not come from a feeling of national pride became "marked men". And so on. The common platform on which the two races could meet on terms of *inequality* was provided by the Brahman: it was really the field of battle for the social conquest. Rather, it was a spare, for there was no contest. He who walked into it was captured, for inequality of status was an essential condition of the intercourse carried on on that platform. The growth of a class who did not consider it derogatory to the national honour to stand on that platform was the effect of the Brahman's teaching coupled with the natural decay of manly qualities in the subject race.

Let us apply the wisdom of our forefathers to the solution of our difficulties today. They employed it for aggression, for they were strong: let us use it for self-defence, for we are weak.

How does the social conquest of the Hindus by the British people proceed? Are the three factors of success present in this case?

✓(a) The *control* of all *activities*:—Schools and Colleges for general knowledge, Medical Colleges, Law Colleges, Hospitals, Post offices, Pipes for water, etc., etc.

✓(b) A *common platform* for *social intercourse* on terms of *inequality*:—Legislative Councils, Schools and Colleges, Durbars, Courts, Municipalities, District Boards, Occasional Public Meetings, etc., etc.

✓(c) A *class of men* ready to avail themselves of *social intercourse*, on terms of *inequality*:—The landed gentry, the "English-educated" classes, etc., etc.

So the framework is complete. Let us examine how the machine works.

I. The British people have applied themselves to the task of controlling and monopolising the guidance of all activities and movements in Hindu society.

✓*Education*:—They have established Schools and Colleges at which our boys learn the arts and sciences *under* them. The national system of education which prevailed at the time of their arrival in the country has been almost destroyed. It did not suit their purpose. It was under the control of the Brahmans. It attached the greatest importance to national literature and history. It kept up the idea of national individuality. It gave the position of *guru* to a different class of persons. The British wanted that place of honour for themselves. Two kings cannot rule even in the educational world. So the Brahman went and is going: the Briton is stepping into his place.

✓*Medicine*. The teacher is there: the physician follows him. The *Ayurveda* has been undermined by a system of Medical Colleges on the foreign pattern, in which the English are necessarily the teachers and masters. The Report of the Committee of Public Instruction dated December 1831, noted with satisfaction, that European medicine was driving out the *Ayurveda*.

There is a civil surgeon in every district. He poses as the superior sort of *vaidya*. And some of us take him at his own valuation. The Indian assistant surgeons are his pupils. If they cannot find a way out of some difficulty, they must run to him. He keeps the dispensaries going. He is the great Healer of the Sick in that part of the country. Others who heal do so in his name, for they have learned the art at his

feet. Meanwhile, the Hindu *vaidya* sinks into obscurity. He is a mere piece of antiquity. The respect and influence which he used to command is slowly transferred to his great rival. Another point in the game is scored by the foreigner. Another position of honour and power is resigned by the Brahman and occupied by the Briton.

✓ *Religion*:—The domain of religion is as yet free from foreign influence. It is our last refuge. The British people have nearly captured all the bastions of the social citadel. Religion and some things connected with it have not been touched with rude fingers. *A sapping and mining process has, however, been commenced. It is twofold.*

✓ (a) The Destruction of the Hindu Religious system from the outside.

The Government grants equal toleration to all religious bodies. The Hindus are at present a non-proselytising nation. Under these circumstances, the Hindu religion must suffer. We do not convert followers of other creeds into our religious system: but Government allows Christians to baptise our children. We cannot have a fair fight under these conditions. Further, the educational system established by the British Government, serves to weaken the foundations of Hinduism. This result was foreseen and even anticipated by the founders of the British Educational system in India. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the first English Governor of Bombay, wrote in 1823:—

"In the mean time, the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them, and the only one is, to remove their prejudices and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education."

I could quote the opinions of many other high officials to prove that the Government did not consult the interests of Hindu religion in establishing its schools and colleges.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's evidence before the House of Lords in 1853 contained the following candid confession:—

"What we are doing is not to enter into an unseemly and irritating conflict with the upholders of this ancient system (Hinduism) but to give an entirely new key to the natives, opening to them a very superior knowledge. The first effect of this introduction to a new system is to destroy entirely the influence of the ancient system upon their minds. In most instances

they are never even initiated in it. It is a great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years, and that if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way we would have them go; all of our money then will be well laid out; we shall have no prejudices to contend with; we shall have supple minds to deal with; and we shall raise up a class of influential intelligent youth who will in the course of a few years become the active propagators of our system, with little or no assistance from us."

✓ (b) The control of the Hindu Religious system from within.

Recently, a number of Englishmen and Englishwomen have come forward as apostles of Hinduism, pure and undefiled. They presume to instruct us in our own holy shastras. They profess great love for our religion. Some of them may be receiving support from Government, for aught we know, for they can obtain access to our princes and hold conversation with them for hours together in private. A solitary English lady, coming nobody knows whence, could not become the adviser and confidante of great Hindu princes, if she were an object of suspicion to Government. Further, the Government is ready to do everything needful for the Central Hindu College. Thus we read that the Local Government enforced the Land Acquisition Act in order to buy up the dirty huts round the college premises though there were doubts whether the college was a public body within the meaning of the Act. I wonder if Government can confer similar favours on the Gurukula at Hardwar or the University at Nuddea. We also learn that when the foundation stone of the Kashmir Hindu College was laid, both Mrs. Besant and the Resident delivered excellent speeches. The college is under the control of the English "Friends of Hinduism". We notice another feature of the movement represented by the Central Hindu College: all the positions of trust, responsibility and social leadership are occupied by Englishmen and Englishwomen. This may be an accident, but it is certainly remarkable. Mrs. Besant is President of the Board of Trustees, a body composed of distinguished Hindu gentlemen and renowned pandits. The Executive Committee for 1906 was thus constituted:—

President—Mrs. Besant.

Vice-President—Mr. Richardson.

Secretary and Treasurer—Mr. Arundale.

There is no Hindu occupying an important office on the Executive Committee of an institution which is emphatically the *Central Hindu College*. Then there is a small *Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha*, an ordinary students' association, but even in that body we cannot miss the controlling foreign agency, for Mrs. Besant is patron and Mr. Arundale is Hon. Treasurer. Finally we note that the Principal of the C. H. C. Girls' School is Miss Arundale, the Vice-Principal is Miss Palmer, the Hon. Secretary is Miss Willson. (Report for 1905-6).

An amusing piece of information is supplied by the Report on page 17:—

"A new departure in the way of debating societies was introduced by Mr. Arundale—a Local Parliament. The forms of the House of Commons are observed ... Politics are barred."

A "Parliament" from which politics are barred, must be an interesting institution altogether.

So there you are—an Englishwoman is President of a body composed of the *elite* of Hinduism, influential landowners and learned priests of Benares. And they voluntarily pay her homage. The spontaneity of the homage on the part of the ruled race denotes the success of the social conquest. That is the phenomenon of the social conquest—Englishmen and Englishwomen honoured almost as priests by some of us! Mark the sad spectacle: ponder over its deep significance. It is the death-knell of the Hindu race. The innermost defences have been battered. Nay, there is a lower deep beneath the lowest deep. I saw Hindu girls learning from German and English mistresses at a certain girls' school which has been established through Mrs. Besant's influence. That is the final stage of the social conquest. The Zenana has been penetrated by the representatives of the ruling race in the guise of teachers and religious instructors. The voices of those dear little girls as they repeated their lessons at the feet of the German mistress fell on my ears like the wail of the dead. It appeared to me as if History were carrying the corpse of our Nation to the eternal burning-ground of oblivion and these girls were muttering the sad slow *Ram Ram* of funereal import.

There is a dearth of sound thinkers amongst the Hindus. Let us learn wisdom

from the confessions of our religious enemies, even if we are unable to think for ourselves. Mr. J. N. Farquhar, a Christian Propagandist who is of course an enemy of the Hindu religion, says in his article in the *Contemporary Review*:—

"The leader and organiser of the central organisation is not a Brahman, is not even a Hindu, but is a foreigner and a woman. How incredible, the religion of caste led by a foreigner! a woman the champion of Brahmanism! But *this fact is not merely curious: it is pregnant with meaning. It is a visible embodiment of the truth that the enemy are in the citadel.*"

The attempt of Mrs. Besant and other Europeans to control and guide Hindu religious life represents the last phase of the Social Conquest which was inaugurated with the establishment of schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries.

Of course, the English "friends of Hinduism" may be unconscious of the significance of what they are doing. They may be sincere and noble philanthropists. The idea that they are not obnoxious to Government is here advanced only as a hypothesis. But the fact remains all the same that the little success they have achieved, represents the completion of the social conquest of Hindus by Europeans. That is its effect, whatever the motives of the workers may be. Thus Englishmen, who are government officials, are trying to oust the Brahman from the positions of *adhyapak* (teacher) and *vaidya* (physician). Englishmen, who are not in the service of the Government, are occupying his place as religious leaders, *gurus* and *rishis*. When the Briton is teacher, physician and priest, either as a bishop of Indian converts to Christianity or as a real or sham champion of Hinduism, the social conquest will be complete. Then the excessive military expenditure, of which the Congress complains, will be reduced.

II. A common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality.

The feelings of national pride and self-respect having been undermined through the absence of a national state and the influence of British schools and colleges, the second requisite for the social conquest is also provided by the British people themselves.

The policy of associating the Indians in the administration puts the sons of our social and intellectual leaders *under* the

leadership of the English officer, who is their superior. When a Zemindar's son, who only pays taxes and obeys the laws in acknowledgment of the Political Conquest, goes further and applies for a post which is at the disposal of the local Magistrate or the provincial Lieutenant Governor, he voluntarily assists in the social conquest of his race. There is no law which requires him to degrade himself and his nation in the eyes of the world by offering himself as a "servant" of the Government. It is a matter of common knowledge that the district officer cannot treat a jagirdar's son who is his subaltern with the respect and consideration which he showed to his father who held an independent status.

Legislative Councils are also such platforms. A member of the English nation is necessarily the President. And among those who are gathered together under his social leadership are Marhatta Brahmans and Sikh princes, the leaders of Hindu society. Thus the Viceroy can stand forth before all India as the social leader of the social leaders of the Hindu nation.

Have we ever reflected why the Government admits us of its own accord to the Legislative Councils while Englishmen refuse admission into their clubs even to Indian Judges and Civilians? Government established Legislative Councils in 1861 on its own initiative and expanded them in 1892 with great advantage to itself. Now the Council is a social body: a club is also a social institution. Of course one cannot drink or smoke or crack jokes at the Council table. Then where lies the difference? Why should the Viceroy himself nominate Indian leaders to the Council while educated Indians cannot be admitted to English clubs under any circumstances whatever? The English rulers of India know full well that friendly intercourse with the Hindus will add to the stability of their dominion. Why should they refuse to promote such intercourse in their clubs as a means of consolidating their beloved Empire?

The secret is that clubs lead to social intercourse on terms of equality, whereas the Englishman wants friendly intercourse with Hindus on a footing of *inequality*. He does not like to be addressed with undue familiarity and would be the last person to tolerate a hail-fellow-well-met style of greeting on

the part of an Indian. The Legislative Councils, Municipalities, *Durbars* and classrooms of colleges in British India provide him with a platform on which he can assert his social superiority, his assumed Brahmanhood, over our rich and cultured men. The dismal sight of high-born Kshatriyas and Brahmans meeting together under the presidency of a European civilian, whose father may be a baker, a shepherd, a butcher, a cobbler, a shopkeeper or a parson in England, brings tears to my eyes. When our children witness the spectacle, they naturally conclude that the white man must be a sort of *rishi*, since he is seated above the Brahman. He must be the Brahman of Brahmans, as Shelley is the poet's poet. How can our children learn the elementary virtues of national self-respect and dignity when they see their elders needlessly debasing themselves before ordinary Englishmen belonging to the middle class in England?

The princes, who are "educated" at Chief's colleges, should of course salute the Principal of the institution at which they read. So it has at last come to this, that scions of ancient royal houses should acknowledge the superior social position of an ordinary English graduate from Cambridge and Oxford! There is no law to that effect, but the surroundings created for our young men by the Government lead to that result. It is the peculiar feature of the social conquest, that the element of coercion is largely absent from it. It is not altogether excluded, but it is not very much in evidence. Indeed the conquest would lose its significance if compulsion were employed to any large extent.

Sometimes we provide the British people with the opportunity of assuming the position of the Brahman over us. Some of us hold conferences under the presidency of European officials. Nay, even the august assembly which is supposed to represent the combined wisdom and patriotism of all India, is so devoid of national self-respect that it has now and then invited Europeans, who do not know Sanskrit, who despise our shastras and eat beef, to preside over its deliberations! An assembly of Hindu "patriots" in British India under the leadership of an Englishman, a member of the conquering race! Could we imagine a meet-

ing of Hindu patriots under the presidency of Shahab-ud-din Ghorī in the year 1200 A.D. or a "National Congress" of Hindus held in the year 1660 under Shaista Khan? The utter wreck of national self-respect which has followed the establishment of the British schools and colleges in India is illustrated by the following sentences which occur in a speech delivered by Babu Bepin C. Pal in 1904 at a meeting of the Congress presided over by Sir Henry Cotton:

"I am not ashamed, Ladies and Gentlemen, though I am ashamed in other connections to go down on bended knees to any authority—I am not ashamed, despite my sturdy and sensitive patriotism, to go down on bended knees before one whom we have anointed as our leader and as the master of this congress."

Of course, Mr. Pal had not then been converted to the New Gospel of True Patriotism. The spectacle of an assembly of learned Hindus, paying homage in this servile and barbarous fashion to one who was the sign and symbol of the political conquest of their ancient nation and its extinction as a member of the comity of nations, must have struck an intelligent foreigner, say a Frenchman or a German, as inexplicably absurd and ludicrous. I too could have laughed at it, were it not so tragic in its deep significance. It showed not only that we were not patriotic in our actions but that we did not even understand the meaning of the words 'patriotism' and 'self-respect'—which is a much more serious affair altogether. Thus does "educated" India become the laughing-stock of the world! Thus does the social conquest proceed from point to point, like an all-devouring fire consuming the last remnants of national pride and patriotic feeling. The exigencies of the social conquest direct the Englishman to meet the Hindu as a teacher in the class-room, as a physician in the hospital, as a magistrate in the court, as an official superior in the office, as a President and Ruler in the Municipality, the District Board, the Legislative Council and the Durbar, but *never* as a friend in the club or the tavern. He wishes to play the role of a patron, a guide, a benefactor or a master in social intercourse with the Hindus. He requires a platform for intercourse on terms of inequality in order to carry on the work of social conquest, and he creates that platform. He finds a way or makes it,

III. In a healthy and living nation, no class of persons could be found to initiate the work of the social conquest. It is one thing to pay taxes and keep quiet: it is quite a different thing to come forward as an aspirant for the "honour" of sitting on a Municipal Committee or a Legislative Council. The existence of candidates for the humiliating positions of Deputy-Commissioner, of Judge of a High Court of British India, and of Member of the Legislative Council indicates how far the social conquest has already proceeded, how near to acquiring the place of the Brahman the pushing Briton has come. How can an orthodox Hindu who refuses even to drink a glass of water in the presence of a non-Hindu consider it an "honour" to sit as a social inferior in an assembly presided over by a Christian, a beef-eater and a foreigner? There is no law which compels us to submit to such disgrace. Whether we are Moderates or Extremists, we shall be quite within our rights if we refuse to assist in the social conquest of our politically helpless nation. We cannot protest against our political degradation in any effective form without being considered disloyal: but we can stop the further progress of the social conquest without any risk to our life or property. The "educated" Indians are a class of persons

* * *
thoroughly denationalised and demoralised, the majority of them are engaged in the hateful task of undermining the foundations of their nationality for filthy lucre. As pupils of English professors, as pleaders and barristers in courts, as subordinate officials in Government service, as civilians and members of Senates, Syndicates and Legislative Councils and as organisers of movements which do not shrink from acknowledging the leadership of Englishmen, they are continually dragging the Hindu nation to a lower level in the scale of humanity. They are sapping the virtues which are the source of all national life—pride, self-respect and a sense of national individuality. It was "educated" India that lionised Keir Hardie as if he were a *rishi* or a *sanyasi* or a Hindu hero like Harisingh Nalwa. Then there was witnessed a sight which proved that we were fast approaching the mental and moral level of the negro—hundreds of high-caste Brahmans and well-to-do Hindu leaders giving parties in "honour" of a mere

Englishman, who was the leader of a body of shoemakers, blacksmiths, and coolies in England. They thus put themselves below the cobblers and coolies of England in social position. The English officials in India must have rejoiced to watch the success of their policy of social conquest.

After the social conquest, serfdom and perpetual bondage. Those who assist in the process reduce themselves to the position of Pariahs. The military and political leadership of the nation has already passed from the Kshatriya to the Briton: will he

also succeed to the social leadership which has been the privilege of the Brahman and the *rishi*? If the social conquest is completed, there is no hope for our nation. The evil effects of the process which has only begun are already visible. These must be counteracted in order to prepare the way for, political regeneration. On this occasion, I do not propose to discuss the methods of resisting this social conquest. I only ask Hindu India the great question, "Shall the Briton be your Brahman?"

HAR DAYAL.

FORWARD OR BACKWARD?

OF late English statesmen both in India and in England have been betraying symptoms of impatience, which is not consistent with sound statesmanship. They have succumbed to the angry passions of the hour—deluded, on the one hand, by the utterances of the bureaucracy alarmed at the prospect of change and, on the other, by the clamour of a section of their countrymen whose vested interests the changed circumstances in India tend to injure. And they are viewing the trend of events through a somewhat distorting haze.

The question of the conversion of the strong, stolid, practical, invincible Britisher into an emotional, hysterical, excitable and panic-stricken race need not trouble us. What we are concerned with is the attitude of the Englishman towards present-day India struggling to ameliorate her condition.

It was, we believe, the *Times* which—after describing in detail imaginary methods of spreading sedition in India—first brandished the sword, and advanced the effete and foolish opinion that England had conquered India by the sword and would keep it by the sword. The *Times*, when it made this ridiculous assertion, was evidently ignorant of the real history of the conquest of India and oblivious of the truth that you cannot conquer the heart of a people by fire and steel, and—as an Englishman said more than half a century back:—

"Fleshly arms, and the instruments of war, are but a

fragile tenure, and 'soon to nothing brought,' when opposed to the interests, and the will of an enlightened people."*

The English in India are not numerically stronger than the people of the country, and their position in India must depend not on their military strength, but on the willingness of the people themselves to maintain them in that position of lofty eminence. This has been admitted by all sensible Englishmen who have studied the country and its problems.

"The huge mammal, India's symbol, is a docile beast, and may be ridden by a child. He is sensible, temperate, and easily attached. But 'when he is angered in earnest, his vast bulk alone makes him dangerous, and puts it beyond the strength of the strongest to guide him or control.'†

After the *Times* came the Hon. Mr. Baker. During the discussion on the Bill for the prevention of seditious meetings in the Council of the Governor General of India, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose called it a "Bill for the Prevention of Seditious Meetings and the Promotion of Secret Sedition." The Indian members of the Council were of opinion that the measure would drive discontent underground and thereby enhance the chance of volcanic eruptions, in the future. The then Finance Member referred to these apprehensions, and openly said, "I am not in the least afraid of driving sedition under-

* Rickards—*India*.

† Blunts—Ideas about *India*.

ground." This was certainly a bold assertion and not exactly statesmanlike.

But what one could excuse in the Hon. Mr. Baker, the Finance Member—one cannot neglect in Sir Edward Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor of the most advanced province. Yet in spite of the fact that the London Police—an abler and a more scrupulous body than the Police in India—decline to accept the assertion made by stray individuals that the recent murders in London were a part of a huge conspiracy to murder Englishmen without discrimination between the innocent and the guilty, Sir Edward has threatened to punish Bengal for the action of Madan Lal Dhingra. He has threatened to bring a solution which "will not be peaceful" nor "painless," "and there will be little room at that time for a nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty." Such a method is nothing if not in direct contravention of the first principles and best traditions of British justice which glories in taking especial care to see that the innocent do not suffer for the guilty. Moreover, what does this threat signify? As for the millions—patient and law-abiding—they do not deserve it. As for stray fanatics like Dhingra who kill innocent Englishmen and are hanged, they are not afraid of any punishment.

Then there are the deportations in which some Indians—renowned more for their religiousness and scrupulous honesty than for their political views—have been condemned unheard. They have been denied the right of an open trial. And though we have been told that the evidence against them was carefully considered by responsible officers, that evidence must have been—in the first instance—secured by the police, so much discredited in the law courts of Bengal, Burma, Madras, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. And unless and until evidence which can bear scrutiny is adduced the people cannot be blamed if they hesitate to be convinced. Then again the condition of the confinement is not, in the case of all of them, comfortable. Such, at least, has been the assertion of Srijut Sukumar Mittra who had an interview with his father Srijut Krishna Kumar Mittra at Agra, and saw with his own eyes the arrangements that the Government had made for the deportee—a gentleman of position and prominence, And

—what is more—the publication of the letter Babu Sukumar had addressed to the Government on the subject, in the papers, seems to have infuriated the responsible authorities so much that they have threatened to deprive the deportees of the doubtful privilege of communicating with their relatives by means of letters—doubtful as every letter is examined by officers before despatch. The publication of such letters is likely to provoke inconvenient and embarrassing questions in the British Parliament, and reveal the real nature of the treatment that these deportees are receiving; but the manner and method of precluding the possibility of their publication are hardly commendable. It seems English administrators have to be reminded what every English school-boy knows:—

"It is excellent

To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant."

But if the conduct of Anglo-India can be attributed in part to close proximity to the scene of rapid change in India, and—as John Pitt said in 1699—"in part to the heat of the country" which alters European temper—what excuse is there for those who look at Indian affairs through "loopholes of retreat? Yet they—even they—have not been able to avoid the contagion. Lord Morley has taken Mr. Mackerness's Bill about deportations in India as a vote of censure—as if even Englishmen have not the right to criticise the actions of one who has certainly "shelved in certain Indian transactions the principles of a lifetime," and, thereby, lost the little credit he had accumulated in the bank of public opinion.

The other day Lord Morley spoke at Oxford on the situation in India with that garrulity which usually characterises post-prandial orations and old age. A large portion of this farrago of fact and fiction was occupied by the deportations—a subject which has embarrassed their author so much. And he said:—

"It is said of a man who is arrested, not on a charge, not on a conviction of a Court, 'Oh, he ought not to be harshly treated.' He is not harshly treated. If he is one of these nine deported men, he is not put into contact with criminal persons. His family are looked after. He subsists under conditions which are to an Indian perfectly comfortable to his social position, and to the ordinary comforts and conveniences of his life."

India, though within the range of Lord Morley's genius, lies outside the area of

his knowledge. And it is—to quote his own words—"a masterpiece of melancholy meanness" to consider Indians members of an inferior race simply because they happen to have been conquered by a people whose ancestors were naked barbarians when their ancestors had elaborated a civilisation which has successfully withstood the corrosive wear and tear of time. Is it much that these deported gentlemen are not herded together with common criminals? The conditions under which they have to live, leave much to be desired. And this has been shown in Srijut Sukumar Mittra's letter as also in the letter written by a deportee from Rawalpindi. The usual style of living of some of these deportees was costlier and their standard of comfort higher than those of Lord Morley, who has in the eve of his life turned his back upon himself, and trampled under foot the principles he had preached all his life.

Last—but not least—comes the assertion of the Master of Elibank whom the wine of new-got power seems to have turned giddy.

Speaking at Woodford the other day he said :

"That Lord Morley would do his duty, undeterred by criticism. He would deal drastically with those who were exciting disloyalty while themselves keeping in the background. It were necessary for the safety of the Empire that these rebellious agitations and waves of feeling should not be permitted to attain maturity."

As if feeling can be muzzled, and thought killed.

These assertions and these threats, as we have already said, are not consistent with sound statesmanship. And English statesmen seem to have forgotten that statesmen should not allow sentiments to tinge the colourless light in which their understanding moves. But then—as Burke has put it—

"I have known merchants with the sentiments and abilities of great statesmen; and I have seen persons in the rank of statesmen with the conceptions and character of pedlars."

Now whither is England moving—forward or backward?

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

THE FAMINE OF 1908 IN INDIA AND THE WORK DONE BY NON-OFFICIAL AGENCIES

INTRODUCTION.

THE story of the last year's famine which may justly be ranked with famines whose terrible visitations devastated the country in the past, is at once interesting and encouraging. It is interesting because we are glad to know that the famine was most successfully combated and that the rate of famine mortality was comparatively low; it is encouraging because it was for the first time in the history of Indian Famines that a successful effort was made by the people at large to go to the rescue of their unfortunate brethren purely out of patriotic spirit, in a rather systematic and steady manner. This famine was mainly confined to the United Provinces, though Orissa and a few districts in Bengal and some districts in the Punjab suffered slightly therefrom. In the U. P. with which this paper mostly deals it was

spread over an area of 66000 square miles and affected 30 millions of people out of a total population of 48 millions. We were called upon by Lala Lajput Rai, who organized the "Arya Samaj Famine Relief Fund", to work in the District of Mirzapur, one of the most populous districts of the Province, full of rocks, hills, and jungles and having a large aboriginal element in its population of over a million. The percentage of those that were in receipt of some kind of relief or other from Government was a little over 19, i.e. 125000.

THE RECENT GOVERNMENT FAMINE POLICY.

With regard to the Famine Policy of Government, it must be admitted that Sir John Hewett's Famine Policy on the whole was thorough and liberal. He was quite prepared to face the situation with courage

and promptitude. The measures he employed were comprehensive and eminently suited to the varied requirements of all classes; and as such they were marked by a higher sense of governmental responsibility and by a much greater measure of liberality than those that characterized famine administrations in previous years. In brief, with the co-operation of the Imperial Government, Sir John showed a rare determination to grapple with this formidable enemy of mankind and to save human life as far as possible.

DIVISIONS OF THE SUBJECT.

Before proceeding to give a full and detailed idea of the little work we were enabled to do, it will not be out of place, because it is contemplated by the scope of the paper, to describe briefly (a) the Famine Policy of Government tracing it to its present development; (b) the nature and scope of the measures generally adopted by them to relieve the distress, mentioning particularly the extent of work done and the amount of money spent under each head last year; (c) the private agencies that were active in the field of relief; the measure of successful work they achieved; and (d) the attitude, which the authorities assumed towards the help, which the volunteers of these agencies gave to the famine-stricken people.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT FAMINE RELIEF POLICY.

In this connection it is useful to note the several stages through which the present thoroughly organized Famine Relief Policy has passed, and how Government have gathered experience and learnt valuable lessons from each succeeding famine during the past century and a quarter. There is unfortunately no full and trustworthy record of the famines that visited this land before 1770 A.D., and since that date up to the present moment India has had to suffer from nearly 30 famines, one-third of which fell to the lot of the United Provinces alone. In the early days of the 18th century when the East India Company had just begun to be developed from a merely "trading company into a ruling power," it was not easy to undertake a definite responsibility in the matter of famine relief, on account of the manifold difficulties

then existing; and though the Company was active during the times of distress consequent on famines, still, it may be broadly stated that the period between 1770 A.D. and 1838 A.D., was one of "increasing knowledge, experiment and expenditure". It was only in the year 1838, at the time of the Agra Famine that Government for the first time in the history of Indian Famine recognised the need and "the obligation to provide work for all who sought it" and thus to relieve the miseries of millions of helpless people almost on the verge of starvation. A liberal beginning was, however, made at the end of 1838; yet 30 years more had to pass before Government, now under the crown, was brought round to assume definite responsibility in the matter of saving the lives of the people from death. This was done by issuing a famous order to the effect that, every district officer would be held personally responsible that no deaths occurred by starvation which could have been avoided by any exertion or arrangement on his part or on that of his subordinates"; and it was in the year 1877 that the Secretary of State made a final and important declaration of the Famine Policy of the Government of India in very clear terms. He announced that "the object of saving life was undoubtedly paramount to all other considerations," though he particularly emphasized the need for economy and precaution lest the people became indolent and demoralized. Still distribution of gratuitous relief in villages and towns had not come to be regarded as the duty of Government, because, in their opinion, that formed a fit object for private charity; and it is only latterly that they have come to recognize this form of relief as an important item of their general scheme. That was the result of the labours of the three Famine Commissions of 1880, 1898 and 1901, which collected a vast mass of evidence and summarized the experiences of the famines in these years. The above outline will indicate the successive stages out of which the present Famine Policy has evolved and which have given it the character of an organized science of relief.

READINESS OF GOVERNMENT TO MEET FAMINE.

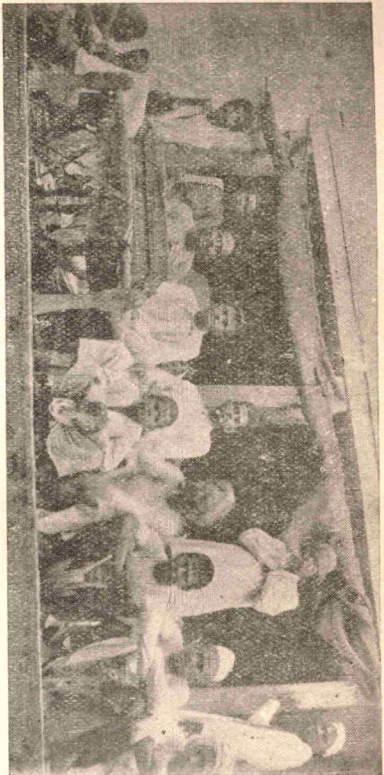
To be able to get an accurate notion of what famine means to the vast masses of

the people in the affected areas and what is done by Government nowadays to meet it at all points, a brief sketch of the several measures adopted by Government will be needful. For the guidance of their officials, to start with, Government have framed a Famine Code which is revised and brought up to date. According to the provisions of this Code, the Collector of each district is required to keep a programme of possible road raising, tanks, canals, railways and other works of real utility. Thus these district officers have to maintain a record of the local needs and requirements so as to be in possession of the knowledge of local circumstances; they also keep lists of possible staffs needed for all departments and maintain a store of minimum quantity of implements, tools and plant for starting famine operations at the first appearance of the "danger signal". In fact, they have plans and estimates ready to begin their operations at a moment's notice. The staff that is recruited is both civil and military; the services of the latter are borrowed for the famine season but their element is not considerable, the number of military officers during the last famine being 41. They first begin with "Test Works" which later on develop into enormous Relief Works which are technically called "charges" and the number of labourers on each of these varies from a few hundreds to several thousands.

GOVERNMENT MEASURES FOR DIRECT RELIEF.

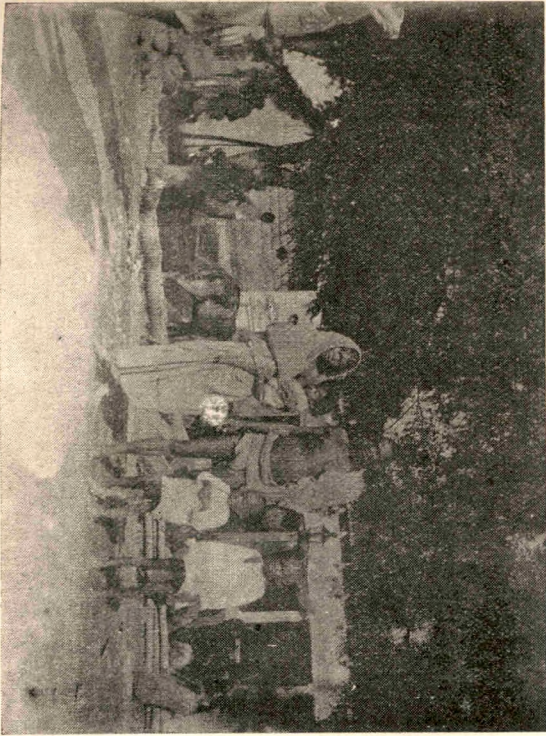
(1) These *Relief works*, which are, as a rule, started at convenient centres in badly affected areas, are the first and foremost to attract a large number of poor agriculturists and agricultural labourers—men, women and grown-up children—who are able to put in some fixed amount of unskilled work for a daily wage ranging between $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas and $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas for a man, 2 annas and $1\frac{1}{4}$ for a woman and a grown-up boy or a girl. Babies in arms are each paid half an anna. Such works are departmentally styled "Public works charges" as distinguished from "Civil charges", the difference being very slight. It is only when the hot weather commences that the P. W. D. charges are converted into civil charges directly under the control of the Collector of the district by being split

up into smaller charges, the object being to provide work for the labourers near their homes. Workers having dependants—children up to 10 years of age—are provided for in a different way, because it is children on these works that are generally believed to bring cholera. Besides these two kinds of Relief Works there is one more class which is called (2) *Aided works*. These are started by rich individuals or landed proprietors or Zemindars with the monetary assistance of Government. Next comes the (3) *Gratuitous Relief*. It is given to poor people at their homes, in towns and villages. There was a much greater need felt last year than was the case during the famine of 1896-97; and, therefore, this free Relief represents a very large proportion *i.e.* 54 per cent. of the total number relieved. The district of Mirzapur shows the largest number of people relieved in this manner, it being 67 per cent. Attached to these Relief Camps stand (4) *Kitchens* intended for poor people and sometimes in the vicinity of these Camps or at the head quarters of Districts or Tahsils. (5) *Poor Houses* are maintained for those who are unable to work, and those who are weak and diseased yet unwilling to go to Hospitals. The inmates are generally sent to Relief work or put on village Gratuitous Relief as soon as they get better. There is a fixed scale of diet and the House is under the supervision of officers specially appointed and a few local men of influence. (6) *Orphanages* are started to take charge of destitute children, the Collector being regarded as their guardian during the period of famine. Fortunately this year the number of orphans was very small, there being not more than 100 orphans in the charge of various Collectors, while their number at the close of the last Famine was 1600 who had to be provided for by Government. And even if we add to this figure the number of those orphans who were in private orphanages, the total cannot exceed 200. Such was the estimate made by Lala Lajpat Rai at the close of his last tour. There is a special Fund for their benefit called *Famine Orphans' Fund*. It was started in 1896-97 and from this Fund, even now, monthly allowances to 300 orphans out of that number are paid. Government pay for the maintenance of every famine orphan sent to a recognized orphanage Rs.



Mr. Deshpai
" Devadhar
" Kalkini
" Giridharilal

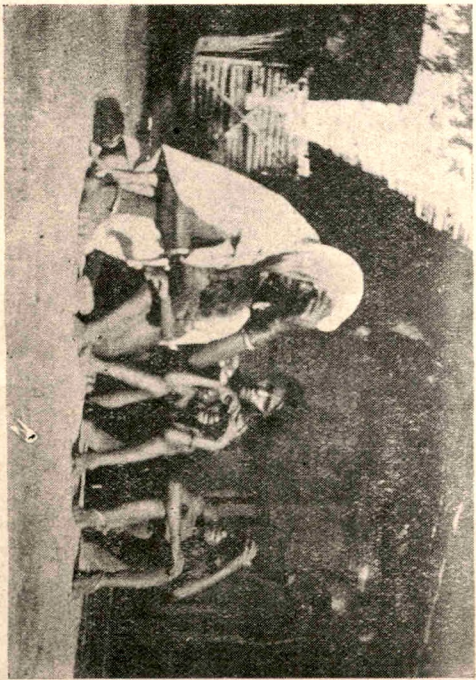
} The sitting figures, beginning from the left side of the picture.



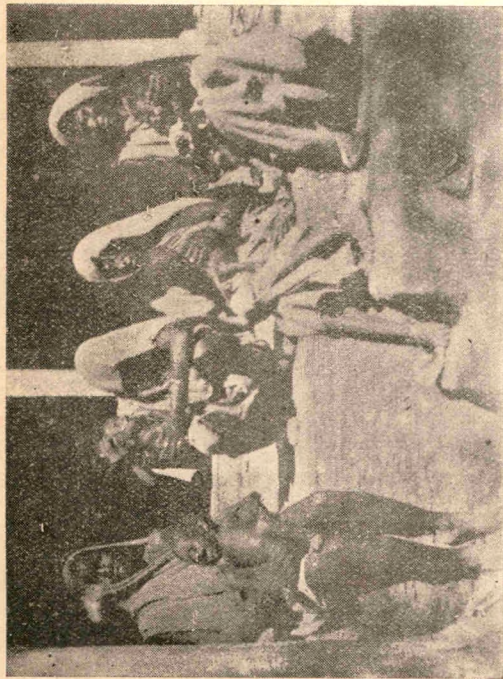
Showing one of the completely helpless families maintained—the man, his wife and 3 children ; his left hand is injured ; he is unable to work and support the



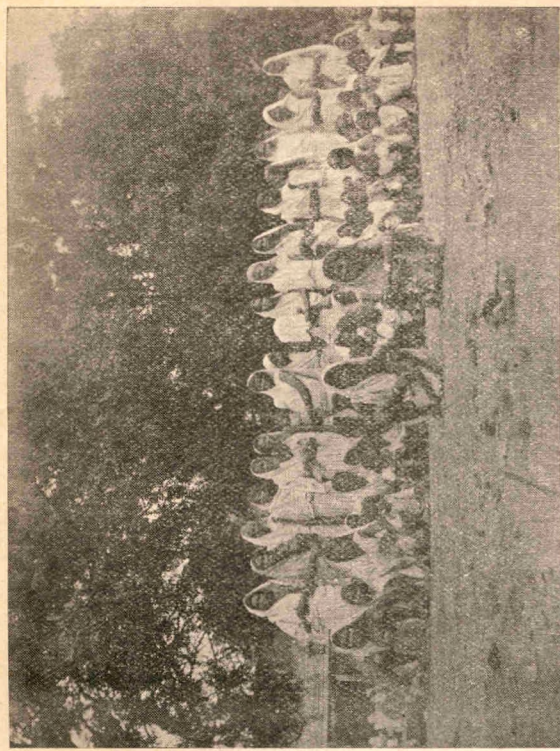
Mr. Devadhar and servants with babies almost skeletons.



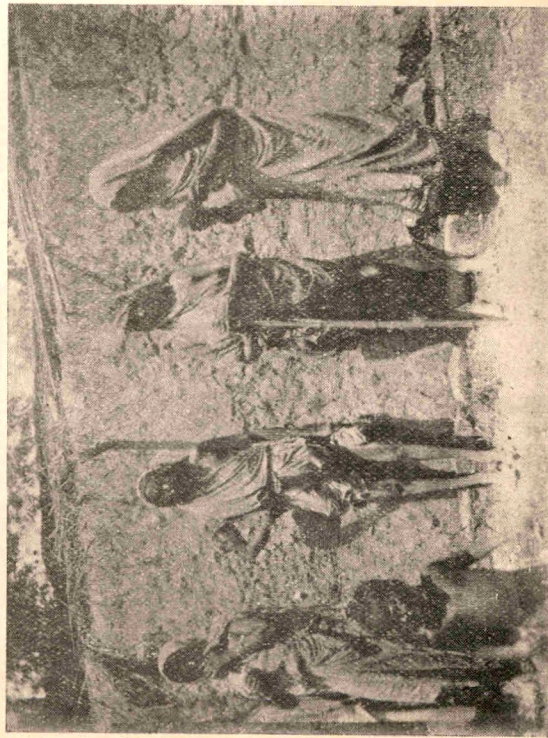
A poor Brahmin woman with four children who ran away terrified at the sight of our camera and returned after a fortnight.



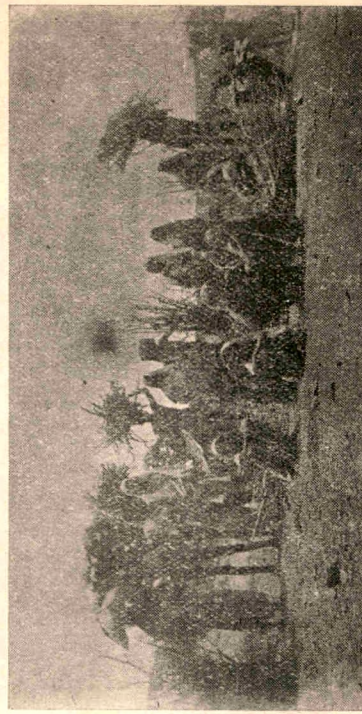
Young women deserted by their husbands, staying in the Poor-house with babies.



Group of Non-Brahmin women in the Poor-house.



Old women who have come to receive money doles at Laigunj with



Jungle group—male and female inmates who were in a position to go to the neighbouring forest for fuel and leaves needed for the daily use

2 and Rs. 2-8-0 to an ordinary orphan child similarly disposed of. (7) *Stray Charity* is given to the poor through the Police and the Mukhias who are given Rs. 5 per month for the purpose of feeding starving wanderers.

ADVANCES TO WEAVERS AND ARTISANS.

(8) In order to help people in their own home with a view to promote their work and occupation, small advances were given to the artisan class like weavers.

(9) The different Courts of Wards Estates undertook the task of giving relief to people on their estates.

FAMINE CHARITABLE RELIEF FUND.

In addition to this direct official Relief there was a regular net work of (10) *non-official charitable relief* which was started and controlled by Government to help the poor people in several other ways such as :—

- (a) Establishment of cheap grain-shops.
- (b) Distribution of blankets and clothing.
- (c) Doles of money given to poor, decrepit people, widows and pardanashin ladies.
- (d) Supply of raw materials to artisans.
- (e) Assistance to cultivators to buy cattle, seed and food stuffs.

The aggregate sum received for this purpose from various sources was Rs. 14½ lacs out of which 8 lacs were paid to the Province of Agra and 6½ lacs to the Province of Oudh. In response to the appeal made by the Lieutenant Governor subscriptions were collected and a *Famine Charitable Relief Fund Committee* was formed of which he was the President. The Provincial subscriptions came up to Rs. 5¾ lacs or nearly 6 lacs. The Central Committee of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund at Calcutta paid to this Relief Fund Rs. 9½ lacs including Rs. 1,50,000 direct from Indian Peoples' Trust Fund and the whole of this amount of above 14 lacs of rupees was spent in giving relief on the lines mentioned above.

THE TOTAL COST OF FAMINE RELIEF.

	LACS.
Direct cost :—In the Public Works Departments...	113¾
In the Civil Department.	94
TOTAL	207¾

	LACS.
Indirect cost :—Such as expenditure to service heads, loss of excise receipts, Grain compensation allowance, Remissions of revenue, Remissions of advance.	112½

TOTAL 320½

INDIRECT MEASURES OF RELIEF.

The direct measures of relief were further supplemented by other indirect measures of relief such as remissions and suspensions of land revenue and rent, and agricultural advances (under the Agricultural Loans Acts and the Land Improvements Acts). Moreover measures such as supply of fodder and the protection of cattle were taken at a considerable cost. Advances were also made to artisans such as weavers, with a view to promote their occupation and work.

Remissions and suspensions :—Rs. 1,68,10,538.

Advances for seeds, cattle, temporary wells, masonry-wells, embankments, etc. :—Rs. 2,74,49,792.

Thus in these various ways Government was relieving people for a period of little over 9 months and at a time when the extent and severity of the distress were greatest, nearly 13 lacs of people were on the Relief lists.

NEED FOR PRIVATE RELIEF.

This brief review of the various measures of Relief by Government, need not lead us to conclude that they cover up the whole field of distress and leave no necessity for any further relief. The Famine Commissions of 1880, 1898 and 1901 agree in the view that "no imaginable system of relief will completely meet all the various degrees of privation and suffering which a famine produces". This establishes a necessity of additional work on the part of philanthropic and patriotic Societies, and I am proud to record here that such Societies were alive to this real need and did come forth to do their best in the circumstances. Of such Bodies three were most prominently engaged in this work :—

- (a) Christian Missionary Societies,
- (b) Brahmo Samaj,
- (c) Arya Samaj.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Regarding the activity of the Christian Missionaries I do not think they, this time,

launched upon any vigorous programme of conversion. They were working with their usual zeal in districts like Jhansi, Banda, Hamirpur, Agra, Sultanpur, Fatehpur, and thus were instrumental, in their own way, in bringing to the door of the people a considerable amount of relief of a varied character. The following extract from a letter written to me by one of the volunteers who was working in Hamirpur District will illustrate my point:—

"While I was working in this Tahsil, I heard that the Christian Missionaries were working with great zeal and earnestness in Mahoba Tahsil and their influence reigned supreme there; they had established a grand orphanage containing nearly 275 girls and widows. Women who were unable to support their children made them over to the Christian Missionaries."

My friend, the writer of this letter, told me in a most pathetic way, when I met him last, the woeful tale of the miseries and privations of the people in that district and also in the neighbouring districts; he further described to me especially the most pitiable condition of very poor Hindus who were willing to part with their children through sheer inability to support them, if only one would come forth to receive them. Of course, the Missionaries were watchful to go to the rescue of such people. As a staunch Hindu my friend could not look with equanimity upon such a heart-rending spectacle and he began his activities in rescuing these children from falling into the hands of Christian Missionaries. He frankly admired the untiring energy and steady application to work on the part of the Missionaries which only means that our volunteers ought to be in no way inferior in these qualities. He noticed that it is mostly Hindus that fall into the hands of the Missionaries and it is, therefore, these people that need our first care and attention.

BRAHMO SAMAJ.

As regards the work done by the Brahmo Samaj, it must be admitted, that they were very prompt to begin their relief. Mr. A. C. Mazumdar, a leading Brahmo from Lahore happened to be on a long leave. He got a resolution passed at the Theistic Conference that met at Surat in December, 1907, at the time of the Congress, to the effect that the

Brahmo Samaj all over India should come forth to actively undertake the famine relief work, which the gentleman on behalf of the Samaj, intended to start. He visited Orissa and saw the condition of things there with his own eyes; and then proceeding to Calcutta straight, he moved the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj to take the initiative in the matter. With a promise of support from the Calcutta Samaj, he came down to Allahabad and began his operations in the U. P. in the month of February, 1908. He was enthusiastically assisted by bands of young Bengalee Brahmo and Hindu volunteers at Allahabad and Lucknow. He received mostly from Brahmo friends, all over the country, a sum of about Rs. 15000. He had to close his distribution of money and grain which formed the main feature of his work at Allahabad by the beginning of June. He had maintained with Lala Rajpat Rai's help a pretty big poor-house at Bahraich with about 12 inmates which was kept up till the end of August.

A second batch of three Brahmo Missionaries from Calcutta were working for a couple of months at Lalganj in the District of Mirzapur independently of Mr. Mazumdar. They did good work in a small centre and spent nearly 300 rupees; one of them had read up to the L. M. & S. examination and thus was able to serve people the better at a time when cholera was raging in an epidemic form in that locality.

A third group of Missionaries belonging to the Vivekanand Math at Bellur in Calcutta, about 8 in number, were working in the districts of Orissa on the east coast. They were assisted by a few young men who were there from Barisal and I am told Rs. 2000 was being sent from Barisal, for the work every week.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PHILANTHROPIC SIDE OF WORK IN THE ARYA SAMAJ MOVEMENT.

Now I come to the work done by Lala Rajpat Rai in connection with this famine. The Arya Samaj of the Punjab has very rightly made it a point to render as much social and philanthropic service as possible to the people on important occasions that call forth such prompt assistance also with as much help and money as they can secure from the Sanatanis, *i. e.*, the non-Ary

Hindus, who liberally help them in their educational and social undertakings. The Samaj, in this way, has established a reputation for such work and they never allow an opportunity to slip which they can turn to advantage. I remember two years ago when there was famine in Eastern Bengal, especially in Backergunj District, two Samaj preachers were sent by Lala Rajpat Rai to Barisal to take charge of orphans, if there were any, needing protection and support. In pursuance of this policy Lala Lajpat Rai in December, 1907, sent a graduate volunteer to one or two districts in the U. P. just to procure first hand knowledge of the conditions of famine and the degree of distress consequent on its visitation. On getting reports from him and from other men he made up his mind to make a tour speaking to people about the woes of our famine-stricken countrymen and collecting money for organizing a private and non-official Famine Relief.

ARYA SAMAJ FAMINE RELIEF.

This was probably the third famine in which the Samaj and Lala Lajpat Rai particularly, felt keenly interested. He organized a small band of volunteers mostly from the students of the D. A. V. College. I know how intensely these people love their College and how for the service of their countrymen they are prepared to put up with any hardships or inconveniences. They do their work very cheerfully and devotedly and that is the secret of the success and popularity of the Arya Samaj movement in the north of India. A number of such young students during their vacation came forth to distribute relief to the famine-stricken in the far off U. P. They were sent with definite instructions as to how they should do their work. Lala Lajpat Rai lectured on Famine and our duties at more than half a dozen leading towns in India—Bombay, Calcutta, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Aligarh and Lahore and in this way set the ball rolling. He made two or three tours in some of the famine-stricken districts in the U. P. He actually received from all parts of the country nearly Rs. 80,000 for his Famine Relief Fund. But he was not able to spend even about Rs. 45,000 chiefly for want of volunteer workers. The number

of volunteers that worked under the auspices of the Arya Samaj at different periods was not more than 40, including the three "Servants of India" from Poona about whose work it is intended to speak at some length hereafter. Leaving aside, therefore, for the present, the work done by them, the amount of actual work done by Lala Lajpat Rai and the Arya Samaj volunteers was considerable. They mostly worked in the United Provinces, though a portion of the Fund was applied to the relief of the distressed in 7 or 8 districts of the Punjab and a few other places outside. The U. P. which was the main field of their operations, had more than 15 centres of work in about 10 districts, opened by these volunteers for their regular and continued work. They maintained a large number of orphans in their poor-houses which they started at most of their centres. A much larger number moved through villages giving doles of money to the deserving poor. As a full report of this work is expected to be out soon it is not quite necessary to give all the figures and tables stating the number of people that were regularly helped by these friends. Besides all figures are not yet ready.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

Under the work of the Arya Samaj comes the Famine service of this Society. As servants of the country, the Servants of India Society, offered to co-operate with the Arya Samaj in their work of organizing the Famine Relief. It came forth, particularly in the spirit of being trained in the methods of that work, which it could not have done better than by putting itself under the guidance of an expert and experienced body of men, like the Arya Samaj, in such matters of relief; and I know the workers of the Society who got an opportunity to be trained during the last famine feel grateful to Lala Lajpat Rai specially for having given the same to them. One of the purposes of the paper is to fully describe the work done by the "Servants of India". An attempt is made to do so at greater length. Further, this detailed story of an important portion of the Arya Samaj Relief measures—because nearly one-fourth of the total amount spent on this relief was distributed through them—will serve to give readers some conception

as to the preparation for the work, the nature of the work and the difficulties that stand in the way of such work. It is, therefore, with this twofold object that the following narration of their work is given such a prominent place.

"SERVANTS OF INDIA" AS FAMINE VOLUNTEERS.

I now turn to the subject of the work done by the "Servants of India" in the last famine. When Lala Lajpat Rai opened his famine relief, a suggestion was made to him that some of our members would like to go and do some famine work, provided they were given opportunities. He accepted the offer and we were allowed to go—three of us.

PREPARATION.

We had no knowledge of famine or any idea as to how to grapple with it. Lala Lajpat Rai gave us a few hints specifying that his relief was principally intended for the destitute children, orphans and widows. He expressed a desire also that after organizing work in the District of Mirzapur, we might undertake the organization and the supervision of the operation in the District of Bundelkhand. As we had no experience of this work, we wanted to gather some useful information about it. Two of us, therefore, went ahead of me with a view to see some Relief works on their way to Mirzapur and to learn, as far as possible, by personal observations and inquiries. This was not all. It was necessary, before beginning the work, to make a few points clear by having a talk with Lala Lajpat Rai, as regards the appointment of volunteers or paid servants, the collection of subscriptions or securing of help, the amount of money available for our work and the relations to be maintained by our workers towards the Government authorities. To settle these points I went, as desired by Lalaji, to Lahore. On my way from Lahore to Mirzapur, I met a few people who had some experience of famine work. At Lucknow and Allahabad we saw the leading famine workers and secured their valuable advice and got the benefit of their experience. Thus arming ourselves with as much knowledge of famine as was possible, under the circumstances, we went to Mirzapur. We were sorry to find that very few people

in the city had any correct idea of famine in the district, when, as a matter of fact, that was, according to my calculations, the hardest hit district in the whole province.

CITIES ARE NO INDEX OF FAMINE.

Another thing that struck us was comparative absence of famine conditions and starvation in the cities. We could not see any traces worth mentioning of famine in cities like Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad and Mirzapur. The reason is not far to seek. There is a great demand for labour and all those who are able to work readily find means of livelihood at these places. We, therefore, made up our minds, acting on the advice of an earnest Arya Samaj merchant by name Lala Purushottamdas, whose assistance to us, throughout our work, proved of a very valuable character, to begin our campaign, far away from the city, in the interior of the district. First, we selected a place which was 33 miles from Mirzapur, called Drumondganj, lying almost on the border of the Rewa State in which, it appeared, the famine distress was of the acutest type.

OUR FIRST LESSON.

On our way we visited one of the Government Relief Works at Lalganj, and acquainted ourselves with the details thereof. Further we learnt a few things about famine work from the Brahmo Missionaries who were helping the people there. Here we learnt our first lesson in famine relief; we intended to distribute some relief; and when we had desired to give a little money to a few women only who were found standing on the roadside without work and whom we called to our residence, we saw a vast crowd of people—men, women and children gathering to our door. That made it clear to us that it would be a mistake to give our relief without making a systematic selection.

PREVALENCE OF CHOLERA.

On reaching our destination we were told that Cholera was raging there, with the mortality of about 5 or 6 everyday in a small population of nearly 2000 in that little village. There was a fairly big bazar in the locality, which naturally attracted large crowds of people. There were not many relief works started in the neighbour-

hood of this place. Moreover, that was the centre of a secluded part of a country dotted over by small hamlets, at little distances from each other, where the people seemed to need the relief most. During our journey, we discussed amongst ourselves a rough plan and its details. We occupied a Dharmashala as our residence.

THE FIRST WOEFUL SIGHT.

Next morning the first sight that met our eyes was a poor woman—whom no one would ordinarily take to be a Brahmin—sitting at one end of the Dharmashala and by her side lay covered up in a bundle of rags, her only boy of about seven—all bones—dying of Cholera. The child had had no milk or food for two days and the woman too had had nothing to eat even if she could have found heart to eat. We gave her immediately all that she needed and made a beginning of our work with her. I am sorry to say the poor woman lost the child in two days. We then began our distribution and found the experience of Lalganj repeated again. The news of our arrival there spread like wild fire over the whole neighbourhood. All sorts of people began to flock to us. We naturally were unable to select the kind of people we wanted to help first, *viz.*, such as were not already in receipt of any relief from other sources.

PROCESS OF SELF-TRAINING.

We, therefore, had to tour through the village around, and after making a personal inspection and inquiry had to choose the candidates for our small doles. We fixed, at the start, four forms of relief judging from the needs that seemed to us most urgent at that time, and in that place,—(1) money doles, (2) supplying babies with milk and sago, (3) feeding children with bread once a day, (4) distribution of clothing. Although we settled a low scale of distribution in the beginning, we increased it considerably as soon as we were sure of getting more money for our work. We first thought of working for two months—June and July—and at three different centres, in three different directions. The first four days served more or less as a period of training during which we tutored ourselves. The villages through which we toured were very badly affected by Cholera, a pestilence described as “the

twin-sister of famine”. We inquired at each place about orphans and were surprised to find that there were not many to be seen. We found, however, many straggling children whose parents had left them; but either their distant guardians were not willing to send them to stay with us or the children themselves did not like the idea of separation from their dear little home although it was no better than a dirty, desolate hovel.

WHAT FAMINE MEANS.

It was in these villages that we learnt to realize for the first time the true meaning of famine; what physical hardships it entailed; what natural ties it cut asunder; what affections it smothered; what demoralization it created; what desolation it spread; and what diseases it produced. It is hard to describe the scenes that became almost a common sight to our unfortunate eyes. One would frequently come across children or babies almost skeletons, young women most scantily clothed in dirty rags, old and decrepit men almost naked; people who passed days, some two, some three, without food. There was hardly a pipal tree under the expanse of which were not to be seen men, women and children—especially women and children—picking up its small fruit and eating it as though it was fried gram. The mango-tree was the main stay of the starving and the hungry. Raw mangoes were eaten by the young in the place of food and the old people boiled it and, preparing a kind of soup with its pulp, drank it. That was their meal for the day. The Mahua fruit was also largely used and I have heard of people actually living on roots, in jungles, of a particular plant. There were a thousand and one ways in which the miserable people satisfied their hunger and prolonged their death. All possible phases of separation were commonly observed, the commonest being the desertion of a woman by her husband and more particularly when she had a number of children. We had a Kol woman with five children left by her husband. We knew several mothers who left their children; children forsaking their parents and wandering in search of food by themselves. Many women, however, were not seen who had left their husbands, though instances of the

opposite character, that is men leaving their wives, were very common; and their name was legion. It is difficult to detail the phases of the demoralization that was almost complete though one would occasionally come across cases of deep love, abiding affection, great moral rectitude, genuine spirit of self-reliance, true abhorrence of begging and a determination never to lose one's dignity at any cost. This was the silver lining to the darkest clouds of misery and demoralization. But these instances were few and far between. We came across boys who would say that their mother was dead when, as a matter of fact, she was standing by their side. Women would invariably tell the story of their husband having deserted them when the man was seen sitting in the male group along with his friends. Young girls would deny their mothers and old women would not frankly confess their true relationship; a woman would not grudge to come to you with another's baby knowing full well you were partial to the babies. Men would tell all manner of false stories and feign injury to parts of the body which were quite sound. It is needless to multiply these examples. One thing, however, must be remembered that these times are exceptional and therefore such conduct of the people ought not to be construed as a permanent element of their character. The stress of hunger is so strong and powerful that we would only say, "O God! save us from the situation, and put us not on our trial."

VILLAGE TOURS.

In a day we could not visit more than six to eight villages in those days of beastly heat. Printed Tickets used to be given to people with necessary particulars noted thereon. All money was paid at one place, —that is, our residence, — except in very few cases in which the recipients who were quite unable to walk were given their doles in their villages. Our village tours equipped us with the necessary knowledge of the needs and requirements of the people.

CENTRES ORGANIZED.

In this way the first centre was organized and was put in charge of my colleague Mr. N. Ramchandra Rao, B.A., member, Servants

of India Society, Poona. The other two (Mr. L. V. Kaikini, L. Ag., member, Servants of India Society and myself) started, full of plans in our heads to begin work at another centre. It is always difficult in the villages in the U. P. which are very small, to secure a decent clean place for a lodging and a kitchen. With the assistance of a small local Zemindar, a place was secured in a hamlet called Dighuli and this was put in charge of my colleague Mr. Kaikini.

AN UNPLEASANT INCIDENT.

Then came an unpleasant incident between Mr. Kaikini and a Military Officer, who was one of the five famine supervisors in that District. This led me to call on the Collector, who was very courteous and sympathetic in his attitude towards our work. We settled our plans and he offered to help us in our work. I brought to his notice the incident and he expressed his regret for the unpleasantness and desired me repeatedly to forget all about it, assuring me that nothing like that would happen again. I then proceeded to a village in the interior about 25 miles from Mirzapur for starting a third centre. Here an ordinary circle Officer wanted to interrupt my work by frightening away, as I was informed, my host and threatening him with troubles after I had left the place; but all that was ended when a card bearing my name was handed over to him for proceeding against me. It requires an exceptionally strong yet patient man to get on in these places with such people. After having fully organized the work in that place and having set the machine in motion with a poor-house and a kitchen I left it in charge of a servant to be relieved by a graduate volunteer who took charge of the work but had to return home through illness. I then proceeded to Chunar to ascertain if there was any need of a relief centre being opened by us.

A TOUR IN OUDH DISTRICTS.

I made a tour in the northernmost districts of Oudh, such as Gonda and Bahraich which were equally severely affected, with a view to study the methods of other friends' work. Here I got to see three or four nice Poor-Houses, two at Bahraich and two at Gonda. The Government Poor-House at Bahraich was an exceptionally well-managed institution; while the other managed by Pandit

Rulla Ram in a village in Gonda taught me the spirit of work. On my return, I made a beginning of a Poor-house at Drumundganj and had one opened at each centre.

DIFFICULTIES THAT A VOLUNTEER HAS TO OVERCOME.

In the meantime Mr. Kaikini was sent to open a new centre in a far off part of the district which was full of jungles, at a time when means of communication were very difficult on account of very heavy rains. On his way he had to cross three or four rivers or streams and while touring through the villages had to walk through fields and mud, knee-deep. There was no one to take active interest in his work. No big and well-thatched house could be secured in which he could get a room large enough for the children in his charge to sleep, when the rains were pouring. With great difficulty, supplies of grain could be had, the cost of one sheer of rice in that place averaging between 4 & 4½ annas. The same was the case with *ata*. These details are given with a view to indicate the nature of the difficulties with which the famine-worker ordinarily meets. You have again to so conduct yourself with the people of the village that when the Police go about making inquiries whether you carry on any political work or preach any Arya Samajic or religious propaganda, or whether you trouble, tease or harass them, they must all without exception say that you are an ideal man; otherwise, you are done for. They would without your knowledge also inquire, of the inmates of your poor-house, especially young women, if they were induced away from their homes and kept per force in the poor house. You have to pass these Police tests and the people who do not very well understand the spirit of your work—because some of your ways of work are new to them—must stand security for you.

PROGRESS OF THE OPERATIONS BY THE MIDDLE OF OUR WORK.

In this way with the suspicion and vigilance of the Police on the one hand and the indifference, ignorance about our spirit of work on the part of the local people on the other, work had to be pushed on and

I am glad to say that by the close of a period of a month and a half, we were enabled to have made a fairly good start. We had in the meantime secured three more volunteers from the D. A. V. College, Lahore, and four trusted and trained servants of the Arya Samaji merchant, who worked as zealously as any volunteer did. The following is a brief summary of our work:—

- (a) We were 10 in number:—volunteers.
- (b) There were 4 centres opened, each one being in charge of two or in some cases three of these volunteers.
- (c) At each centre work was done on the following lines:—
 - (1) Distribution of weekly or fortnightly money doles.
 - (2) Feeding of young children and supply of milk to babies.
 - (3) Distribution of clothing, old and new.
 - (4) Maintaining a Poor-House.
 - (5) Distribution of stray charity.

DESCRIPTION OF A POOR-HOUSE.

The idea of a Poor-House as being a very useful and necessary institution was deeply impressed upon my mind during my tour in the districts of Oudh. I, therefore, went on developing the idea which I had put into some shape at Khutari before I had started on the journey. I undertook, therefore, on my return from Oudh, to thoroughly organize a Poor-House and have one like that at each centre. I began to admit people to stay in our Poor-House and in about ten days the number went up to one hundred. There was another reason that induced me to maintain a Poor-House at each centre. I saw that in a large majority of cases, the health of children was almost shattered. I could not bear that sight. If we gave the money to the parents of the children, we were not quite sure, that they would use it for the stated purpose. It was painful to notice that the lives of so many future citizens had to be built upon such a feeble foundation of an almost a rickety health. We, therefore, decided to receive children first and, if necessary, their mother and father next. This was, of course, in addition to the large number of children in the neighbouring villages, within the radius of 2 or 3 miles, that were given nearly one full meal a day, which we had begun since the very commencement of our work. In the beginning people were

rather unwilling to send their children to the Poor-House or even stay with them there. But that prejudice or suspicion of the people lasted only for a time, because by the time we disbanded the Drumondganj Poor-House, there were more than 400 admissions, counting therein people belonging to all classes and castes. They came from long distances, sometimes 30 miles within the boundary of Rewa State, more than 50 per cent. of the inmates being from that State. There was a large number of children and Brahmin widows and women who were abandoned by their husbands. Some Brahmin women having children, came there when the enormous P. W. D. charges were split up into small civil charges. Most of them came in rags, with their babies covered in baskets and taking with them a few pots and some rags which seemed to be all the property they possessed. The difficulties of housing these people were very great. Not only had we no good houses but the few that could be secured with difficulty had to be thoroughly repaired and made fit for habitation. It was necessary to lodge these people according to groups in separate houses. If there were no rains and if more houses could have been secured, a much larger number than 250 could have been supported.

THE BASIS OF A POOR-HOUSE.

The institution of the Poor-House was built on the principle of self-help, attempts being made to get the whole thing done by the inmates of the House as far as practicable. For this purpose, therefore, there were various groups formed, each being in charge of some work for the House. As a rule each inmate was induced or made to do some work. Young boys and girls were sent to a school both morning and evening, which was started for them and put in charge of a Mohamedan who was on our relief list. Young men and women of the lower classes were either in charge of the sanitary arrangements, miscellaneous work or of bringing a sufficient quantity of fuel for the Poor-House from the jungle and leaves for making "leaf-dishes" and "leaf-cups" of which we could, on some days, make from 500 to 1000. Brahmin women were entrusted with the cooking arrangements for the majority of the inmates of the Poor-House. Only

Brahmins and a few other castes such as Konhar, Kunbi and Teli had to be given their food provisions separately. The number of such people was at one time more than 50. Food was cooked twice a day. Work in the Poor-House was in no way smooth and pleasant. People had to be trained to get up early and to be clean before going to their appointed work.

THE LITTLE SCHOOL.

Children had to be forcibly taken from their mothers to be sent to school. Young girls had to be induced to spend sometime at school. In fact for the first fortnight we had to be very strict, rigid and at times cruel. Those who could not be sent out had to be kept employed before my eyes. Young widows were taught sewing and other useful work against which they had great prejudices in the beginning; old women had to be given charge of little children whose mothers were sent to the jungle. It is really gratifying that our school children, many of whom for the first time in the life of their family handled a pencil, made such progress that they could read simple words in Hindi and count up to a hundred. Some of them, including those belonging to the low castes, repeat the Gayatri Mantra so well that it was a matter of surprise to the orthodox Brahmins.

ILLNESS IN THE POOR-HOUSE.

Every attempt was made to provide the comforts of a real home and the training and the affections of a real family life. All inmates were given food twice a day, with something to eat in the morning. They were supplied with sufficient clothing and also a gunny bag to lie upon. Still there was a considerable amount of sickness and, therefore, one of the volunteers, who was a trained compounder of the D. A. V. College Dispensary, was asked to look after the health of the inmates and treat daily several cases of sickness and supervise the education of the 20 or 25 children—boys and girls—at the school.

A VERY WIDE RANGE OF DUTIES.

We had to arrange for work of all kinds, from the arrangements of a child-birth to the funeral of the deceased inmates. 50 per cent. were cases of sore-eyes; a large number of Dysentery and Diarrhoea, swollen

legs and feet; six small-pox cases and a few cases of malarial fever, one of which had to be sent over to Mirzapur for hospital treatment. Nearly 8 deaths took place in the biggest Poor-House. One Teli woman in Mr. Kaikini's poor-house at Lalganj gave birth to a child for which he had to make special arrangements.

PREJUDICES OF THE PEOPLE.

Another source of trouble was the deep-rooted prejudices of the people and their ignorance. People in the bazar, who had not much sympathy with such work on account of their ignorance, used to frighten our inmates by telling them that they were being fed, clothed and trained by us for being sent to Assam and Mauritius. They were also told that they were fed well so that when they became stout, their bodies would be pressed in a machine and oil would be extracted out of them for trade. During my tour in the district of Gonda, even Pandit Rulla Ram who organized his work so thoroughly, from whose enthusiasm and spirit of work, I learnt so much, had his work disturbed by similar fears, created by wild stories started by interested people. There, he told me, many people left his poor-house, because they were deluded into the belief that they would be sent to a place or country called "Ghodamukh" and fat would be taken out of their bodies for the purposes of trade. Many people from such fears, I was informed, refused Government Relief Tickets also. This only forces the conclusion upon us that in this land of charity and disinterested service, people have become quite unfamiliar with such unselfish service at the hands of their own countrymen. The more, therefore, they are used to such acts of service on our part, the greater will be their faith and confidence in men that serve them.

THE CAMERA SCARE.

What at another time proved a source of trouble and anxiety was our Camera. One day we took out our Camera just to take a few photographs of the inmates of the Poor-House in various conditions. As soon as they saw the instrument, they were frightened and some of them to such an extent that nearly 20 women with their children ran away from their lodging as soon as they got the report of the Camera and did not

even come to us to take our permission. But, thank God, their minds were soon disabused of these fears so much so that almost all of the runaway people returned, bringing their other relatives with them.

CONSTANT ANXIETY.

But our greatest trouble was to induce people to lead a kind of regulated life and to be amenable to discipline. We had also to be careful about their wandering habits. Some local people used to trouble or pester our wards sometimes from undesirable motives. Further, one day a little Brahmin girl was almost on the point of being drowned in a tank; but she was saved by two Bania women who were bathing there. We had to reward both of them for their noble and courageous action. There were many other points that needed a close but tender supervision on our part and thus it added to our anxieties and worries.

AMOUNT OF WORK DONE.

We closed our work in September. By the time we disbanded our centres, we were helping nearly 3000 people living in more than 200 villages—women and children especially,—in a variety of ways detailed above. The amount that we spent in distributing money doles, clothing, and feeding children of the villages that surrounded our four centres and also inmates of our four Poor-Houses was nearly Rs. 10000, excluding the value of the old clothing that was largely distributed. Roughly speaking, therefore, the total cost of our work up to date till the end of June, 1909,—because one or two branches of our work are yet maintained by us—has come up to Rs. 11000.

TEMPORARY ORPHANAGE.

After the close of our work we opened a small temporary orphanage at Mirzapur with a dozen children collected from our centres. It is only in the last month—June—after securing the necessary sanction from the Collector, that arrangements have been made to permanently remove them to Meerut Vais Orphanage, which is a well-conducted and well-established institution in U. P. I am sorry three of these children died within a fortnight of the start and one Brahmin boy who was rather well built and handsome was probably induced to go away.

EDUCATION OF WIDOWS.

In addition to this work, two grown up Brahmin widows, in very poor circumstances, were, with the full knowledge and written consent of their parents, induced to be trained for leading more useful lives. At the express wishes of the leaders of the province they were sent to a Widows' Home. But unfortunately the climate of the place did not agree with them and the poor girls had to be sent back in a bad condition of health to their homes without their having made any substantial progress in their studies. After they get better they will be advised to join some institution at a place whose climate would suit their health better. Three more widows, after I left Mirzapur, were sent by the gentleman who was in charge of our work, to a Widows' Home in the Punjab, which I am sorry to learn, has been closed and on that account they had to be sent elsewhere. I hope they are doing well there.

A RATHER UNSYMPATHETIC ATMOSPHERE.

Now remains to be treated the last section of the outline of the paper sketched at the beginning. Of the many difficulties that really impede the progress or smooth working of these private relief measures, distrust and suspicion of the officials is an important and embarrassing one. The issues involved in this question are very large and abiding. It must be recognised, whatever the circumstances be, that during the time of a crisis, like Famine and Plague, it is as much our duty to help our countrymen as it is of Government, to help their subjects; and it is because everybody is bound to feel keenly on this point that so much importance is attached to this question. But for this difficulty or obstacle arising out of the strained relations existing between the volunteers and a majority of Government officials concerned in the administration of famine relief, the volunteers would have easily done more work and done it longer. Just to acquaint the readers of this paper with the details of this question, I have tried to speak about it at greater length.

THE VOLUNTEERS AND OFFICIAL SUSPICION.

These volunteers were not on the whole happy in their relations with the authorities of the districts in which they worked, and

consequently they were watched, dogged and shadowed; and some of them were even troubled and harassed and peremptorily sent away. Before we went to Mirzapur, we were told that four volunteers working in that district had been asked to leave their places by a Deputy Collector on famine duty. Not that everybody knew thoroughly well how to conduct himself in the best interests of the work he had taken up. This was too much to say and too much to expect; because it was quite likely that some of these earnest souls might not have been thoroughly experienced men. Why, we know it, as a matter of fact, that some of the men whom Government employs or has to employ on famine duty, are very ordinary and most inexperienced men not trained in the arts of ministering relief to the most depressed and afflicted people in a very sympathetic and kind manner. But we recognise that ordinarily it is not the fault of Government. Similarly, it is but natural that some of these patriotic young men that come forth to render this noble service may be found somewhat lacking in tact and experience. But on that account it is cruel to deal with them unsympathetically and with suspicion. I have no hesitation in saying that a very large majority of those that were patiently and industriously doing their best to relieve the distress of the poor by supplementing the assistance given by Government were very tactful, earnest and honest workers, having no other motive to inspire them in their work than the one which actuates Government, *i.e.*, the desire to save human life. In the beginning they were allowed to do their work without any interference or interruption; in some cases the officers facilitated the work of these men by issuing circulars calling upon their subordinates to assist them. But owing to a number of causes, which it is difficult to enumerate, some of the officials in the district began to look upon their work with suspicion. I am told by friends who worked in some of the districts of U. P. that garbled Police reports and false complaints from interested local people used to reach the ears of the Government officers, and in some places rival parties of workers feeling jealous of the results of the work of these volunteers thought it their duty to obstruct their work as much as they could and I am sorry

to say they did succeed in their unworthy tactics. This was invitation enough for some of the overzealous servants of Government, who came down upon the poor volunteers with the result that Lala Lajpat Rai had to withdraw most of his workers from their posts of duty. He desired me to try to settle matters with the Collector of Jhansi before finally withdrawing his volunteers in that district. I know, I regret to say, from my own experience, that some of the officials, European as well as Indian, did not very much like the idea that we should have anything to do with the famine relief; the thought that seemed to trouble them was that our work was a sort of a condemnation of their administration of famine. They did not want the impression to go abroad that their work had any serious defects or shortcomings or that there were some deserving cases left unrelieved. The European officers sincerely doubted the honesty of purpose of the men engaged in this patriotic and charitable work. Some of them believed that these volunteers were so many detectives who under the garb of philanthropic work wanted to pick holes in the Government administration and set up people against them by preaching sedition and spreading discontent. Some of the officials used to wonder as to why the Hindus alone should start private relief and not the other communities. They could not ordinarily understand the propriety of its being mostly managed and maintained by the Hindus and see why no non-Hindu Communities such as Mahomedans, Christians, Parsees and so forth, took an active part in the organization of this relief. This circumstance roused their suspicion; and because the Hindus had generally to lead other public movements some of which naturally required a criticism of Government measures, they were led to think that this work also must have been undertaken in a spirit of pure criticism. But this was a mistaken view of the matter. In the first place, it is the educated people, no matter to what community they belong, that generally feel interested in this relief campaign; and secondly, for reasons which are too numerous to mention here, it was the poor Hindus that were either induced or required to part with their dear children in these

famine days. Christian missionaries and some Mahomedans generally are quite willing to receive them and support them. Nobody can lawfully do anything to prevent such a transfer. Therefore, the Hindus feeling the responsibility of keeping the children of their helpless co-religionists within the pale of Hinduism run to their rescue. And who can say that this was not perfectly justified by the circumstances of the cases? But it must not be supposed that the relief organized by the Arya Samaj was actuated and guided by any sectarian spirit. From my personal knowledge I can say that no distinction was required to be made in the matter of giving actual relief to the people. All those who were in need—be they Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians—were helped as much as possible and the instructions that were issued particularly emphasized its non-sectarian character. Experience, however, brought to our notice in a vast majority of cases, the miseries and utter helplessness of the low class Hindus, especially those who went away in search of food leaving behind them their women and even children unprotected. It was this latter class of people that needed a good deal of looking after at the hands of the volunteers. At the four or five centres at which we worked in the Mirzapur District we helped a large number of Mahomedan men and women with money, clothing and food. A poor Mahomedan having a smattering knowledge of Hindi was placed by me in charge of a little elementary school that I started for little children in the Poor-House at Drumondganj; and in distributing our labour charity a share was given to the Mahomedan artisans irrespective of the fact that almost the whole of the money that was subscribed to the Arya Samaj Relief Fund, came from Hindus though a few good contributions have been received from Europeans and Parsees. Among the people who needed help from people like us there was a preponderatingly large number of Hindu orphans, destitute children, young women deserted by their husbands, very poor young widows mostly Brahmins and a large number of respectable pardanashin ladies. Our relief was primarily intended for them, and this amply proved the necessity of such a scheme of private relief. Because even supposing that it was possible

to prevent such people from falling victims to the inducements of some men by asking them to join Government Relief Works, it was difficult to expect that the Famine Code would or could take cognisance of the special needs of these classes. Thus it was with a view to supplement the Government Relief by trying to meet the special needs mentioned above, that such private non-official relief was planned. Therefore, it ought not to have left any room for unnecessary distrust or suspicion on the part of the officials of the districts in which the volunteers carried on their work. I do not think that there were any reasonable grounds for this policy of distrust and suspicion. It was, therefore, quite unjust on the part of Government to have viewed the work of these earnest men in a spirit of unfriendliness. These volunteers really deserved to be treated with much greater consideration and confidence than was actually meted out to them. This was, in my opinion, a glaring flaw in the administration of famine relief inaugurated by the U. P. Government which was otherwise liberal and comprehensive. Of course, quite naturally the number of these people was very small and the amount of work they did was, as compared with what was achieved by Government, not considerable; yet it would have been beneficial if these friends had been taken into confidence by Government and if the officers had availed themselves of their co-operation which I think most of them would have been quite willing to give. But there is another side to this question, to speak plainly. I know great care has to be taken in making a selection of volunteers who ought to be instructed to do their work—humble and insignificant as it is,—with a singleness of purpose without mixing with it any active propaganda, religious, social or political. If trained men, however, whom it is for some time very difficult to get in sufficiently large numbers, be secured for this work, they would be able to convince the district authorities that the sole object that prompted them to undertake the work was a real desire of ministering to the crying needs of the people. Under these circumstances, it is hoped, right minded and rather sympathetic officers would be found who would be willing to avail themselves of the co-operation of these men. This is my personal experience

and individually I was on the best of terms with the District Magistrate, though we had had our own share of some unpleasantness and slight intimidation. But we did not allow our minds to be much perturbed on that account. I hope Government in future will be free from any ungrounded fear and suspicion.

AN ASSET OF NATIONAL GROWTH.

Here ends the brief story of the last year's Famine Relief. It is full of interesting lessons and bright hopes; and it will not be a misplaced wish that they will be fully availed of in the future. Before concluding, however, mention of an important feature must be made; and that is the spirit in which the people came forward to help their distressed countrymen. Thus the most outstanding feature of the last Famine Administration was the popular element of non-official relief which proceeded from the hearts of the people throbbing with sympathy for the suffering millions. Leaving out of consideration the large sums that were contributed by the rich people towards the Official Charitable Famine Relief Fund, the value of the sum of more than a lac of rupees subscribed by the country at large towards the funds started by the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj is thousandfold. Moreover the number of men that came forth to help their starving brethren is an index of the growing desire among our countrymen to stand by them in the hour of their dire need and minister to their wants. This is a seed which is newly sown; but it has certainly taken deep root. Thus having regard to all the circumstances, the keen interest which the country in general has shown in the last famine and the measure of sacrifice which she has so ungrudgingly made only go to strengthen the belief that such independent public work, while giving great opportunities to the workers engaged therein for being trained in the service of the country and for learning the most valuable lessons, tends to create and foster in them a new spirit of organization based upon self-reliance; and it is this spirit of work roused by the growing consciousness of national life that will prove a priceless asset for our future progress.

GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR.

A MODEL REFORM SCHOOL: HOW IT WORKS

BEING NO. III OF THE SERIES:

"A PLEA FOR AN INDIAN JUVENILE COURT."

Photographs by the Author and Others.

A series pertaining to the Juvenile Court cannot lay pretensions to completeness unless it tells of the workings of the reform school—the school where the delinquent juvenile is informed about his duties to himself, his fellow-men and God, where his character is reformed, and where he is taught to make good use of his hands and brain, and, with their aid, earn an honest living, instead of feeding like a vampire on society. The Juvenile Court Judge may be a paragon of shrewdness, tact and sagacity; the law may be the most modern, compassionate and wise; but without a well-conducted reform school, where the wilder species of youths will be tamed down and re-moulded into desirable citizens, the Juvenile-saving propaganda cannot be a signal success. In the last analysis, upon the reformatory—that is to say, the factory where the youthful delinquent is re-fashioned—hinges the most important part of the success of society's effort to make the bad boy or girl good.

Such reflections urged the writer to travel many hundred miles in order to visit a model reform school, to make a thorough study of its methods and also to take a few photographs of the institution, so that the readers of *The Modern Review* could see with their own eyes some of the scenes which he witnessed.

The institution to which the reader is about to be introduced is not called a reform school. Such a name would be offensive. There is something in human nature that resents the holier-than-thou attitude. When you set yourself on a pedestal and commence to preach "down" to the congregation—your attitude strongly displaying lofty compassion for the "crowd", the congregation is

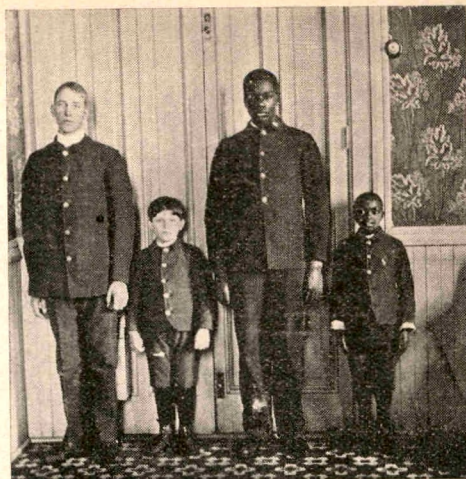
likely to pay more heed to its wounded feelings and less attention to your sermon. All reformers have been at one with the people they have sought to regenerate—mingled with them freely. The secret of their success has invariably been that the lowliest of the lowly felt at home with them. It is a good thing, therefore, that the reform school is not known as the reform school—but merely as the "Industrial" School. Probably a more appropriate name for the institution would be a "Training" School. An industrial school fundamentally implies a place where industries are taught. A training school concerns itself with training the various faculties of the pupils, and since the school in question concerns itself with training the brain and brawn and heart of the boy, so that, with educated capacities he may be able to get the most out of life and give the most to society, the institution may be fittingly called by this name. I understand that in various parts of the United States such institutions go under this title.

Sane treatment of the delinquent juvenile rests on the foundation principle that his self-respect shall not be wounded; but it ought to be strengthened and *educated*. The basis of this principle is easily understood. You cannot consign a youth to the penitentiary, keep him there for a term of weeks, months or years, and still expect that he will respect himself, or that he will not grow embittered against society. For this reason, your reform school should not only not go under the name of a reformatory (whose meaning in our day has degenerated to be a gaol,) but it should, in addition, not have the unfortunate concomitants of a penitentiary (this word has also come to be synonymous with gaol) that taint its inmate, for life. The Institution—the Iowa Industrial School—with which this paper is concerned is built on this cornerstone. Nothing about the grounds, nothing in the school rooms, nothing in the work shops, nothing in the residential dormitories, will

you find that is suggestive of the gaol or dungeon. There are no bars about the place—absolutely none. A low fence encloses the grounds. This, I think, is more for ornamental purposes than for confining boys within the compound. Even the gateways are not locked nor guarded. They remain open during night and day. Steel or wood bars do not guard the windows. Not one handcuff can you ferret out of the buildings, no matter how hard you may try. Of the blue-coated policemen, with batons and superior, better-than-thou airs, they have none on the premises. No instruments of torture are employed. They do not keep them in stock in the School. Never is a boy sentenced to solitary confinement—in fact, there is no confinement whatever. Never is a boy put on a bread and water diet.

This does not imply that the Institution does not insist upon disciplining the derelict for his own good—no—such a procedure would be criminal, especially when you consider that the Institution is meant to straighten warped timber. Condign punishment is given—but not with an engine of torture. Caning—in the phraseology of the United States, “paddling”—is resorted to, only in extreme cases of insubordination, and, in no instance, without first obtaining a *written* permit from the head of the Institution. The regulations in this particular are so iron-clad that they ensure that the teacher will not punish the boy merely because his temper is ruffled at something having gone wrong. It also means that the boy will not be hit unceremoniously without regard being paid to where he is being struck—whether his face is being mercilessly cut or his ribs pitilessly punched.

At the School, at the time of this writing, there are 396 boys—many ages and statures are represented. The youngest one is 8 years old: the oldest within two months of 21. Both “White” and Negro boys are in the Institution; the proportion of the two being about 10 “whites” to 1 “colored” boy. In order that the reader may be able to see the contrast, I took a photograph showing the oldest and youngest amongst the “white” and Negro boys. These lads come from all the strata of society—rich and poor, genteel and otherwise. They represent numerous faiths.



TYPES OF COTTAGE RESIDENTS.

The two boys on the right are Negroes, the other two are white boys. The picture shows difference between ages and statures.

But 52 people are entrusted with the care of these 396 boys, so varied in their parentage and sent to the Institution for the correction of so many different delinquencies. A little less than half of the officers are men, the remainder are women.

I am setting down the precise number of officers and boys at the Institution, and am calling attention to the fact that the charges of the School are a conglomerate herd, in order to make it possible for the reader to figure out for himself the amount of task and care their management entails. Considering this, it must be borne in mind, as elsewhere stated, that these boys are not kept locked up in cells, nor are they confined in any manner. There is not a cell or dungeon on the premises. Omitting the fact that they have to behave themselves properly, they are as free as the air. The school is a little over a mile distant from the town of Eldora, Iowa: and the liveliest day one sees the Industrial School boys riding on wagons, going to and from town bringing coal, ice, or supplies. Sometimes many teams go in a line, and, in one of the wagons, rides an instructor from the School; but oft-times the wagons go singly and one or two boys are in charge of each team, absolutely unattended. The management of the School does not treat these youths *without honor*. They are trusted

trusted, not foolishly and thoughtlessly, but wisely.

Don't the boys try to run away from the School? you will naturally inquire when you read these details of the absence from the Institution of handcuffs, manacles, and spy vigilance. Yes, a few boys endeavor to run away, but it does not take them long to find out that it is not in their interest to play the truant. At the Industrial School they relate many an incident of how Harry or John or Jim slipped away from the grounds while doing something about the place: how in a few hours or days, the boy came back to the Institution, of his own accord and without an attendant: how he wept to expiate his misbehaviour, and told of the hardships he had suffered during his truancy. Some truants from the School do not come back of their own free will: they have to be brought back. In emergencies of this kind, the telephone does good service, and the farmers around the country are always glad to bring the lawless ones to the School and earn the reward of Rs. 15 that is paid them for such a service. Every boy belonging to the School wears a uniform—not gaol stripes, but a gray suit of clothes patterned somewhat after a military uniform, of which I shall speak later—and when away from School, if he takes refuge in farm out-houses, or in the fields, he can be easily distinguished. For this reason, he cannot long play "hookey". Let me, however, guard my pen lest you may get the impression that numbers of boys run away from the School, taking every chance to do so that they can find. Just the reverse is the truth. Probably not twenty boys play truant in a year: and this percentage is extremely small when you take into consideration the fact that the School constantly has 400 boys or more under its care, and that not one of them would be there if he was a saint.

The reason why there is practically no truancy, despite the fact that these so-called bad boys are not in any way chained or barricaded, is simple to explain. The boys do not construe the kindness of the staff into weakness. There is a kindness that is negative in character. Such a kindness is inconsistent with disciplinary control. It is this brand of kindness which manufactures most of the bad boys. The boy at the In-

dustrial School knows that this is not the sort of kindness which his instructors exhibit. They are kind, but firm—gentle, but disciplinary. The boy understands—is *made* to understand—that he is trusted to do the right thing by the School—by himself. He also understands that the least deviation from rectitude will not be overlooked. He is expected to be good—and there is something in the way the teachers and officers expect this that invariably causes the young one to try to overcome temptation and makes him want to be real good.

This point can be enlarged upon a great deal; but I will content myself with but one illustration: A very unruly boy was sent to the school. The Sheriff who brought him to the Institution deposed that the boy had smashed two panes of glass in the railway carriage they rode in, in an attempt to escape. On his arrival, the boy was medically examined, his old clothes were taken away from him and burned, his hair was cropped short, he was given a hot shower bath and made to wear a brand new uniform—all these are routine details—they are performed in the case of every fresh inmate in order to avoid admitting vermin or contagious diseases. The boy was admitted into the corps (the youths in the school are divided into various corps according to their age and size, of this hereafter), to which he should properly be consigned. The officer of his corps noticed that on the first day, whenever the boys of his company would march in a file, the newcomer would throw himself on the ground. All that was done to him was to lift him up each time he would throw himself down. No punishment was administered to him, nor were any imprecations uttered. In two or three days the boy automatically stopped his favorite trick. He lost—and the teacher won out—won out through tactful kindness, patience and persistence. Ever after the boy behaved himself like a little gentleman and the instructor related that of all the boys who were discharged from the School none left it with a better re-made character.

The question of mating kindness with firmness they have solved ably at the Iowa Industrial School. Paternality and military discipline are carefully compounded. In their smart uniforms, the boys look like miniature soldiers. They are carefully

drilled, for the officers in charge of them believe that military drill not only develops a boy's body but also teaches prompt and willing obedience, and moulds character. Each year the Industrial School has a competitive drill to determine which company shall be the colour-bearers of the battalion during the ensuing twelve months. No one who watches the tactics of these smartly uniformed boys at the School can question the value of military drill in the development of body and mind. They have a band of their own—a military band of 35 pieces, conducted by a man who knows his business thoroughly and who has a wonderful ability to interest the boys in music and instruct them effectively. Every day, for an hour or two, the bandboys practice, and their concerts are of a high grade that appeals to every one who listens to the beautiful music they produce. At each meal time the boys repair to the dining hall in the big administration building, marching in a double file, the little soldiers keeping correct time. The "lock-step" is unknown. They go in and out, morning and evening, to their residential quarters, in the same manner. They breakfast at 6 in the morning in summer, 6-30 A.M. in the winter. They have dinner at 12 the year round. They have supper at 5-45 P.M. in summer and 5-15 P.M. in winter. The grade school opens at 7 A.M. and lasts until 11-30, then begins again at 12-45, closing at 4-45 P.M. Half of the boys go to School while the other half are working at some industry. The boys who have spent their morning at books, work at their trades from 12-45 to 4-45 P.M. These are winter hours. The winter in Iowa is long and bitter. The thermometer is apt to register many degrees below zero in the morning and evening. Juveniles enjoy skating and the School provides each company with a skating pond. But, as a rule, the winter is not the time for out-door play. Unfortunately, the Industrial School lacks a good gymnasium, well-lit, well-ventilated and well-supplied with apparatus, where the boys could while away a half hour or an hour of a winter evening, and not only have a good time, but also train their bodies to be more supple and vigorous. In summer the boys, after supper, play foot ball and base ball

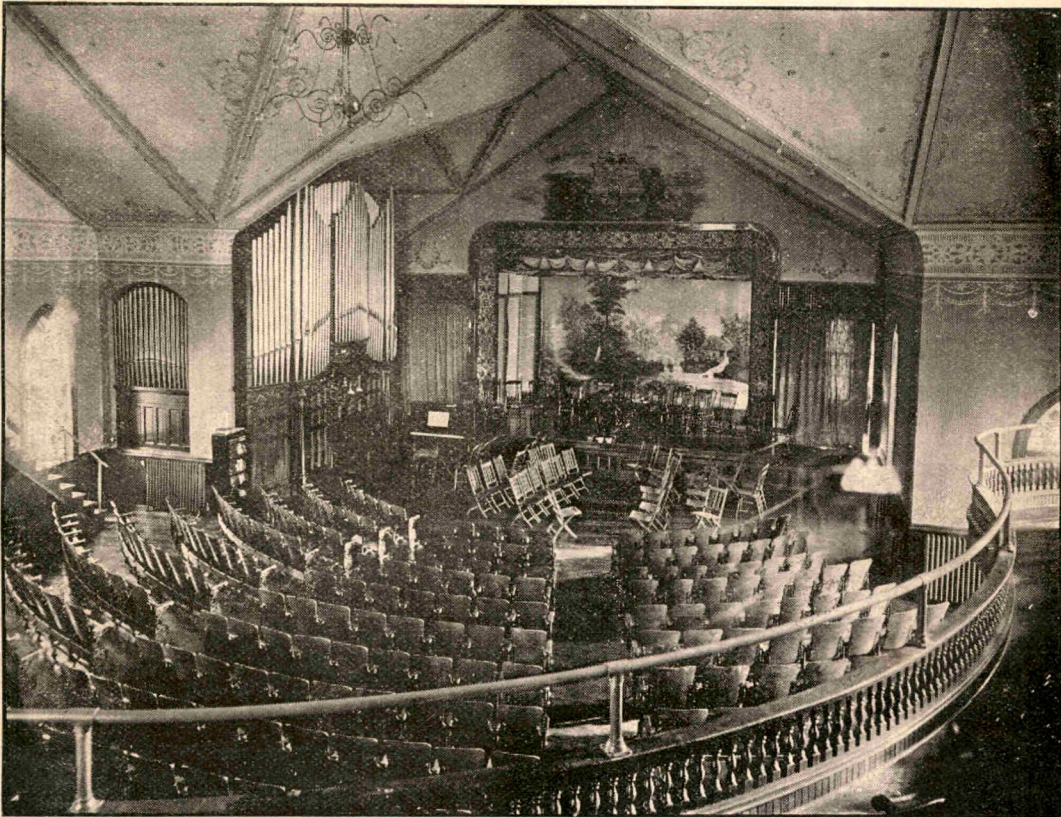
and tennis, and for these games the School provides a splendid equipment.

I saw the School in mid-winter. A terrible blizzard had passed over the country, leaving the ground white all over. The snow had drifted, in many places, many feet high. The telegraph and telephone wires, heavy with snow and ice, had been blown down. The roads were almost impassable. On the day we took the photographs of the interiors, a North-west wind was blowing snow in our faces. Beneath our feet the walks were so slippery with ice that it was as much as our necks were worth to walk over them. To these pictures, I have added some out-of-doors views, which were taken in hot weather, and therefore display the summer scenes.

Winter or summer whether the vault of the sky presents a dirty, dismal appearance, or the sun is shining bright, like a huge nugget of gold in a turquoise setting, its genial rays bathing human beings with warmth and happiness, the boys at the Iowa Industrial School look cheerful and pleasant. Their long hours and their military ways are toned down by the parental kindness of the teachers. I have said before that at this School they mingle kindness with sternness in a very wholesome, effective combination. This is easier said than explained. The impression is more a matter of *feeling* than deduction. You have got to see the boys and witness how they are handled in order to realize what this statement means. But to form a faint idea of my impression, figure it out this way:

The head of the School is a man barely 34 years old. He trained himself to be a lawyer; but practising law was not the *metier* of his life. He is a shrewd man. He would have succeeded as a lawyer; but I doubt if he would have found the happiness practising law which he finds now in making bad boys good, rendering the waste material profit-giving. This man, the superintendent of the Iowa Industrial School, has an affectionate, kind disposition. He does not hedge himself in a secluded sanctum. Any one can approach him—at any time of his waking hours—any boy can come to him and tell his little troubles—may be, weep a few tears and find consolation in them. The fact that the boys have free access to him, at all times acts as a

THE IOWA INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.



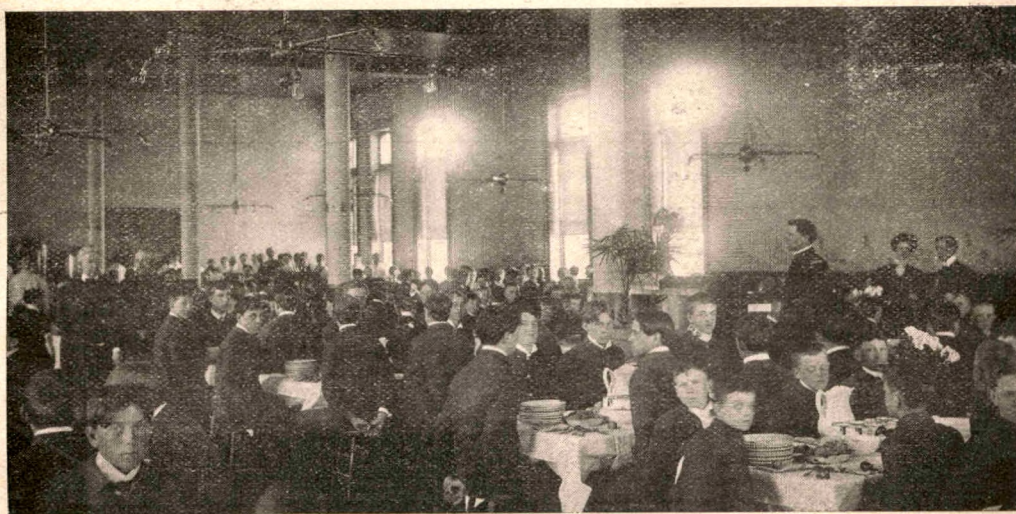
INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL.

Unfortunately, the boys are not in it. Notice the Rs. 10,000 pipe organ, the walls and ceiling decorated by boys, the curtain behind rostrum painted by boys.



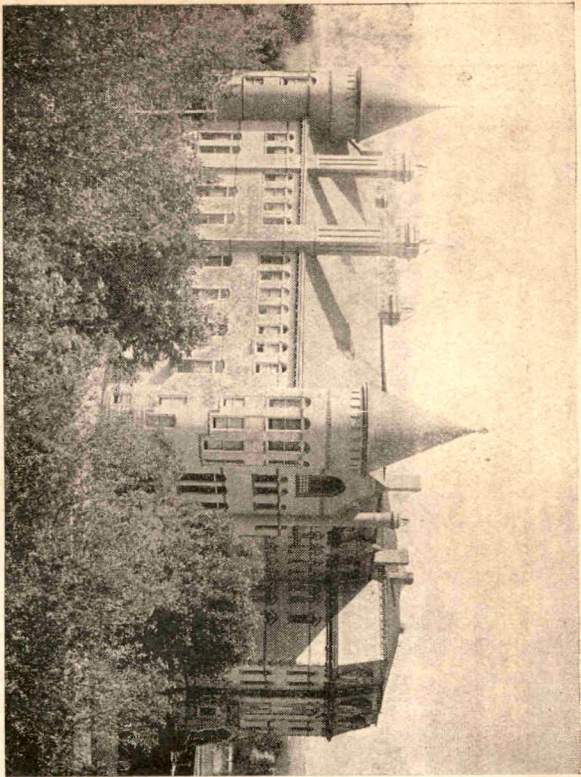
TYPE OF COTTAGE AND RESIDENTS.

The boys live in cottages. A married couple is in charge of them. The cottage has a dormitory where the boys sleep in beds that are comfortable and neat. Each boy has his own tooth brush, night shirt, and towel, which is renewed every day.

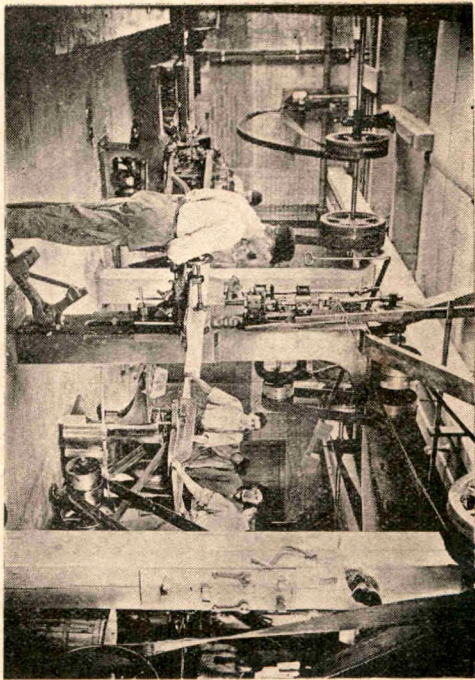
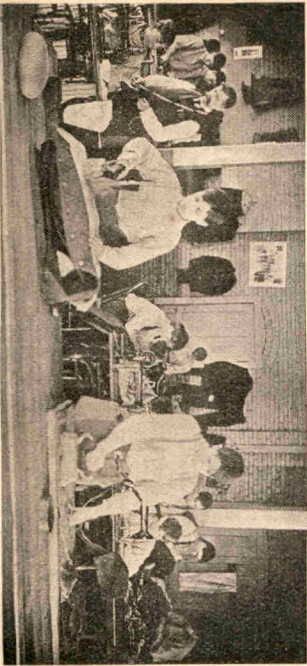


DINING HALL FOR BOYS.

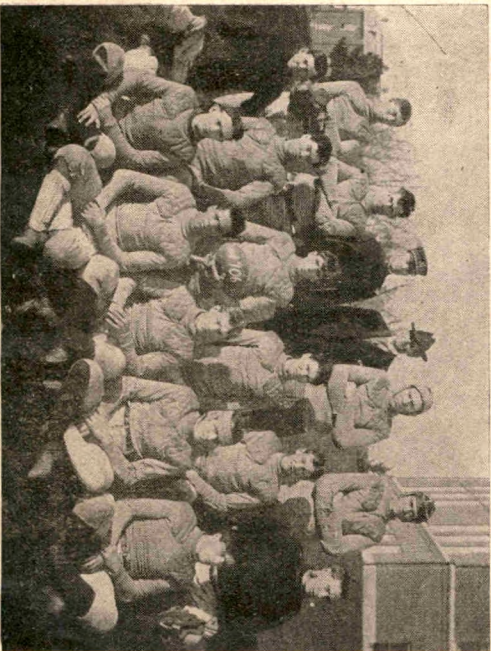
Each boy has his own seat, napkin, knife, fork and 2 spoons. The boy is at the head of the table, dishes piled up in front of him. He helps the rest. Women in the picture oversee and teach table manners. Notice ferns, electric lights, and the orderliness of tables and boys.

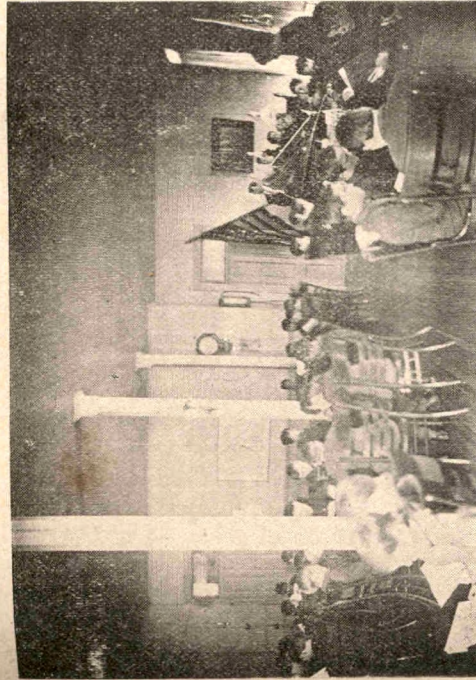


THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

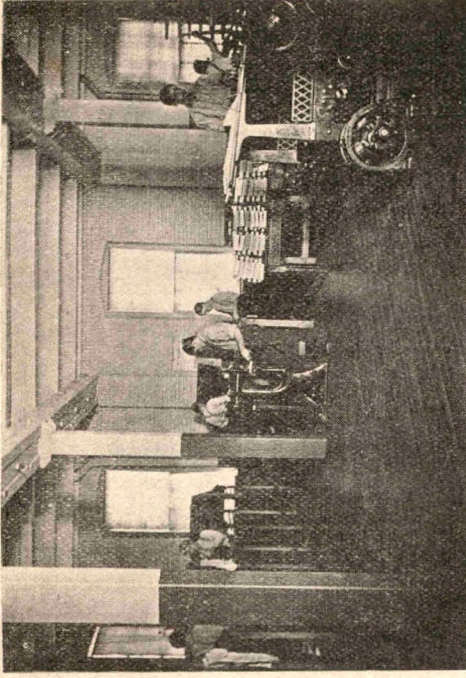


AN INTERIOR VIEW OF CARPENTER SHOP.

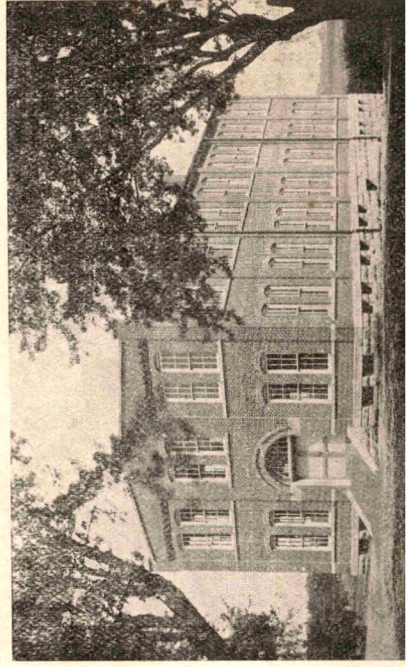
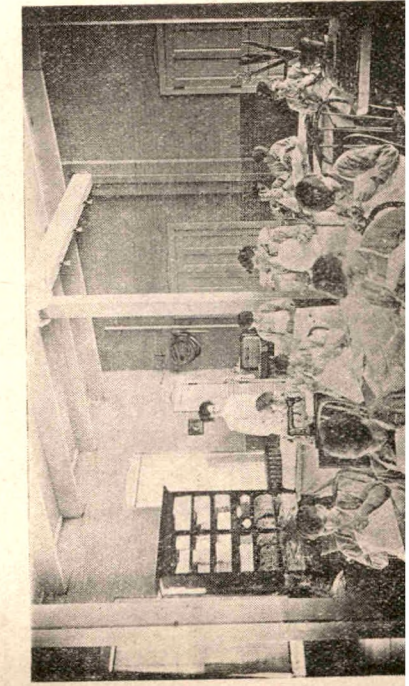




COTTAGE PARLOR.



PRINTING DEPARTMENT.



check on the officers, for they know that if they misbehave toward the lads under their charge, the news will at once be transmitted to their superior officer, who will not



MR. W. L. KUSER,
The Superintendent
of the School.
He is the soul of the
Institution.

countenance infractions of his rules for officers and teachers. Mr. W. L. Kuser has been engaged in various capacities in child-saving work for 10 years. His wife actively assisted him until a little over a year ago, when, on the elevation of her husband to act as the head of the School, she was forced to relinquish her position as matron, since the governing law of the School wisely provides that no relative of the Superintendent shall hold any position

in the Institution. Mrs. Kuser is a woman with abundant tact, and I do not doubt that she exercises a vast influence on the School through her husband.

The Superintendent of the School is responsible to a Board of Control. The Board consists of three members, one of whom retires every two years unless he is reappointed. The appointments are made by the Governor of the State—these appointments being ratified by the State Senate. The Board outlines the general policy under which the School should be conducted, but does not hamper the Superintendent in the management of the Institution. The Superintendent is, to all intents and purposes, an autocrat, a czar, so far as the affairs of the Industrial School are concerned. The School receives a grant of Rs. 39 a month from the State, for each boy, and within this meagre sum the expenses of the Institution must be met. The Superintendent must show a great deal of business tact to efficiently and economically manage the Institution. Furthermore if the appointments in the School were political prizes, to be given away by politicians for political services—as is the case in most of the State and Governmental institutions of the United States—the Superintendent could not enforce efficiency. Nor would it conduce

to efficiency if the head of the Institution could not appoint and dismiss his employees. In order to achieve the utmost good, the man in charge of the Institution must have a discretionary power. None but a responsible, conscience-guided person, however, could be appointed to such a position.

From the foregoing, it is easy to infer that the success or failure of the School, in a large measure, depends upon the business capacity, tact and honesty of the Superintendent. His standards of morality decide the moral tone of the School. He must be cautious in selecting his aids, for good boys do not follow bad men, nor can bad boys be made good by men who are not themselves good. Moreover, no matter how good a character a man may bear, unless he is able to discharge the duties delegated to him at the School, in an able manner, the efficiency of the Institution cannot but suffer. In the kind of work they do at the Iowa Industrial School—the re-making of an incorrigible boy into a useful, honest citizen—very delicate brains are needed in order to insure success. You pick out a man with austere moral standards and forget to notice that he is a puritan, in whose code of religion, innocent fun is synonymous with acts that lead toward damnation, and install such a man in an institution of this kind, and you may be sure that you will make the bad boys good, but not without rubbing out of them a good bit of their vim and life, which ought to be developed and trained and guided into the right channels. How can an institution in the hands of over-zealous moralists or bigoted religious cranks be a healthy place for growing boys to develop into sane men?

Morality must be tempered with affection, strictness toned down by paternality (if I may be allowed the expression). To ensure this, you cannot pluck a boy away from his parents, and transplant him into a world of *men*. It is a short-sighted policy which would dictate that the boy should not learn manners from a woman, derive culture from a woman. If the State acts *in loco parentis*, what business has it to fail to provide some sort of a substitute for mother-love, mother-guidance, mother-training?

In this lies the crux of the whole situation. Here is the explanation for the kindness-

that-is-firm which I found in the institute. About one-half of the employees are men—the other half are women. The boys live in cottages, in companies. A married couple is in charge of each cottage. This gives the boys a touch of home life. The foster-father and foster-mother supply the firmness and kindness which is to reclaim the boy from badness.

The young woman whose picture you see along with the baby, was, until recently,



The wife of the Superintendent with her baby, Master William Kuser. Until two years ago she was the "Matron" of the Institution.

the matron of the Institution. She, with her husband, the present Superintendent of the Institution, was in charge of a cottage at one time. Can you look at her, with her baby in her arms, and still feel that the boys at the Iowa Industrial School are *motherless*? They are not

motherless—they are not. They have been weaned from their own mothers—for their own good. These women were incapable of "mothering" their

progeny. But the foster-mother—the mother of the cottage—is a mother, yet, she is efficient. Mrs. Lola Kuser—the woman with the baby—is a type of the women who are the cottage-mothers in the School. The present matron, Mrs. Susie Iliff, shows the same patience, perseverance and kindness. She has been connected with the Institution, in different capacities, for the past 12 or 14 years. Her long service in the School and the variety of her work, especially renders her invaluable for her position. Her husband, Mr. G. H. Iliff, is the Assistant Superintendent. During the 16 years he has been connected with the Institution, he has occupied various positions, from wagon-driver to Assistant Superintendent. He has been night watchman, steward and store-keeper, laundry-man and family-manager, and understands the workings of the Institution thoroughly.

Life in the cottage is productive of much good. During the long winter evenings, the boys read books and magazines. The family manager and his wife who are in charge of the cottage bring magazines and books for the boys from the library, which contains

more than 3,000 volumes and nearly all the current magazines of standing. The parlour contains a phonograph and many choice records. There is also an organ in the recreation room, and the boys enjoy the reading and music. In the basement of each cottage there is a commodious bath-room. Hanging from pegs you find towels and tooth-brushes. Each boy has his own tooth-brush, and towel, the latter being renewed every morning. The bath-room is elegantly fitted with shower baths, and tubs, and everything is done to keep the boys neat and clean. Once a week the lads must bathe their entire body and change their under-clothing. Every morning the face, neck, ears and hands are washed, and teeth are brushed, and every night the feet are washed before they go to bed. A laundered night-shirt is given to each boy, and this is renewed once a week, when he takes his weekly bath. Each boy has his work-dress and overalls, and also a neat suit for every-day wear. In addition, he has a good suit, white shirt and linen collar for wear on Sundays and holidays. When the youth comes to the Institution he is usually clad in dirty, ragged clothes. These, as has been hinted above, are at once destroyed. When the boy leaves School, he is clad in a civil suit, made of good material, especially for him, in the latest style, in the tailor shop. The incoming and the out-going boys naturally present a vivid contrast in clothes, looks and manner. The boys at the School look clean and smart; and such innocent, honest faces have they, that a visitor often finds himself asking the question why these boys had to be sent to the Institution for correction.

If a boy falls sick while he is an inmate of the School, he is taken to the hospital, which is located on the third floor of the Administration Building. There ought to be a separate building for the hospital, especially for patients affected with contagious diseases: but as it is, the hospital is in charge of a trained nurse, who keeps the place in excellent condition. A qualified physician and surgeon looks after the cases in the hospital. Separate provision is made for boys suffering from contagious diseases, rooms being set apart where they may be quarantined. One-half day each week a dentist from the near-by town—Eldora—spends in the Institution, caring for the teeth

of the boys. The School owns a dentist's chair and the necessary equipment, and every thing possible is done to keep the boy's teeth in a sound condition. Silver and cement filling and cleaning are all done at the expense of the State, and the visiting dentist lectures to the boys on the care of the teeth.

In each cottage, the dormitory is on the second floor. It is fitted to provide the boys separate iron beds with excellent springs, downy mattresses and comfortable pillows. The pillow cases, sheets, spreads and blankets are all of high-grade quality, and are kept immaculately clean. Each boy is taught to neatly make his bed in the morning: and, judging from the results I saw, the teaching is effective. Next to the bed-room are the lockers, which are numbered, and in which the boys keep their clothes. A night-watchman makes rounds during the night, every hour and a half, to see that the boys are in their own beds and doing no mischief whatever. The married couple in charge of the cottage sleep in the room beneath, and as it is possible for them to hear the slightest footfall on the floor above, they can exercise a good oversight over the boys. Just one disadvantage, to my mind, do the family managers labour under. They have too large a number of boys entrusted to their care. There are only seven cottages, and as there are usually 400 boys in the School, each cottage is forced to accommodate 50 or more boys—a number that is at together too large for a single married couple to efficiently look after. The Superintendent seems alive to this defect, and has recommended to the Board of Control that more cottages ought to be erected forthwith.

The boys eat in a large dining hall. It is well lit and well ventilated. Eight boys sit at an oblong table, on low wooden stools. The table linen is clean, and each boy has his own napkin. The table linen is changed at least twice a week—oftener if necessary. The napkins are renewed three times a week. There is no chance of confusion, since each napkin bears the number of the table and stool. Each table has its monitor and this position is highly prized by the boys, and is invariably a reward of merit. The monitor sits at the head of the table and helps the rest of the boys. He virtually represents the head of the family. The boys are given plenty to eat—and their

meals are wholesome and well-planned. Meat is given them once a day. Bread and butter and gravy are not stinted. The boys are given a second or third helping, if they want it. As has been already remarked, the women of the cottages see to it that the boys behave properly, while engaged in eating. Before they commence to eat, at each meal time, "Grace" is recited in unison. Considering that over 350 boys were eating during the 5 or 6 times I visited the dining hall at meal times, they made a remarkably small amount of noise. Withal, the boys do not eat as if they were so many dummies. They talk and laugh, just as they would, do in a well-regulated home. One day when I was in the dining room, the Superintendent called my attention to a table full of boys who, unlike the rest, were eating quietly, without uttering a word. In explanation, I was told that the privilege of talking had been temporarily suspended on account of those particular boys abusing it.

The officers of the Institution eat in a dining-room of their own, and also have their own kitchen. The Superintendent and his family have their separate kitchen and dining-room. It may be incidentally remarked here that almost all the men and women employed on the staff of the Institution live on the grounds—and the place resembles a good-sized village, with its mayor (headman) unhampered by the township council. The cottage managers and their families live in their respective cottages. The rest of the employees live in the Administration Building. Here also reside the Superintendent and his family, in elegantly furnished apartments.

To feed this village full of people is no easy work. 600 pounds of flour are consumed in a single day. One week's work in the bakery consists of the following products turned out: 226 pies, 500 cookies, 269 buns, 500 cinnamon rolls, 75 pans of corn bread, 175 doughnuts, 8 big pans of apple pudding, 5,000 loaves of bread, 25 cakes, 9 jelly rolls and 8 pans of toast. Last summer, 4,000 quarts of fruit and 1,350 gallons of tomatoes were canned by the boys, under the supervision of the kitchen manager, who is a young woman. Besides these, 23 barrels of pickles and 23 barrels of sauerkraut were made, and 3,147 glasses of jelly were manufac-

tured. Sixteen gallons of tomatoes and 48 quarts of canned fruit are required for a single meal. The dairy has 50 milch cows, yielding 60 gallons of milk a day. This milk is made into butter and cheese, and is used as milk, cream, and butter milk. The supply is barely sufficient to meet the demands. Four hundred hens lay eggs in the hennerly, all of which are used in the kitchen. The kitchen is provided with enormous steam kettles and in these monstrous pots the food is cooked by steam. The entire arrangements for cooking are superb, and reduce the amount of work to the minimum. Boys work in the kitchen, dairy, hennerly, bakery and dining hall. In fact, boys are ubiquitous, doing all the work of the Institution under the direction of capable instructors. Thus they learn their trades in a practical manner. As a rule, the Negro boys are usually put to work in the kitchens and dining halls, and are trained to be expert cooks and waiters, as these professions are the ones they are most likely to pursue when they leave the School.

The Iowa Industrial School has 40 acres of timber land, 90 acres devoted to vegetables and fruits, and 840 acres of farm land. The latter is devoted to raising corn, oats and hay for feeding horses, cows, pigs and stock in general. All the vegetables and fruit consumed during the entire year are raised on the farm connected with the School, by boys who do the work under the direction of an expert gardener. The man in charge of this department told me that 3,500 bushels of potatoes, 3,500 pumpkins, 20,000 heads of cabbage and 800 bushels of dry onions were grown last season, as well as immense quantities of other vegetables. In fact, the garden yields a surplus which is sold, and the sum realized used in conducting the School. All the agricultural work is done by the boys, and in this way they are taught how to till the soil by up-to-date methods and machinery. As a general rule, the boys are encouraged to work as farm-helpers rather than to engage in industries. Farm help is always in demand in Iowa and the United States. Good wages are paid to farm hands. Moreover, the young man on the farm is not exposed to as many temptations as he would be in a city factory, shop, store or office.

Everything about the whole institution is done by boys. Under the guidance of their teachers, walls are whitewashed, ceilings calcimined, and the buildings are painted and decorated, inside and out, in an artistic manner. Buildings are put up by the youths. I reproduce a photograph to show the excellent work done by the boys in erecting structures. The State appropriated Rs. 30,000 for the purpose of erecting and equipping this building, but only Rs. 771 were spent for contract labor, the balance of the work being done by inmates of the School. All the clothes worn in the School are made in the tailor shop under an expert instructor. All the mending is done by the boys, the smaller tots being utilized for this purpose, gradually working up from the mending room to the tailor shop. The shoes and harness are made in an up-to-date shoe shop and harness shop, by boys who knew not a thing about shoe-making when they entered the Institution. In the blacksmith shop, the boys are taught smithing, and it is intended to introduce wagon-making as well, as the shop is excellently planned for that purpose. The School has its own electric light and telephone and steam heating plants. All the work about them is performed by boys. An average of 16 tons of coal is used every day to furnish the power to heat and light the buildings and run the machinery. The Institution also has its own water-works and sewage system, installed and looked after by the some-time bad boys, now being made good. All the printing for the School and for many other State institutions is done in the print shop, which averages from Rs. 300 to Rs. 450 per month for the job work which it turns out. The Superintendent estimates that the Institution earns Rs. 9 per head per month. All this work means a curtailment of the cash expenses of the School and also incidentally teaches the boys one of the following trades:—

Agriculture,	Laundrying,
Baking,	Painting and Decorating,
Barbering,	Plastering,
Blacksmithing,	Plumbing,
Bricklaying,	Printing,
Carpentering,	Shoemaking,
Cooking,	Stationary Engineering,
Electrical Engineering	Steam Fitting,
Floriculture,	Stock Raising,
Harness Making,	Stone Masonry and Cement
	Tailoring. [Work,

In teaching the trade, the effort is made so that when the boy leaves the School he can enter a shop or factory without serving a further term of apprenticeship. Care is taken to select the trade for which the boy seems to be best fitted, and he is kept at that. Many of the boys evince a disposition to shift from one trade to another, but this tendency is firmly but kindly overcome.

Besides teaching the boy a trade, cultural instruction is given him. A regular grade school is conducted by certificated teachers under the direct supervision of a male principal who is well qualified for this work. Here the boy learns the rudiments of the three R's. He is taught History, Geography, Penmanship and Drawing, and even Algebra. Many boys, when they enter the Institution, are unable to even read the alphabet. So well are they taught in the School that at the last Hardin County Fair, the Industrial School boys won the first prize for their good Penmanship, and they were invited to attend the County Teacher's Institute and demonstrate their efficiency.

"Incorrigibility" is the somewhat ambiguous charge on which the boys, for the most part, are sent to the Industrial School. These youths have committed some offence against person or property. Larceny and even murder are checked up against some of them. The ages at which boys may be committed to the Institution are between 7 and 16. The big cities in the State send the bulk of the boys. The 6 largest cities of the State send 60 per cent. of the inmates. Juvenile Courts in the larger cities, district courts in the smaller town, commit the boys to the Industrial School.

Every one of the four boys whose photographs are reproduced on page 266 came to the School on the score of "incorrigibility". The larger white boy in the picture had parents who owned no property. A brother of his has also been in the School. The smaller white boy came from a "poor farm" where his mother was residing at the expense of the society, a charge of the County. The boy on his arrival at the School was only 8 years old. His father is unknown. His mother lives a disreputable life. The larger "coloured" boy's parents are propertyless. He had a brother in the Industrial School in 1894. The small Negro boy—only 8 years old—is

descended from intemperate ancestors. His father is dead. His mother has been married 3 times and is now leading a worthless life. He was admitted to the School during the writer's visit. At the time of his admission, he could neither read nor write; but he was at once started to School, being placed in the infant grade, and it will not be long before he will have a good education, and be started on the road to a noble manhood. These four boys are typical of the rest. A study of them abundantly shows that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, and that a congested tenement block in an over-populated city is not conducive to normal child development.

These incorrigible youths the Iowa Industrial School takes in hand and by patient and persevering training turns them into good, honest, useful, citizens. The boys usually remain in the School for two or more years, although, as a result of the system of merits, a boy can work himself out of the School in 14 months, if he wills to do so. Upon leaving the Institution they are placed in good homes, where they will live in wholesome surroundings that will not undo the good work the institution has done, and where they will be enabled to overcome their badness. If the boy is of an age when he ought to work, a good position is found for him to go into when he leaves the School. The State of Iowa, which maintains this School, has an Agent whose business it is to find reputable homes for the younger boys, where they will really have the home life and be given an opportunity to build good character. For the older boys, he procures suitable work in wholesome surroundings.

The boys' life at the School is not a dull, dreary, gray. The lads do not lead as austere a life as you might think they do. In the cottages, especially during evenings, in the dining room at meal times, in the play-ground, they mingle with one another, the companies always being kept strictly separate, and have a jolly good time. The boys living in a cottage are almost the same age and size, so carefully are they classified. Big boys and small boys are not herded together indiscriminately. Not more than once a year, on the Fourth of July, the day when the signing of the Declaration of Independence is celebrated, do all the boys

play together, without regard to the corps to which they belong. On this day, all gather together on the campus and enjoy the day, listening to patriotic speeches and having a good time.

Every week, usually on Saturday nights, entertainments are given by the boys. Boys impersonate for female dramatic personal, and much amusement is derived from the sketches which they present and the programs they give.

I never had the opportunity to witness one of these performances, but those who have seen them have pronounced them to be immensely amusing.

Vocal and instrumental music is taught in the institution, as well as orchestral and band music, and some of the boys display wonderful talent. Two little fellows are especially proficient in vocal music, and at entertainments and in the Sunday Services in the chapel, sing duets with sweet clear voices that charm the listeners.

All the entertainments are given in the Chapel, which is an elegant building, the walls and ceilings all artistically decorated by the boys. The chapel has a large pipe organ valued at Rs. 10,000, and also a sweet-toned piano. The pipe organ was donated to the Institution, and was originally installed in the Iowa Building at the St. Louis World's Fair, where it attracted a great deal of attention because of its deep, rich notes. Every Sunday morning between 11 and 12 and every Sabbath afternoon between 2-30 & 3-30 all the boys go to the Chapel for Sunday Services. The morning Service is conducted by the Superintendent of the School, the one in the afternoon being conducted by the ministers from Eldora. Both are of a non-sectarian character. The Sunday School lesson forms an essential feature of the afternoon service and is of special interest, since through it means many wholesome lessons are taught to the boys, in simple language that has no suggestion of sermonizing about it. The morning service is of especial value. The growing boys are carefully and conscientiously told about the mystery of life—and thus effort is made to save them from excesses and indiscretions, which blight and blast so many valuable lives. The Superintendent exhorts the boys to lead tidy, temperate, useful lives and thereby make themselves

and others happy. These services endeavor to propagate love of country. In fact, one of the chief aims of the Industrial School is to rouse a feeling of patriotism in the breasts of the boys and encourage them to hold before them a high ideal of their duty to their country and to themselves, to be good, honest, God-fearing men. The motto of the State of Iowa, copied by the Institution is: "Our liberties we prize, and our rights we will maintain". Patriotic paintings decorate the walls of the chapel and cottages, and love of country is always held before the eyes of the youths as something to be proud of.

The youngsters are allowed to write to their parents once a month, on a Sunday afternoon. They also send to their relatives, monthly, copies of the "Industrial School Echo," which is printed by the boys in the print shop and contains wholesome advice to the juveniles, as well as interesting stories, anecdotes, and general information. Each company and each shop in the School has a reporter who furnishes notes for the "Echo" regarding the achievements of his corps during the month. The following poem, selected at random, will show the character of the uplifting advice given to the boys through the medium of "The Echo:"

If you're saddled with the notion
That you ought to have promotion
Don't mistake the mere desire for ability to rise.
Give the subject more reflection;
It may take a new complexion
When you view your capabilities with calm, unbiased eyes.

Find out if you are returning
Value full for what you're earning,
First be sure that you have done the very best you could;

Perhaps the time you're wasting wishing
Takes your mind from off your fishing.
If you show a pile of sawdust we'll believe you're
sawing wood.

The motto of the "Echo" is suitable. It runs: "He loses most who does not do his best."

The beneficence of such an institution is hard to express in rupees, annas and pies. It is a veritable factory where crooked timber is straightened for use in building the national structure. The buildings, plant and appertenances of the Industrial School are worth about Rs. 15,00,000. The State of Iowa spends Rs. 1,87,200 annually in

conducting the School. Of course, these figures do not include the amount of money that is earned by the boys working in the trades departments of the School, and, which is, therefore, saved to the State. But for the productive work of the boys, the Government would have to expend a further sum of Rs. 43,200, making the total expenses of the School to be Rs. 2,30,400.

I wish I had at my command the figures which would tell how much money the work of the Industrial School saves to the State which otherwise would have to be spent on police courts, police establishments, jails and penitentiaries. The Superintendent of the Institution, after careful study, deposes that 65 per cent. of the boys, after leaving the School, lead reputable lives; and that only 10 or 15 per cent. really go to the bad. What a blessing to human society these figures signify! When society awakens to its full responsibility in regard to reclaiming the so-called juvenile delinquents, there is no doubt whatever that it will see the folly of stinting expenditure of money and energy on institutions like the Iowa Industrial School. Any money expended on such institutions is merely an investment; while the money spent on jails and penitentiaries is so much barren waste, inas-much as the institutions that merely confine the derelict are apt to degenerate rather than uplift him. I learn from private information that there is a continuous change amongst the employees of the Industrial School. Doubtless a certain per cent. of those who leave, do so on account of

insufficient salaries and go to accept more paying posts in similar schools in other parts of the country. While the institutions to which these qualified employees go are benefited through the experience these men and women have received, the Iowa Industrial School suffers an almost irremediable loss. The only cure for a malady of this kind is that the State of Iowa show more liberality in appropriating money for the School so that it would be in the power of the management to advance the salaries of its employees as their abilities for discharging their duties through training and experience, increase.

As an illustration of how the boys are benefited by their sojourn in the Industrial School, and taught to live the life-worthy, it may be mentioned that the assistant cashier of a bank in one of the towns not far from the School was an inmate of the institution, and was helped to be good by the care that was bestowed upon him there. A leading lawyer of the State, a man who has attained considerable eminence in his profession, and, who has risen to a position of influence in one of the political parties of his State, was also at one time an inmate of this Industrial School. At this Institution he received such impetus to "make good"—as the American would put it—that he dominates in a large measure both the bar and the political party. What better testimony could be adduced to show the beneficence of the juvenile-saving propaganda?

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY: AND ANILINE DYES

IN Prof. Ray's recent article with the above title, he contrasts the Indian with the German attitude to science, and taking the case of the discovery of alizarin dyes, explains what arduous labour is needed to prepare the way for such developments of new industries. "Germany" he says "is to-day reaping a rich harvest, it is

because of the unselfish, devoted and wholehearted labours of generations of chemists for nearly a century". The result of these labours has "revolutionised one of our leading industries, and completely destroyed a staple trade of France, Holland, Italy and Turkey" [and the East]. "The cultivation of the various species of the Rubiaceae for

What after all is the aim of civilisation? Do we wish to refine or degrade our finer sensibilities? Should we wish in the end to raise all men to that capacity of understanding colour which now belongs to the few, or should we wish to degrade to the common level of indifference, these few artists that remain like prophets in spite of us? Are we to place the possibility of material wealth for some—with its loss by others—above the true ideal of civilisation, the making possible of civilised life? I think rather, that as Mrs. J. C. Bose has put it in speaking of the education of Indian women, "In making our demand for greater and deeper education and material well-being, then, may we never forget to say, —'But will this wealth bring me Realisation?'"

If this fundamental ideal of Indian culture be applied to the problem before us, how clearly the issues resolve themselves. We see that in such ways as this of increasing reliance on artificial dyes we are spending money for that which is not bread. Any true artist would far rather forego the use of dyes altogether, than continually injure his given sensibilities by living amongst ugly and glaring colours, or amongst unhealthy and morbid imitations of faded natural dyes. It is only lack of education and lack of culture that make it possible.

Meanwhile, with the progress of scientific discovery, with the accumulation of resources which we seem able only to misuse, an enormous mass of true knowledge, of rational, useful science is being daily lost.

"The art of dyeing is still in a rude state in India as far as the methods adopted are concerned, yet in looking at the results which are attained they cannot be despised even by the scientific dyeing of the west. But in the management of colours, the skill with which a number are employed, and the taste with which they are harmonised, whether in their cottons or their carpets, their silks or their shawls, Europe has nothing to teach but a great deal to learn" [H. H. Cole.]

"Uneducated natives may be found in almost every Indian bazar who can make alloys, colour glass, and work enamels by methods which are unknown in Europe" [Dr. Royle.]

It is significant that at this very chemical congress referred to in Prof. Ray's paper, an important address dealt with this very point. Prof. Witt of Berlin, in an address to the Combined Sections of the Congress, pleaded eloquently for a study of the old empirical methods before these were lost entirely to

humanity. "We have", he said "living empiricism at our doors,

which we allow to die and to sink into oblivion, without attempting to study it and to learn the lesson it has to teach—a treasure of information of incalculable magnitude hoarded up in the course of centuries by the skill and patience of countless millions of men who were, and are as keen in the study of nature as they are reluctant to draw general conclusions from their observations.

This great treasure is the industrial experience of the Eastern nations. It is an undoubted fact, and if it were not, a single visit to the South Kensington Museum would prove it, that the people of Persia, India, China, Japan, the inhabitants of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and the innumerable islands of the Pacific, are possessed of methods for the treatment and utilisation of the products of nature which are in many cases equal, if not superior, to our own. These methods must be to a large extent based upon chemical principles. Is it not strange that we know so little about them, and that little generally only indirectly through the accounts of travellers who were not chemists? If all these peculiar methods were fully known and described by persons who have seen them applied and watched their application with the eyes of a chemist, it would certainly be not only of interest, but also of the greatest utility to our own industry; for it is the elucidation of empirical methods which, in the new light that science sheds upon them, leads to new departures and to progress.

In this direction Prof. Ray himself has done valuable service in the two admirable volumes on the History of Hindu chemistry which we owe to him. But there is room for much more to be done; and those who would truly serve their country and serve humanity, will devote themselves rather to the preservation of old arts and industries, than to the exploitation of new methods without regard to their true human and ultimate value. We need science, and above all concrete efficiency; but it is not *any* science or *any* efficiency that will help us, only a rational and humane science, and efficiency directed to high ends.

The discovery of aniline dyes may be due to the unselfish devoted labours of generations of chemists, but even so, it does not follow that there is anything 'unselfish', though there may be 'whole-hearted devotion' (to money), in the capitalist's exploitation of the scientific *kalpa druma*. Science will be able to produce for us as many 'modern miracles' as we desire. So long as we regard these as the end and justification of science, we remain but an evil generation, demanding signs, and bent on mere material well-being. But this will not be progress, nor civilisation. Do not then let us hold

up to Young India an ideal of industrial science of an indiscriminating character. Let us learn rather to live than to accumulate the means of living. Let us rather learn to refine our wants, to heighten our sensibilities, than to multiply our wants and blunt our finer instincts.

"What profit if this scientific age
Burst through our gates with all its retinue

Of modern miracles! Can it assuage
One lover's breaking heart? What can it do
To make one life more beautiful, one day
More god-like in its period?"

Is it not rather for India to say
"Methinks that was not my inheritance;
For I was nurtured otherwise, my soul
Passes from higher heights of life to a more supreme goal."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS FOR INDIA

THE Swadeshi, whether we accept it as a religion, as a patriotic duty, as an economic theory or even as an intellectual theory, has proved to be a potent force instinct with magnificent potentialities. Time was when the Swadeshi Movement was sneered at by the Government, the Anglo-Indian Press and foreign exploiters. We have now come to a time when all of these have at least turned 'Honest Swadeshists' and indirectly recognised the force of the Movement by persecuting those who were the foremost champions of the Swadeshi. That it was the Swadeshi which was the root cause of the Deportations was very well drawn out by an interpellation in the House of Commons. It may not be true but the public reads also this cause in the prosecution of Mr. Chidambaram Pillai. 'Honest Swadeshi' was once very well defined as the Swadeshi which did not touch the pockets of Englishmen. When a Movement goes beyond these limits, it becomes 'unconstitutional', 'anti-British' and 'seditious'. The Swadeshi Movement has thriven up to this time chiefly through the public spirit and patriotism of the people, for the Government has, to quote the words of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in his speech at the opening of the Hind Co-Operative Stores, done practically nothing. While Japan has sent hundreds of students to the West to learn arts and industries and China is sending an equal number of students to Japan and the West to work out the industrial regeneration of the country, the Government of India is sending out a paltry dozen or so every year. There are no technical schools worth the name in the

country, to deplore which want a resolution was moved by Mr. Wacha at the last Industrial Conference. The fact is that for the growth of the Swadeshi people ought to look to themselves primarily and not to any outside agency. This is a truism which needs to be urged only because some people seem to imagine that the Movement will not work unless it receives legislative support from the Government. What needs to be clearly borne in mind is that there is no possibility of the Government's building a strong preferential wall for the exclusive benefit of the Indian people. We may expect something from the enlarged Councils but the actual realisation will not satisfy the expectation. It is no use indulging in high hopes to be disappointed afterwards. We must frankly recognise our limitations and acknowledge that the Government would not, even if it could, undertake such legislation as would develop the indigenous industries at the expense of British industries.

Those who say that the Swadeshi Movement is a heaven-born movement are sneered at as idealists, but if the situation is properly looked into this view would appear to be the best for the interests of the country. These idealists, as they are called, believe that the Movement will not lose its virility, that it will go on whether it is opposed by adverse or supported by favourable legislation. Such an attitude knows no hesitation, no dilettantism, no whining fear of the powers that be. It is an attitude with which the history of the world has familiarised us—the attitude of Socrates when he

drank the deadly poison, of the Protestants when they were burnt on burning pyres, of Rajput women when they immolated themselves in flames rather than court dishonour, the attitude which according to Mr. Stead typified the name of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea—Surrender Not. As happens many times this idealistic view of the Swadeshi is withal the best calculated to make it tide over the shoals and difficulties of the practical life, for were it not for that we should have reason to despair. Can it be ever supposed that the British Government will protect India with a Tariff wall which will end in ruining the British industries? Is the sad and infamous history of the deliberate crushing down of Indian industries in the days of the East India Company for the profit of Lancashire so soon forgotten as to make it conceivable that the British exploiters will consent to forego all the advantages they have dearly bought for the philanthropic object of 'raising up this country'? Where do we see such philanthropy? In Railways which are always flouted in our face as one of the greatest blessings? That brilliant economist Mr. D.E.W. has shown how Indian tax-payers get barely one p.c. on the huge outlay on Railways which is going on off and on for the last 60 years. Or is the philanthropy shown in the levying of the Excise Duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on products of Indian mills—a duty which is called iniquitous by some of the greatest of Liberal and Conservative politicians of Great Britain? We ought not to be surprised at these and other instances of the philanthropy of British merchants, for they are natural consequences of trade jealousy. What we feel surprised at is that many of our people cherish a hope that even now legislation will be undertaken to help the Swadeshi Movement. It is amusing to find that such a hope is made much of by the new party of Preferential Tariffs in Great Britain of which Mr. De. P. Webb is one of the exponents in India. This party hits the nail on the head when it says that unrest in India is more or less economic, but it fails to read the demands of this movement. We are led to think so from a correspondence which it seems has passed between Sir Roper Lethbridge and Mr. Austen Chamberlain and from an article which the former has contributed to the *Asiatic*

Quarterly Review. Sir Roper Lethbridge while advocating Preferential Tariffs for India and the British Empire seems to imagine that the Indian people will be satisfied if a Tariff wall is raised against foreign countries, meaning thereby Germany, Japan etc., the Excise duty is removed and at the same time even the trifling import duty on British piecegoods is abolished. It is a terrible snare which these men of the Tariff Reform party are laying for us and our countrymen cannot be too much warned against the dalliance of this party. As a matter of fact we have got no grievance against countries like Germany, Japan, etc., albeit Japan has been the cause of several of our mills closing their hosiery sections. But in the same way Lancashire has been the cause of the crippling of many of our flourishing industries. What Indian Swadeshists want is not protection against foreign countries only but also against Great Britain. If they cannot get the latter, they would like to do without the former. The latter without the former will only do harm as it will induce foreign countries to retaliate against India in every possible way. We cannot conceive why for the sake of the Empire of which we are not considered full-fledged citizens we should make common cause with Canada, Africa and Australia where British Indians are not allowed even an entree, and give a free passage to British-made goods. If we are to have preferential tariffs, we ought to have these against all foreign countries. Otherwise we should be no better than we are. If anything, it is British goods which are dumped the most in this country. From the latest report of Maritime Trade in Bengal we learn that the import of British piece-goods was 88 p. c. of the total imports of piecegoods in that province. The following figures of imports of piecegoods in the whole of India are equally interesting to show that our mill industry has got as its greatest competitor Great Britain.

Imports of Twist and Yarn. (1908-1909)	
From,	Rupees.
United Kingdom	... 3,33,70,286
Italy	... 8,02,428
Austria-Hungary	... 10,25,793
Other countries	... 12,89,805

PIECEGOODS

Grey

United Kingdom	... 14,97,92,331
United States of America	... 18,94,452
Other countries	... 2,10,095

White

United Kingdom	... 7,49,12,604
Holland	... 14,81,902
Italy	... 3,73,190
Austria-Hungary	... 593,041
Other countries	... 417,394

Coloured, Printed or Dyed

United Kingdom	... 812,002,53
Germany	... 127,5228
Holland	... 402,2203
Belgium	... 178,1964
Italy	... 178,8430
Austria-Hungary	... 103,0416
Other countries	... 141,2231

It is thus seen that it is British goods which are dumped in our markets in the greatest quantity. And this notwithstanding that there is an import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. on piecegoods. The effect of the total removal of this duty may be easily conceived. Veritably we shall be having King Stork for King Log if we place ourselves under the care of the Preferential Tariff party. It is a matter of wonder how Sir Roper Lethbridge has got the idea in his head that Indian Nationalists, as he calls protagonists of the Swadeshi Movement, demand a Tariff only against the foreign countries and not against Great Britain also. Mr. J. A. Wadia, a mill owner and economist of Bombay, who at least cannot be accused of anti-British feelings, distinctly demanded in letters he addressed to the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Times of India* that the import duty on piecegoods, no matter from which country they come, ought to be raised to 10 p. c. This is the demand of the Swadeshi party in India. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal says the

same thing. In the second number of *Swaraj* he remarks as follows on the Tariff reform :

"What is really needed in a country like India is prohibition not of foreign goods but of English goods. The English trade to-day unduly seeks and obtains a backing from political power and for this purpose maintains most strenuously the principle of Free Trade in India so as to be able to crush the real industrial advancement of the people. Stop the Englishman from making his money in India by using his political power to exploit the natural resources and the cheap labour of the country and there will soon be a change in the entire Indian policy of Great Britain. Such a system of Protection and Tariff reform alone can lead to a time of peace, to a time of friendship, and tie two great countries with a genuine bond of pleasant memories. But the Tariff Reform policy as now outlined will only lead to mistrust, bitterness and resentment leading to a great commercial warfare."

It appears that India has everything to lose, nothing to gain, from the British Preferential party, for they mean above all to protect British industries. Of course if this new party comes into power and is supported by the Indian Government and Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce, a contingency which is not so remote after all, no protest from the Indian public can prevent India getting a Tariff suited to the needs of the British. Free trade has worked immense harm to this country but Preferential Tariffs on the lines of the Tariff Reform party will do greater harm.

What is clear from all these things is that the success of the Swadeshi depends on the people themselves, their public spirit, patriotism and earnestness of purpose, not upon any outside agency, however strongly it may be backed up by legislative powers, for these powers will more often than not be used against the Swadeshi.

BOMBAY.

CHANDRAGUPTA.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEA AND HIS ENGLISH EXPERIENCES

BARRACKPORE—fourteen miles to the north of Calcutta—is a cantonment town; or it used to be a cantonment town; in any case it is a military station of some sort or other—though its grandeur

has much decayed of late years. The place has been voted to be unhealthy, and the barracks—from which the town derives its name, have a damp, unwholesome, forlorn look about them. The stagnant pools and

rotting vegetation give unmistakable signs of malaria; and you can easily guess how the mosquitos—notice the paradox—have driven away the military. Barrackpore is an eminently shady place, and the change from the bustle and glare of Calcutta in that way is most refreshing. It looks cool also—but that is deceptive. It has ample lawns—you might almost call them meadows, and a road—one of the most magnificent in India. It is moreover a town of wide distances; only you can't discover its beginning or ending. It grows insensibly out of *Chanock* and merges insensibly in *Manirampore*. With its wide roads and spacious lawns, it sprawls all along the bank of the Hooghly; and the pretty little village of Manirampore curls closely at the foot of its great big neighbour.

And here, at Manirampore, Babu Surendranath Banerjea spends his nights and weekends—in fact every spare moment that he can snatch from that life of strenuous labour which he leads at Calcutta. The little, old-fashioned village, with its narrow quiet lanes—its prevalent greenness and shadiness—is dear to the heart of Mr. Banerjea—dear as the home of his boyhood, dear as the place where he has spent so many hours of hard-won quiet during sixty years of stormful activity. The house where he lives is a snug, unpretentious, two-storied building which opens directly upon the road-side. But as if to compensate for the homeliness of the building, there is attached to it a magnificent garden, which rises clear from the bank of the Hooghly. As you sit on the verandah of the room where Mr. Banerjea works or in the room itself, you see before you, not one hundred yards in front of you, the sacred Bhagirathi rolling along in the pride and pomp of power, with all its vast and shining wealth of waters—a moving spectacle and one unspeakably dear to the heart of the Hindu.

It was in this room, open on all sides, with the Bhagirathi sparkling and glittering from beyond the orchard trees that I saw Mr. Banerjea on Sunday, the 15th of August, last. As usual a large party of visitors had come up from Calcutta: tea was just over; the conversation was brisk, lively and animated; and it naturally turned on Mr. Banerjea's recent travels in England. To me this seemed specially fortunate; for I

had come up with the express object of interviewing Mr. Banerjea and the conversation saved us both the necessity of such a formal and consequently a tedious piece of business. And I shall try to set down today as much of this conversation as may be of public and general interest.

We began from the beginning. "Was there any notable incident in the outward journey?"

"No, I can't say that there was. Of course, you know that I travelled with Mr. Everard Digby of the *Indian Daily News*. The other Indian delegates such as Mr. Stanley Reid of the *Times of India* and Mr. Lawson of the *Madras Mail* had gone before."

"Did the voyage agree with you?"

"O yes, it agreed with me marvellously; I had not a single day's illness on board. And for the matter of that, I find that I always keep well at sea."

"Did you notice any change in London when you arrived there?"

"Well, I am not the man to take much notice of these things. Of course, there was the taxi-cab and the tube railway, but that was about all that I noticed."

"What was the manner of your reception, Sir?"

"Oh, well, you must not call it a reception. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton and a few other kind English friends and a certain number of Indian students were present on the platform, though it was night when we reached London. They had made arrangements for taking me to my lodging. But Lord Northcliffe had sent his motor too; and I went in that to the Waldorf Hotel where all the Press delegates were putting up."

I. THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

"Now about the Conference. What do you think of its general importance? Were the Press of the Empire well represented?"

"Well, I can't say much about the importance of the Conference thus off-hand. But one thing you must bear in mind: it was a unique occasion. Nothing quite like this had been planned or carried out before; and it was certainly most interesting to have so many journalists coming together from the far corners of the globe.

"As regards the representative character of the Conference, of course it was mainly

organised by Lord Burnham and Lord Northcliffe—the proprietors respectively of the 'Daily Telegraph' and the 'Daily Mail'. I think the 'Times' was rather inclined to stand aloof, though no doubt it sent representatives to the Conference, as did all important papers from all parts of the Empire."

"But surely you forget those mighty pillars of journalism—the 'Statesman' and the 'Englishman' of Calcutta?"

"Ah, yes", he said, and his loud kindly laughter rang through the hall, "but to forget them would have been unkind too after all the attention that they have been paying to us."

We may tell our reader here that Mr. Banerjea's selection was regarded inevitable almost as soon as it was decided to invite an Indian delegate to the Conference. Just for a brief while perhaps the choice lay between Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Malabari of Bombay, but Mr. Banerjea's selection was regarded as sure from the first. Mr. Ratcliffe, Mr. Nevinson and Mr. Lovat Fraser had been consulted on the matter; and they had all voted for Mr. Banerjea. Indeed Mr. Lovat Fraser seemed inclined to take the whole credit of the choice to himself, for we find that he said to Mr. Banerjea afterwards—"I am proud of my nomination."

I asked him next about the business transacted at the Conference. But Mr. Banerjea did not seem inclined to attach much importance to that. He said—"As you know, perhaps, the main business transacted at the Conference had reference to cable rates; and of course we were all unanimous on the point. But I should tell you that it was the social side of the Conference which counted most. It was a good thing that the people who controlled the Press of so many countries should come to know one another at close quarters. It tended to minimize the chances of possible misunderstanding; and this was a distinct gain by itself. Speaking for myself, those of my brother-delegates who had chanced to hear of me before, thought perhaps that I was a red republican up in arms against the British Empire. But I hope, they departed with other notions concerning me; I am sure they found me a very impassive gentleman."

We all laughed at this modest description of himself, and none louder than Mr. Banerjea himself. The conversation next turned on the personalities of the Conference. But here Mr. Banerjea, with the characteristic kindness of his nature, was not disposed to be very communicative. But, bit by bit, we got scraps of information from him.

"What did you think of Lord Roseberry's opening speech, Sir?"

"Oh, it was a magnificent speech; and certainly Lord Roseberry is a fine orator. I don't know how it was though, but I could not catch all that he said. Perhaps that was because of the bad acoustic arrangements of the hall, for the audience was nothing very large—not more than five or six hundred perhaps. By the way, I think political meetings in England, except on great occasions, are never so largely attended as here; and so their orators don't feel called upon to exert their voice, to any extent. Speaking about orators, I heard Mr. Balfour speak at the Constitutional Club; but the one who impressed me most after Lord Roseberry was Mr. Birrell."

"What do you think of Lord Morley as an orator?"

"Well you would hardly call him an orator in the accepted sense of the term. But he is an impressive speaker, all the same—easy, graceful, fluent and incisive. You must remember also that he is an old man—seventy years of age. Besides, the subject was not such as called for the exercise of any very great oratorical powers."

"Did you not speak on the subject too?"

"Oh, yes, I did; but it was a very short affair."

"And Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M. P., who followed you, has paid a very glowing tribute to your speech!"

"Has he? Ah, but that might be due to personal good feeling. Mr. O'Connor is a bit of an old acquaintance of mine. He knew me when I was a lad—a young student in London, forty years ago; and we are great personal friends still."

"Then about the great incident of the meeting—from our point of view, at any rate; your duel with Lord Cromer—what was it like?"

"Well, I can only say, it came about in a most unexpected manner. Lord Cromer got up to speak, at 11; and I had an en-

gement with the British Committee of the National Congress at 11—30. I wanted to escape therefore as soon as possible; and had no idea that I would feel called upon to reply to Lord Cromer. But as he went on, pointing his words directly at me, I felt that it was my duty to vindicate our Press from his groundless accusations. I rapidly thought over the scheme of my reply and spoke about it to Mr. Digby, who was sitting just by me. Mr. Digby approved of my plan heartily; and I sent on a slip indicating that I wished to speak Mr. Mackenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, was in the chair that day. And—you must note this as a remarkable instance of an Englishman's ingrained love of justice and fairplay—though my name was not down on the programme of the day and was sent up last, he called upon me to speak as soon as Lord Cromer sat down."

"What was the general opinion regarding this controversy?"

"Perhaps, it is not for me to say anything about it. But this I can tell you that, even apart from the merits of the controversy, I had the sympathies of the entire audience on my side. And there was reason for it too. It was distinctly understood among us that the proceedings of the Conference were to be non-political. Now Lord Cromer had violated this rule in his speech; and so his performance was generally regarded as tactless and untimely."

We heard afterwards from Mr. K. N. Das-Gupta, who was present on the occasion, that Mr Banerjea's speech was punctuated throughout with loud cheers and hearty marks of approbation, whereas the latter part of Lord Cromer's speech had been received amidst almost universal silence.

"From London you proceeded on your tour to the country, I suppose?"

"Yes, but I was not present throughout. For instance, I did not go to Scotland; and I was absent from the naval review at Portsmouth, though I was present at the army parade at Aldershot, and had a good long talk with Mr. Haldane there."

"Ah, it was at Aldershot, was it not, that you became an Indian Raja for the nonce?"

"Oh, yes," he said; "it was a most funny incident though. I wanted to have some tea; and a young army officer came to show the way to me. I had been talking so long

with Mr. Haldane that he thought I must be a very big personage, indeed. And so he said—"This way, my Lord." But perhaps he thought that this was not sufficiently respectful; and so he corrected himself and said—"This way, Your Highness."

"What were the notable places that you visited during this tour?"

"Well, we visited Oxford and Stratford-on-Avon (Shakespeare's birthplace) and Leeds and Manchester."

"And it was at Manchester that you spoke?"

"Yes, the Lord Mayor proposed the "Imperial Press" and very kindly coupled my name with the toast; and of course, I had to reply."

"How was the speech received?"

"I must say that the reception was most kind and cordial. The best men of Manchester were present on the occasion; and I received warm congratulations from many of them—from Vice-Chancellor Hopkinson downwards."

"And now, what about the hospitality you received during your stay?"

"Oh, the English are famous for their hospitality, and they entertained us in right royal fashion. Our least wants were most carefully attended to; and all classes of society joined in making our stay agreeable and pleasant to us."

While on this subject, we cannot help mentioning an incident which was as ludicrous as it was pitiful. Mr. Banerjea had been the guest of such august public bodies as the Admiralty and the House of Commons; he had been cordially welcomed and entertained, among others, by Lord Burnham, Lord Northcliffe, Lord Strathcona, Mr. Henniker Heaton, and the Duke of Sutherland; and it was only pressure of engagement which prevented him from accepting the hospitality of the Duke of Argyll and the Arch-bishop of Canterbury. Ex-cabinet ministers like Mr. Austin Chamberlain and Lord Midleton had left their cards at his hotel and had been visited by him in return; and he had had most pleasant and agreeable conversation with such members of the cabinet as Mr. Haldane, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. John Burns. But there was one notable potentate who withheld the light of his countenance from him. Sir Charles Elliot,

ex-Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and at present a pension-holder on the Indian List, wrote to Mr. Banerjea that he could not extend his hospitality to him "unless he was assured" that Mr. Banerjea "was no enemy to the British Empire."

Needless to say, he never got his assurance: Mr. Banerjea never cared to send a reply to his letter. One wonders at the reason of such crude insolence as this. The explanation is most simple: Sir Charles had been an Anglo-Indian Civilian.

We asked Mr. Banerjea about his brother-delegates from Australia and Canada and their attitude towards India. Mr. Banerjea said: "They are very genial company, all of them; but I can't say that they knew much about India; nor can I say that they are very eager for information."

II. INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The proceedings of the Press Conference came to a close on the 25th of June, and Mr. Banerjea started forthwith his campaign on Indian matters. On the 25th, he was entertained at dinner by the Indian residents of London at Westminster Palace Hotel; and on the 29th, Sir William Wedderburn gave a breakfast in his honour, which was attended by a large number of distinguished members of Parliament. On the 5th of July, he was to address the members of the Eighty Club on the ideals of Indian Reforms. But in the meantime, there came the thunder-clap of Dhingra's insensate crime, and Mr. Banerjea's calculations were upset to a certain extent. Our conversation next turned upon that.

"How did you first come to hear of Col. Wyllie's murder?"

"Well, on the night of the murder, I had been to a dinner at Strathcona's and I came home late. Next morning I was writing letters or doing something of the sort, when a press-representative came to interview me on the subject of the murder. "What murder?" I asked; and then first I came to know the whole tragic story. By the way, I must tell you that I was quite flooded with requests for interview on that day; and I think I had to meet over fifty press-representatives, certainly not less."

"What steps did you take on hearing of the murder?"

"Well, there was no time to be lost. Of

course, I was perfectly sure that the murder had nothing to do with any political conspiracy. But still that was the interpretation which a large section of the public would put upon it. And they would try also to connect the student community with the murder. At about 10 o'clock, some of our students over there came to see me with the news of the crime. Among them were Dhiren, son of my friend Babu Debendra Chandra Ghosh, and Himansu, son of the late Mr. A. M. Bose. I told them that they must at once organise a meeting of the student community to condemn the murder, and that I should preside over it. They went away forthwith upon this errand, and in the meantime, I sent a letter to the Press disclaiming most emphatically all connection between the student community and the murder, and assuring people from personal knowledge of the constitutional attitude of our students. This letter, I am glad to say, was published next morning in every important paper of the country. The meeting came off on the evening of July 3, and was very largely attended by Indian residents of all classes, though of course the students predominated. I may tell you also that the one feeling in the meeting was of utter detestation for the wicked deed together with sympathy for Lady Wyllie in her great bereavement."

"What was the attitude of the Press over this murder?"—we next asked Mr. Banerjea. "Admirable!" was the prompt rejoinder; "Very admirable on the whole; no doubt there were some exceptions but the Press as a body exercised a noble and dignified self-restraint. Of course there were kind friends like Mr. J. D. Rees and Mrs. Flora Annie Steele, the novelist who writes on Indian topics. They were so wanting in common decency that they wanted to make political capital out of this unfortunate and most unhappy incident. But with a certain number of such people you will have always to reckon."

We now turned to the speeches delivered by Mr. Banerjea in connection with Indian subjects. He said: "The Eighty Club meeting was postponed on account of Col. Curzon-Wyllie's murder. But I had afterwards ample opportunities of speaking to English audiences on the subject of Indian needs and grievances. For instance, on July 13, I addressed a large meeting at



BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

Caxton Hall, over which Sir Charles Dilke presided. Next day I spoke at a meeting of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. And on July 19, I addressed a meeting at the New Reform Club over which Sir Henry Cotton presided. Besides this, I addressed a men's meeting at Grafton Square Congregational Church—a meeting which had been kindly arranged for me by our very good friend, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, formerly of the *Statesman*. I paid week-end visits also to Manchester and Birmingham and spoke at both these places."

"What was the character of the audiences at these meetings?"

"I must say that the audiences were very respectable in point of size—sometimes numbering over five hundred. Then again, they were composed of earnest, serious-minded men, who wanted to know about India, and were anxious to do their duty by her. On the whole, I must say, I was very well pleased with the men whom I had to address."

"How did you fare with the Press? How were the meetings reported?"

"Here again, I must say I was most fortunate. The Press dealt with me very kindly and reported my meetings fairly fully. Of the *Daily News* I need not speak; but even such papers as the "Times" and the "Morning Post," which ordinarily hold opinions on Indian subjects very different from mine, sent their representatives to all the meetings where I spoke. I shall give you an instance. I went down to Harrow to address a boy's meeting there, at the house of Mrs. Cobb, wife of an ex-M. P. It was a boy's business entirely, and yet both the "Times" and the "Morning Post" were represented there; and on my way back, I was interviewed by the *Morning Post* man in the railway car."

I asked him next about the English friends of India. Nothing could exceed the warmth of appreciation with which Mr. Banerjea spoke about the work of men like Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Keir Hardie, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Mackerness and others of their group. Both Dr. Rutherford and Mr. Keir Hardie were known to him from before; and of course, Sir Henry was an old and valued friend of thirty years standing. But Mr. Mackerness was a new acquaintance, as also were Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Sir Charles

Dilke and many more. "Our friends in Parliament," Mr. Banerjea was saying, "are as hearty and staunch as ever. And you must always bear in mind that the sturdiness with which they stand up for India has brought a certain amount of odium upon them. Besides, though true Liberals themselves, the chiefs of their party look coldly upon them for their opposition to the policy of Lord Morley. And this is always a serious matter for a private member of Parliament. But their work has not been fruitless. There is an influential group of members in Parliament who thoroughly disapprove of the deportations; and the Ministers will have to take into account the growing volume of this opposition."

"Do you think the position of our friends in Parliament has been affected by their advocacy of our cause?"

"You mean their position in the constituencies? Well, I can't say that it has been, at least to any appreciable extent. Why, only the other day, the constituency of Mr. Mackarness passed a hearty vote of confidence in him for his conduct in Parliament. And if Mr. Mackarness is not going to seek re-election, it is because his practice is increasing fast. He is a very clever man and a rising lawyer."

"Have you got nothing to say, Sir, about that true and vigilant friend of India—the redoubtable Mr. Rees?"

"Not much, I am afraid. I met him only once, and that was at the meeting of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. He took elaborate notes of my speech, and I thought at first that he was going to reply, but, perhaps he thought better of it afterwards and held his peace."

"What about the attitude of the labour party towards India?"

"I can't say that the labour party as a body is pledged to support our cause. But this I can say that it is from their ranks that we can expect the largest amount of sympathy and help for our cause."

"And what about the Irish Party?"

"I hope the Irish Party will by and by take the same attitude towards us as the labour party. There are very staunch friends of India among the Irish members—men like Mr. John Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. Swift Macneil."

"What about our friends in the English Press?"

"Well, there are our good friends Mr. Nevinson and Mr. Ratcliffe. Mr. C. P. Scott, the able editor of the *Manchester Guardian* is also very sympathetic; and so also are Mr. Gardiner of the *Daily News* and Mr. Donald of the *Daily Chronicle*. Above all, you must not forget our little weekly, *India*, and its alert and active editor, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton. Indeed, you can't conceive what an amount of good *India* is doing. It is rapidly gaining a position for itself in the field of English journalism; and no better exponent of the Indian point of view could possibly be found. I wish that our friends in Bengal would support that paper more largely. It is a matter of regret that *India* should have the weakest amount of support in our province."

"What about Mr. Stead?"

"I have the highest opinion of him, of his genuine desire to do good to India and of his enthusiasm in the cause of all human suffering. His is a charming personality. To know him is to esteem him and to respect him; and I count him as a warm friend, not only of myself personally, but of India."

"Just one word about the Indian students in England. We hear that they did not behave very well to Mr. Gokhale. How did you find them?"

"Well, I found them a very amenable lot I should say. And it is absolutely false to suggest that they are largely tinctured with the principles of anarchism. They are outspoken in their views certainly; but they are as peaceful and law-abiding as one could desire. By the way, as I have already told you, at Manchester I saw Mr. Hopkinson, Vice-Chancellor of the University. He said that he had come across many Indian students and that they were fine fellows mostly. To me personally," continued Mr. Banerjea, "their kindness was simply overwhelming."

"But so it has been everywhere," I suggested.

"Yes," he laughed. "The students, I believe, regarded me as their great friend. And, mind you, they are in the right of it too."

"Did you see Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal in London?"

"Oh yes, I saw him there. He was very

kind to me and entertained me at dinner in his lodgings. Besides, he co-operated with me heartily in the Reform Club Meeting that I mean where we condemned Dhiraj's crime. He was in charge of the main resolution and, as usual, spoke most effectively."

"What about his *Swaraj*?"

"Unfortunately I don't know much about that; I had no talk with him on those subjects. I think Bipin is leading a very quiet life there."

"Did you see Mr. Khaparde?"

"Oh yes, I saw him there with a flaunting turban about his head. He was telling me that he meant to take Mr. Tilak's case on appeal to the House of Lords. But I think there is much chance of success that—so, at any rate, I was told by a man of the highest authority."

III. LORD MORLEY AND MR. BANERJEA

"What about your interviews with Lord Morley?"

"Well I saw him three times in all my first time at Marlborough House, where he was introduced to him, and on the two occasions at the India Office. Of course you don't expect me to repeat the conversations which I had with him. But this I can say that I found him very courteous and sympathetic throughout."

"But these are general terms," I objected.

"Yes," replied Mr. Banerjea; "but I can go into more detail than this? I never, I shall go further and say this: I found Lord Morley is anxious to do justice to the Indians. But he is oppressed with a sense of his responsibility, and therefore, slow to change and cautious to change. Besides, he is partly influenced by his surroundings. One thing I noticed about him which struck me particularly; and it is that I think Lord Morley is permeated with the idea that Indians or Englishmen, we are all equal subjects of the Crown."

IV. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.

Finding it impossible to 'draw' Mr. Banerjea more on the subject of Lord Morley, I turned to the question of the results of his mission in England.

"What about the Partition," I asked.

"Is there any chance of its being undone?"

Mr. Banerjea paused a little and said, "I think the partition will go."

derstand, this is my impression only: but this impression I have gathered after mixing with a wide variety of men belonging to many different shades of opinion. The partition is like an unfathered brat; it is disowned by everybody, claimed by none. It is acknowledged to have been a mischievous measure, wantonly carried out in defiance of public opinion. Under such circumstances, I am convinced that the partition can't remain. It may not be undone, as you put it; but it will have to be modified. But in order that this may be effected, we shall have to keep up our agitation. We shall have to be *at it* always."

"And as for the 'deportations'?"

"Ah, there we are on even safer ground than the Partition. Englishmen don't always understand our grievance about the partition; but the question of the 'deportations' goes home to them. If there is one right which Englishmen value more than any other, it is the sacred right of personal liberty; and any curtailment of that liberty is intolerable to them. Of course, many of them talk about strengthening the hands of the Executive Government and what not. But this business of deporting people without charge or trial galls the conscience of all of them.

"It is sneakish, Russian, un-English'; and there you have the average Briton's view of the matter. My private opinion is that the deportees would have been released early in July, but for the insensate crime of Dhingra. That frightened the people a bit; but even now, I think that the release of the deportees can be expected soon."

"We see, Sir, that you advocate holding a session of the Congress in London. On what grounds do you proceed?"

"In the first place," said Mr. Banerjea, "however much our English friends may be doing for us—their words will never carry the same weight as those of Indians speaking for their own country. This may seem strange to us, but is nevertheless the bare fact that an Indian voicing the needs of his country is sure of a better hearing in England than an Englishman speaking for India.

"In the second place, the proposal of holding the Congress in London is not a new one; it is as old as the Congress itself. And

if ever the opportunity was ripe for holding the Congress there, now is the time for it. We must strike while the iron is hot; and now that a certain amount of curiosity has been excited about India, we should follow up our first success and make the most of it.

"In the third place, it is useless disguising the fact that an influential body of opinion is against holding the Congress at Lahore. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has mooted the question of a change of venue. Under such circumstances, it seems to me that the best solution of the difficulty would be to hold the Congress in London."

"Would you indicate in one sentence, Sir, the nature of the impression you created in England?"

"I should say that people are now generally convinced that there is another view of things than the official one, and that, that view also deserves consideration. As for myself I should say that most people now think with Bishop Welldon that whether they agree with me or not they are bound to give me a hearing."

I had almost exhausted my questions, by now; and as it was growing too late for train-time, I rose to depart. But I resolved to put one more question, before finally taking leave.

"It seems" I said "that the people are growing weary of an agitation, apparently fruitless. What message have you brought for them, Sir, from your tour abroad?"

"I hope you are wrong," said Mr. Banerjea, in the deep chest-tones of his voice, and his eyes flashed as he spoke; "I hope you are utterly and entirely in the wrong. Our people have no business to be despondent: we can't afford to be despondent. And as for message, I can only give them the watch-words of my life—Courage, Hope, and Faith."

Night had not far advanced when we passed out of the threshold of Mr. Banerjea's house; but in the streets of the sleepy, little village, the silence was as deep as at midnight. And as we trudged along the still, white pathways of Manirampore and the broad shady avenues of Barrackpore, our thoughts dwelt with loving reverence on that strong, true man, who, forty years before, with a long resounding blast on his golden trumpet had unfurled the banner

of his country in a dull and drowsy land, and who, old as he is, in the autumn and evening of his life, is still in the fore-

front of the battle—"his eye not dimmed, nor his natural force abated."

JITENDRALAL BANNERJEE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Science in daily life.—By D. S. R. Rao. M.A., M.B., Ch. B. (Edin.), Aural and ophthalmic Surgeon: Dermatologist. Price Re. 1.

This book claims to base man's life on science and thereby make him free from the troubles that flesh is heir to. It is a pity that as civilisation is pacing forward, the children of Adam are being increasingly visited with afflictions of fresh species and we have under our eyes a growing race of ailing men and women. To heal the bodily sickness of the human race is a noble duty but to prevent it is a nobler one. The book under review embraces all the conditions of life that a human being has to pass through and the treatment of the subject is up to the mark. The author has been successful in proving the power of Science over the every-day life of man and in driving home the truth that science cannot be set at naught in matters that help us to be in flesh. The book gives promise of proving useful to the public and of saving them, if followed, the money and the trouble that doctor and disease ruthlessly levy.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

The mystery of existence in the light of an optimistic Philosophy, by Charles Wicksteed Armstrong. Longmans Green & Co. Ph. xii + 131. Price 2s. 6d.

The author writes in the Introduction,—“The many deficiencies and inaccuracies, however, which, I am painfully aware, must again and again strike the reader and perhaps lead him to consider my work of little or no value, may in some measure be pardoned, in consideration of the difficulties which I have had to encounter, writing as I have, in a part of the world (Brazil) far removed from the great centres of modern thought; a part where, for books, authorities and references, I have had to depend entirely on the resources of my own extremely limited library. It is written, moreover, by the busy headmaster of a large school in the short intervals of privacy he has at odd times been able to snatch from manifold duties and anxieties..... Personally I bitterly lament my own lack of leisure and opportunity for real scientific study and above all, my own ignorance.”

But in these days of philosophic activities, it is preposterous to make an attempt at building a “System of Philosophy” without being thoroughly conversant with all the systems of modern Philosophy. The would-be Philosopher should know not only where the strength of these systems lie but also where they have broken down. But our author has had no scientific training and made no special study of philosophy and the result is that he has advanced theories that were exploded long ago. His method of treatment is

very superficial and his arguments flimsy—sometimes even puerile. Some of his conclusions, though not new, will seem startling to general readers. We give below the conclusions the author has arrived at:

‘Nothing begins, nothing ends, all is evolved.’ ‘There is but one spirit in the known universe. We and all conscious things form a part of that spirit’ ‘It is an essential part of the doctrine I am trying to follow up (says the author), that every feeling of which man is capable was felt by the world spirit long before man's evolution.’ ‘Loneliness causes every creature to seek a companion or many companions; loneliness is the greatest incentive to Love and the most poignant part of Grief.’ This applies to the world spirit also. It was alone “from the beginning of eternity (eternity has a beginning!) The divine loneliness constituted” the motive power of all things, the cause and the stimulus of evolution.” ‘The world-spirit strives after Bliss. As Love is the supreme idea of Bliss, individuation becomes a necessity. For this reason evolution which is the striving of the world spirit tends constantly to individuation.’ ‘The world spirit is resolving itself into not one God but many through the infinite power of Love which has its origin in the awful, unthinkable loneliness of God.’ ‘Regarding God's infinity in time, it is logical to suppose that he may be himself the product of some previous process of individuation. Our world-spirit is finite in time and space.’ ‘God's work has been immense—but not infinite and the nature of his work in producing man has been analogous to that of man in producing certain breeds of animals.’ ‘It may seem blasphemous to compare a breeder of cattle to the maker of the universe, but in the present inquiry, analogy is the golden thread by which alone we may hope to find the truth and again I say the difference is one of degree alone.’ According to the author the spirit is subordinate to the Laws of Nature. ‘God, then is a finite being; that is, his power is limited by the Law of Mathematical Possibility; he is not necessarily present wherever things exist, for there may be other world-spirits in other universes. He cannot act where he is not. Being finite his work is not perfect in detail.’ ‘Everywhere the work of the Spirit is subject to imperfections, although these imperfections are less in the case of God's work than Man's. Thus are ugliness, deformities, wickedness—injustice and disorder no longer paradoxes but a most natural part of God's work, furnishing the most significant evidence in support of its analogy to Man's.’ ‘An earthquake in Calabria which claims a quarter of a million victims, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the innocent and the wicked, quite indiscriminately, as an imperfection in the machinery of the universe is quite com-

prehensible. Such facts bear the most unmistakable stamp of accident, wholly devoid of purpose." There are *dis-harmonies*, physical and psychophysical. "Metchnikoff sees in these facts the absence of divine control; I (says the author) should rather see in them divine **miscalculations** whose evil effects can only be very slowly and painfully eradicated". Regarding immortality the author says—"The Divine spark may acquire sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material form." "To suppose that the less intellectual amongst mankind—the brutally criminal, the imbecile and the new born,—have attained the necessary strength of personality appears to me an absurdity. If the proper moment has yet arrived for the survival of bodily death, it has certainly *not yet come for all of us*. I conceive it as being the privilege of few as yet, and these few are the most intellectual or the morally highest among mankind—in other words, the most highly individualised or the most evolved. "When a man breeds sheep or fowl, he endeavours to do his best for every animal, but all his anxiety is for the race" so "the Evolution of the Race is the great fact and the individual is of infinitely less importance." "We delude ourselves with a belief that immortality is a certainty and thereby learn to despise the body and the proper care of this present life—the only really certain thing we have (only here the italics are ours). We forget or do not apply that very wise old proverb "*A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*". Throughout mammals, we find that life lasts some ten times the length of the time the creature requires to arrive at maturity—yet with man it is only three times or at best four! It is pretty certain that Man *ought* to live normally to 120 or 133 at least. The belief in immortality—is to some extent responsible for this degeneration. It is my belief that man, instead of making so sure of immortality, should occupy himself with the prolongation of earthly life." "The world spirit is the Ormuzd of the Persians and Man's duty is to help Ormuzd in the work of selection amongst his own kind."

These are some of the conclusions of the author. He could not "refrain from submitting them to the criticism of those who may peruse this volume to be approved or to be rejected, as they may deserve." Let the readers now decide what they would do.

Some of our readers must have read that excellent book 'God and the Soul.' The author of that book (Richard A. Armstrong) is a different person from that of the Mystery of existence."

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

William Morris; by Alfred Noyes. Englishmen of Letters New Series, Macmillan and Company.

Of all the volumes which have hitherto appeared in the New Series this is perhaps written within the smallest compass as it extends only to 151 pages. And yet the author's parsimony of words has not left any biographical item of interest untouched, or any critical detail of importance unexamined. Some of the pages, so eloquently are they written, arrest our attention at once. The crystal clearness of the narrative and the commentary are simply admirable. No bewildering paradox has been perpetrated. No misty dictum of criticism has been heedlessly launched. No attempt has been made to darken sweet counsel with cloudy

expression. No freakish theories have been allowed to supersede sanity of judgment and there is not the least trace of any ignoble compromise with bias and predilection.

The New Series includes lives of five later nineteenth century poets,—Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Rossetti and William Morris, who have planted their flame-shod feet on the splendour-wreathed peaks of Parnassus, and there they will dwell for all time, whatever fashions may sway the minds of the reading public—whatever favourite idol may hold suzerainty over the passing hour—whatever adverse conditions may prevail and overtake letters and literary men. Tennyson will certainly appeal to us most, as he voices with unmistakable emphasis the hopes, aspirations, doubts and bewilderments of an entire century—its joy, and toil and sorrow,—its unwearied search for knowledge and its strenuous striving after peace and order and certitude in the midst of a godless gloom that beleaguered the best minds of the period;—and it is a matter of supreme gratification to find Mr. Noyes digressing in more than one place to express his glowing appreciation of the genius and workmanship of one, who, whatever Mr. Frederic Harrison and others may say, has made the profoundest impression on the hearts of his audience.

The present monograph is purposely written on a "lower scale of values" and though Mr. Noyes has throughout shown undimmed enthusiasm, there are none of those ungenerous tricks of criticism which exalt one poet at the expense of another. This is the most pleasing feature of the book. There is no inflated laudation, no unrestrained extravagance of praise—no aggravating pile of unmeaning superlatives of praise. Mr. Noyes deserves our best thanks for this wise reticence. And yet it must not be supposed that the author's pages are devoid of that nameless quality which sweeps the disciple off his feet before his idolised master and will, therefore, strike the reader as thin and spiritless. On the contrary the book is full of vivid and vigorous touches, witness the following extracts taken at random from the chapters dealing with the principal works of the poet:

King Arthur's Tomb "is an even finer piece of work, more lucid, richer in colour, and even more turbulent passion, while its theme is a deeper one..... Here surely, too, one sees the influence of his studies in painting translated into another art. But in the magnificent picture of the tourney that follows there is something of the red wine of battle that is only to be drunk out of the inverted helmets of heroic poetry—a wine moreover, of a heady kind that is hardly to be found outside the poetry of Morris, unless it be that which they drink in Valhalla."

"Enchanting as a fairy tale, *The Life and Death of Jason* is yet as credible as any modern novel when once the reader is absorbed in it. And it is perhaps the most complete revitalisation of a mythological world ever accomplished in English verse."

"His other works, beautiful as they may be, are not strong enough to stand by themselves; but *The Earthly Paradise* does stand by itself, like an independent literature, in a world and atmosphere of its own. One can almost conceive it to have been indeed the work of some strange Greek nation in an unknown

sea, rather than the work of one man, and one can picture it surviving the wreck of many languages and literatures, as the *Arabian Nights* and one or two collections of fairy tales will survive, with perhaps the work of half-a-dozen individual poets."

* * * * *

"Yet, as it (Sigurd) stands, we do feel that it soars higher. It is cloudy in parts; but its clouds are magnificent, and through their rents we catch glimpses of an immensity of stars, and are conscious of a sweep of the heavens unknown in the Valleys below."

But the impatient reader may exclaim; "This is merely mechanical maundering—there is nothing actually here of Morris himself—not even a stray fragment from his poems to relieve these 'dry-as-dustical' remarks". Well, he must remember that there is such a thing as editorial interdict in regard to space, and further that poets suffer most from haphazard quotations. The present writer has abstained from importing into his paper unconnected lines from Morris's works as they would not properly represent the main spirit of the poet—nor the "treasures of humour, felicity, passion, contained therein." And yet it is hard to omit all reference to the stanzas given below.

Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time,
Why should I strive to set the crooked straight!
Let it suffice me that my murmuring rhyme
Beats with light wing against the ivory gate.
Telling a tale not too importunate
To those who in the sleepy region stay,
Lulled by the singer of an empty day.

* * * * *

Death have we hated, knowing not what it meant,
Life have we loved through green leaf and through sere,
Though still the less we knew of its intent:
The Earth and Heaven through countless year on year,
Slow, changing were to us but curtains fair
Hung round about a little room, where play
Weeping and laughter of man's empty day.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

Glimpses of Hidden India: Thacker, Spink and Co. Indian Edition. Price Rs. 2. (278pp.)

The authoress, writing under the pseudonym of John Law, has given us a really interesting account of some aspects and tendencies of Indian life, and, unlike most foreign writers on India, she has not confined her attention to her own 'set' only, but has dealt largely with the people of this vast peninsula, from the prince to the peasant, not forgetting the much-maligned students and lawyers, to whom she devotes two chapters. In spite of her sneers at cheap education (chap-xiii)—she actually thinks (p.261) that it would have been much better for India to spend the money 'lavished' upon schools and colleges in improving the lot of the English soldier in India—and of her admiration of Lord Clive (chap. xv), it must be admitted that on the whole she sympathises with Indian aspirations and has a sound grasp of the fundamental factors of what is called the 'Indian problem'. There are chapters on marriage, caste and vedantism—"the religion in which modern science finds its conclusions hinted at" (p. 263)—and the social and religious sides of Indian life have been touched upon lightly, but with sympathy and insight.

She is conscious that of all foreigners, Sister Nivedita alone understands the workings of the Hindu mind (p. 26).

Our authoress mixed to some extent with Indian men and women, but it is obvious that she did so for the purpose of writing her book, and not from any more serious and nobler motive. As a woman's judgment on her own sex, her remarks on the *purdah* system as a factor in the preservation of the Hindu race (p. 38) and on early marriage as mere betrothal and a scientifically correct custom (p. 145), are instructive, though they are far from being the whole truth. 'In all probability unmarried women in England have suffered quite as much from want of marriage as child-wives in India have suffered from early marriage'—(p. 146). But her observations are often very superficial. Sister Nivedita, for instance, would never have imagined that a Hindu's regard for his womankind is to be gauged by the fact that a Hindu mother never allows her son to fetch a glass of water for himself (p. 58) and she knows history too well to be able to write as follows: 'There has never been an age of chivalry in India. Such an age was made possible in Europe by the Christian religion and the worship of the Virgin Mary'—(p. 236). Nowhere else in the world is a mother so venerated as in India. Draper, Stanley Lane Pool and others have shown that the institution of chivalry was introduced in the West by the Moors of Spain. Christian theology considered Eve to be the mother of all evil. Lamb, in his *Essays of Elia*, and Professor Karl Pearson, in his *Ethic of Free Thought*, have pointed out how much of grossness and sensuality there is in European chivalry, and Col. Todd had no hesitation in recognising the superiority of the Indian form of chivalry in purity and refinement to its European prototype.

The writer gives an altogether new explanation of the notorious race-bias of the Imperialist poet Kipling which deserves quotation. 'When I quote Mr. Kipling in India, I am told (of course, I know it is a mistake) that he has Eurasian antecedents. Of course, Eurasians outdo English people in drawing a hard, dividing line between India and England' (p. 5). She makes some very incisive remarks on the Eurasian community (chap. v), and complains that the word 'native' which Indians thoroughly dislike is so much on their lips (p. 51), but we are sorry to find that she is not herself above catching the contagion (pp. 60, 108, 161).

On the subject of the Native States the writer has some thing very sensible to say. 'The greater the fuss made of Indian Princes, the more do they feel in the velvet glove the hand of steel; and while speaking of the British Rāj with due loyalty and respect, many of them are sad at heart' (p. 37). We learn from this book (pp. 37, 84) that H. H. the Nizam, though desirous of visiting England, will not ask permission of the Government of India to do so. He seems to be a passive resister against Lord Curzon's circular regulating the movements of Indian Princes. It seems that even Hyderabad is not free from 'anti-English Hindus' who say that the Residents have been bad men and their wives have taken bribes (p. 69). But it is gratifying to know that there is little of discontent in the capital of the Nizam's dominions. 'Why? In Hyderabad the Prime Minister is a Hindu, and the Private Secretary of the Prime Minister is a Parsi. Mahomedans have from the time of Akbar placed Hindus in prominent positions; and history tells us that Hindus have served Mahomedans faithfully. Englishmen do not trust Indians; consequently the most important and

the best-paid billets are held by themselves. And the consequence is what? Jealousy. Discontent. Bitterness.' (pp. 81-82).

On page 109 we are given an instance of Anglo-Indian prejudice against all that is non-British; though Indian medicines are more suited to the climate of India than those prescribed by the British pharmacopœia, English doctors in India do not use them for fear of losing patients. But the authoress is not herself free from conventional prejudices, for the sight of a bare-bodied Hindu lawyer whose drawing-room is furnished in European style strikes her as curious (p. 57). Here she forgets the simple truth, that culture and civilisation are things of the mind, and not of outward show.

The writer was present in Bombay during the trial of Mr. Tilak and says: 'I must say that I could not understand why the Parsi Judge challenged every Hindu who could have acted on the jury, and allowed the jury to be composed solely of men who did not know the language in which the article on which the prosecution was based was written. I watched the attitude of the jury very closely; and I came to the conclusion that most of the jurymen had made up their minds before the trial commenced.' (p. 142). 'The editors of the larger Hindu papers are shrewd, well-educated men, and their papers are a credit to Indians' (p. 238). The futility of press prosecutions is indicated in the following lines (p. 240). 'As soon as one little paper is suppressed, another springs up to take its place; and the Hindu mind is so adaptive, so ingenious, that if all the vernacular papers in India were suppressed, then some other mode of communicating and circulating thought would be discovered.'

Bengalis will feel flattered to learn that the authoress calls them 'the brains of India' (p. 140.) Speaking of the work done by Indians in subordinate positions, 'work that has enabled Englishmen to become a credit to themselves and to England' (p. 230) the writer very truly remarks: 'Certainly English civilians receive credit for a great deal that is done by Indian officials who work under their direction, and would be in a sorry plight if such helpers were taken away and they were left to themselves' (pp. 233-4).

The writer's views on the political future of India are on the whole sound. 'What are Indians really fighting for? Racial equality—Racial equality throughout the British Empire is the problem of the future...In the solution of that problem lies the fate of the British Empire, for Asia has taken on a new lease of life' (p. 140). The writer believes that another fifty years must pass by before the higher positions in the Army are thrown open to Indians. (p. 236). 'A study of the last half century makes me believe that Indians will follow the British flag, and not set up a flag of their own (p. 231).' 'An Indian renaissance, born of a new consciousness of unity, is seen everywhere to-day. The direction in which this new consciousness of unity will move is towards the raising of the masses; and as the depressed classes are lifted up, caste distinctions will break down, and political unity will become possible' (p. 276). More than once (pp. 71, 189) the authoress refers to the parallelism between the present times and the days of Aurangzebe. 'With Aurangzebe came the first indications of disintegration. In the time of that iconoclast the Hindus grew discontented. The Bengalis asked for more power and influence; and their requests were curtly refused. Things that hap-

pened at that time strangely resemble things that are going on to-day in India'.

The views of the authoress on the Hindu-Mahomedan Question deserve attention. 'If anyone says that Hindus and Mahomedans have the same interests in India, he makes a mistake. Mahomedans are playing a world-wide game today, and that game keeps them loyal to England in India, and very quiet' (p. 6). 'Again, I must repeat that, in my opinion, Mahomedans and Hindus have not mixed in India. They have come much closer together than English people and Indians have done; but more than one leading Mahomedan in India has said to me: "If the English left India, then we should be topdog again". That Mahomedan and Hindus should become one nation is the pious desire of every Hindu reformer; but the ideals and aspirations of Mahomedans are of a different character' (p. 78). We leave the reader to judge how far these views are justified by facts.

Like other writers on India, the authoress considers the Indian tendency towards overspeculation a clog in the wheel of her material advancement. She quotes Sir J. R. Seely who said: "We are not cleverer than the Hindu; our minds are not richer or larger than his. He can match from his poetry our sublimest thoughts; even our science has few conceptions that are altogether new to him. Our boast is not that we have more brilliant ideas, but that our ideas are better tested and sounder. The greatness of modern as compared with medieval or ancient civilisation is that it possesses a large stock of practical power—"

There are some egregious errors in the book which reveal the writer's defective acquaintance with the customs and habits of the people of the land. On page 115 it is said that most Mahomedans in India are polygamous; but the latest census report shows that among Mahomedans, only 21 per thousand indulge in a plurality of wives. On page 59 we find it said that all Mahomedans speak Hindustani. In East Bengal, where the Mahomedan population is the largest, almost all of them speak Bengali, and nothing but Bengali. On page 125 the authoress says: 'Only the lowest castes will touch a dead body, so the corpse is borne on the shoulder of coolies.' The fact is that a dead body is considered so sacred that none but the nearest relations and fellow-castemen are allowed to touch it, and it is only the outcastes whose corpses are handled by coolies.

We shall now close this rather lengthy review by quoting a few wise observations which occur here and there in the book.

'I went to India with the conviction that the English had done a great work there by bringing order out of chaos...But historical documents have shown me that during the years of Mahomedan supremacy in India,—roughly speaking from the time when William the Conqueror went to England until the battle of Plassey—less fighting was carried on in India than in Europe...during that long period, Mahomedans and Hindus were more homogeneous in India than English and Indian people have ever been, or are today. It has been considered politic to write of things in India as England would like them to be; but now that our Indian fellow subjects are greater students of modern Indian history than Englishmen take the trouble to be, it is wiser to state facts than to spread fancies' (pp. 17-18).

'I have often thought that if English people in India would talk more freely with Indians, then they might become wiser men; for Hindus bring to bear on the English character the wisdom of the ages; (p. 47).

...As servants are the only Indians with whom most English people come closely in contact, it is no unusual thing to hear the vast population of India judged by people whose counterparts can be found only in the slums of European cities (p. 44).

'If Christian missionaries could lift the veil and see the meaning of Hindu symbols, we should hear less denunciation of 'the heathen' and 'heathenish ways'. But the missionaries whom I met in India, with a few notable exceptions, were men and women with crude intellects and narrow minds, people who repelled and disgusted learned Hindus and cultivated Mahomedans and who showed by words and deeds that they thought a white skin superior to a black one.' (pp. 128-29).

'... side and aloofness on the part of the English people in India have made more enemies for England than anything else' (p. 232).

The printing and get-up of the book are neat, and the binding attractive. On the whole the book is one of the best that have been written during recent years by Englishmen and Englishwomen in India, and as such we have much pleasure in recommending it to the public.

X

The Ethics of Passive Resistance: Prize Essay.
Reprinted from the *Indian Opinion International Printing Press. Phoenix, Natal.*

The object of this small brochure is to demonstrate that passive resistance is not only permissible, but the imperative duty of every individual in certain circumstances. It is pointed out that Socrates and Jesus Christ were the greatest of passive resisters, and the Christian martyrs belonged to the same category. Victor Hugo, Tolstoy and Thoreau, the author of 'The Duty of Civil Disobedience', are liberally quoted from. Passive Resistance is defined to be submission to physical force under protest; "if passive resistance on the part of a minority in a state becomes an imperative necessity, then the majority cannot continue strong for long". This is the secret of the power of passive resistance as a political weapon, and our brethren in South Africa, like the suffragettes of England, have not been slow to grasp it.

X.

BENGALI.

Bharatiya Bidushi (Learned women of India): by Manilal Gangopadhyaya. Kantic Press, Calcutta. Price annas ten.

We welcome this small octavo volume of 151 pages as an eminently suitable prize-book for our boys and girls. It is excellently printed and bound, and attractively got up. It is a collection of the lives of learned Indian women from the Vedic age down to the time of Raja Rajballav. The book is written in an easy and felicitous style, and contains, besides all the well-known historical names, such as Gargi, Maitreyi and Lilabati, several names less known to fame. The sketches are short but interesting. The name of one Mahomedan literary lady, Princess Jebunnessa, the Daughter of Emperor Aurangzebe, is included in this

volume. The object of the author is to inspire the younger generation with hope in the future of our women. Young minds fed with this pabulum are likely to grow up in sympathy with the idea of female education which has not made much headway in the country though the necessity for such education is not usually denied in the abstract in circles which have a reputation for enlightenment. The materials gathered together in this volume are sufficient to show that even in the dark days of India immediately preceding and following the advent of the British literary culture was not forbidden to our ladies and female education was neither rare nor considered heterodox. We gladly recommend the book to the public.

X.

II. Rajkahini (Tales of Rajputana), Vol I, Mewar: by Abanindra Nath Tagore. Kantic Press, Calcutta. Price annas twelve.

Babu Abanindra Nath Tagore is not only the foremost Indian artist of to-day, but also one of the most gifted of Bengali writers. By his style of painting he has revived the idealism of Indian art, and by his style of writing he is destined to effect no less a revolution in Bengali literature. His tales are not like other tales, consistent, connected and complete. They are a kaliedoscope of bright and beautiful patches, not always coherent, or proportionate in the combination of parts, nor formally flawless. But they have one grand quality—they are endowed with a soul, and have a voice that speaks right into the heart. They are like his pictures, instinct with life though not regular in form. His descriptions are full of vivid imagery and of exquisitely delicate poetic touches, such as captivate the imagination of childhood. The best story-teller is he who tells his stories in such a way that they leave a permanent and indelible impression on the mind. This high credit belongs to the writer of these tales. After this we may expect our young hopefuls, as they emerge from the lap of their grandmothers, to feed themselves not merely with the mysterious doings of ghosts and hobgoblins, but also with the healthier and more invigorating food of the mighty deeds of heroism and grandeur, nobility and self-sacrifice, of which the hills and dales of Rajputana furnish a perennial supply. A nobler work of patriotism could not be conceived, nor could it be better performed. The book is illustrated with some pictures of the artist's own school. We shall eagerly wait for the succeeding volumes of these tales and would in the meantime advise every father to provide his children with a copy of the volume already published, confident that no better story-book could be placed in their hands.

X.

Adarsha Bharat Grihini or an Ideal Indian Housewife, by Mrs. Amodini Ghosh, published by Babu Gopaldas Ghosh, Dacca. D.Cr. 16 mo. The price is not stated. The printing of the book is neat and correct, the language chaste, diction elegant, reasoning convincing and conclusive. The grand ideal of an Indian housewife has been successfully drawn and fairly compared with the present fallen state of the society. This little booklet deserves to be very widely read especially by our ladies so that we may all strive after re-attaining the lost ideal.

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

GUJARATI.

A short biography of H. M. King Edward VII, by Popatlal Keral Chand Shah. Raj-kot, Printed at the Shri Gajanan Press, Ahmedabad, (cloth bound, pp. 175. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1909). Illustrated.

This book gives almost all the important incidents in the life of H. M. the King and adverts to several others in the Royal Family, such as the death of the Prince Consort, and the Indian Tour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. To those who are acquainted with these things, through their knowledge of English, it does not afford much scope for useful instruction, nor does it pretend to furnish any enlightenment by means of any judicious criticism on any epoch-making incidents which have been crowded into the lives of these Royal personages, and their *entourage*. It has confined itself to a bare narrative in which the main structure is borrowed from English sources. There are one or two appendices which give in Gujarati the two proclamations, *viz.*, of the late Queen Empress, and of His present Majesty. The illustrations in the book are not at all attractive, some of them are mere daubs, and if ever a Second Edition is called for we suggest the author had better look to them.

K. M. J.

- (1) *Examination of Bullocks for Soundness, pp. 7.*
- (2) *Principles of Cattle-breeding and Improvement of Cattle-breeds in Gujarat. pp. 8, by Mahashanker Chhaganlal Joshi G.B.V.C., Late Lecturer, Veterinary Colleges, Bombay, and Calcutta. Late Manager, Northcote Cattle Farm, Chharodi Veterinary officer, in charge, Veterinary Hospital, Godhra. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper bound, Price 1 anna each, (1909).*

It takes one from seven to eight minutes to go through these two tracts. But their importance is in inverse ratio to their size. In a very small compass, the author, who writes with the authority of an experienced hand, has condensed a lot of useful information, and instruction, in language suitable for those who are most concerned with the subject, both for laymen and agriculturists. It is handy, cheap, and popular tracts of this sort, which we want at present for a class, which is the backbone of our economic life. Famine has devastated Gujarat, and denuded the province of a large number of agricultural cattle. It is a problem which perplexes both the Government and the people as to how to make up for this loss, and any thing which comes as a help to the solution of the problem, must come very handy. If cattle-rearers only keep the instructions embodied in these little booklets in mind, they will do much good to themselves and others.

K. M. J.

Shri Atmasiddhi Shastra by the late Shriman Rajchandra, published by Mansukhlal Raojibhai Mehta, printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, Second Edition, pp. 54 and 38: cloth bound. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1908).

We had occasion recently to review the work of Mr. Mansukhlal, and we are glad we have so soon got another opportunity to acknowledge the sterling worth of his living interest in Jaina-Gujarati literature.

The above book is a purely religious or rather religious-philosophical treatise. It consists of 142 Gujarati *Shlokas* composed by his late brother, Rajchandra. They were composed in about a day and a half, to instruct a layman, who was weak in health, and who wanted lessons in "*Tatwasar*." The language of the *Shlokas* is easy, but much remains behind, and unless there is an expounder of the work, as competent as the author, it is difficult to extract the philosophical jewels that lie embedded in them. Its main purpose is to prove these six attributes of the Atman,—1. Its existence, 2. Its indestructibility, 3. That it is the real author of our actions (*karma*). 4. That it is the enjoyer of the results of our actions. 5. That "*moksha*" exists. 6. That "*moksha*" is attainable. He has tried to support the thesis by means of propositions taken generally from all religions. In his brother Mansukhlal, the deceased Jain Saint has found an expounder of his works, in every way worthy of himself. In a long and detailed preface, in which he has ransacked almost every system of Hindu Philosophy, Mansukhlal has commented on and explained every outstanding feature of his brother's work. It is impossible in the small compass of a review-article to advert to all that is commendable in it, but we would give one or two samples only, *e.g.* on page 17, where he takes up the discussion about the attributes of the Atman and proves the superiority of the conclusions reached by the Jaina Philosophers, by drawing on the *Mimansa* School of philosophy, the beliefs of the followers of Prddha the *Sankhya Darshana*, the *Yog* and *Nyaya Shastras*, the *Vedant*, the *Adwait* and *Vishishthadwait* and *Nimbakar's Dwaitadwaita* philosophies, and presenting each in its true light, shows how much at home he is in the abstruse subject of philosophy as in literature. To take one more instance: towards the end of the preface, the attempt he has made to shew that the discoveries made by the modern and material school of physicists, typified by Dr. Bose's assertion that non-living and inorganic matter is as sensitive to heat and cold and other stimuli as the living and the organic, were already anticipated and believed in by the followers of Mahavir, deserves more than a passing note. The beautiful quotation from the "*Shudadarshana Samuchchaya*," portraying how the different trees are born, bred, developed and supported; how they live, die, and derive their sustenance and inspiration from the different phenomena of nature, "(the fig tree, the peepul tree and the neem tree, blossom by the rain, thunder of the monsoon and the breeze of shishir, the asoka tree, blossoms when it is touched by the feet—with jingling anklets—of a beautiful maiden, the *fanas* tree by her embrace, the *shirish* tree by hearing the music of *Panchama Swara* &c.,) and human actions, has to be read in the original to feel its full force and significance. We consider the book a valuable addition to our literature. Looking to its fine mechanical execution it is cheap for the price catalogued.

K. M. J.

A biography of Abhaya Kumar Mantrishwar, Part I. by Motichand Odhavji, Bhavnagar, Printed at the Bhavnagar Anand Printing Press. pp. 263. cloth bound. Price. Re. 1-4-0. (1908).

This is another Jaina work and comes from Kathiawad. We noticed some time back that the Jaina community and the province of Kathiawad both were

looking up, and the progress, we find, is kept up. This is a translation of a Sanskrit Mahakavya of a Jaina upadhyaya, Shrimad Chandratilak. It is the life-history of one of the princes of a King of Magadha. The prince went into exile for certain reasons, and after he had undergone various vicissitudes and married abroad, circumstances brought him back to his capital, where on his father's death, he succeeded him. His wife who did not know his real status, gave birth to a son, who found out his father and served him as his minister, without the former recognising him. The translation sets out the strong points of Abhaya Kumar's character as minister, and is a very readable production. A vocabulary at the end explains some

purely Jaina terms, but it could have been more fuller with advantage. K. M. J

Shri Jnan bachan, Natwadal Kanaulyal Vaishan.
Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmeda
cloth bound. pp. 126. Price As. 0-10-0. (19
Second Edition: .

This is a collection of quotations from different authors Indian and European, on all sorts of subjects. It furnishes pleasant reading and acts as a sort of relief way of light reading to a 'tired brain.' The range of selection is very wide and comprehensive.

K. M. J

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Messages of Uplift—A rejoinder.

The attack which the writer under the abbreviated pen-name of "Pol" makes on Mr. Jadu Nath Sarkar in the August Number of this journal misses its point, first, because it is couched in places in very harsh language, and secondly, because it sets the scattered effusions of an "adventure" over the writings of one of the brightest graduates of the Calcutta University, of one, in fact, who represents in his career something much more than mere academic distinction and is coming to be considered as a scholar of the highest type. When I read Mr. Sarkar's notice of the "Messages" in the July issue it struck me that though the grounds of condemning the book were unimpeachable yet he had very nearly dipped his quill into vitriol. But a reviewer writing over an open signature, and fully responsible for what he says, is quite at liberty to express his personal opinion of another's performance, regardless of the fact whether his words would have an emollient effect or make one wince. Now most readers of Mr. Nihal Singh's articles must have noticed a certain vulgarity of tone, and if I may say so, a vicious slangy atmosphere of phrase. Mr. Sarkar in the short review in question brought these into prominence, and except the unfortunate reference, "a penniless half-educated youth, etc.", which is distinctly objectionable as it is used in connection with a fellow-contributor, there is nothing in his remarks which can call forth a violent protest. Mr. Jadu Nath Sarkar was looking at the pamphlet from the literary standpoint and was perfectly right in speaking of its rather pretentious title in a lower key of praise.

Not content with reading a sharp lecture to Mr. Sarkar about the true function of criticism, the amiable Mr. Pol goes on to observe: "It would be idle to deny that Mr. Singh's articles form one of the chief attractions of the *Modern Review*, whereas the dullness of learned historical disquisitions is often repellent. But those who write learnedly should be satisfied with a 'fit audience though few' and should not pitch into less learned folk who happen to be more popular." This is sheer drivelling fudge and is conceived in very bad taste, in as much as it insinuates that Mr.

Sarkar was impelled by motives of jealousy to be bitterly acrimonious. But his reputation as a writer has been firmly established, for his historical papers are full of eminent scholarship, and are written in a finer style than the works of either Ranad or Mr. Dutt. There is no ponderosity or pomposity, adapted to Matthew Arnold's language, and yet accuracy has not been sacrificed to spurious rhetoric nor right historic spirit to shallow partisanship.

GHAZIPUR,
7-8-09.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI

Prof. Sarkar and Mr. 'Pol'.

Mr. Pol has taken to the *similia similibus curran* method in his protest against Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's review of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's book. I have quarrelled with Mr. Pol—I do not know his real name nor have I any special attachment to Prof. Sarkar. I hope no motives will be ascribed to what I write.

I do not think that Prof. Sarkar is of opinion that Mr. Saint Nihal Singh is half-educated as he has no university diploma. I have read Mr. Sarkar's criticism carefully and I find no allegation what to that effect. It seems to me that Mr. Sarkar chosen to call Mr. Singh 'half-educated' as he found something in his contributions either in matter of style or of the mode of treatment which given rise to the belief in his mind that a man of higher education—not necessarily college education—would have dealt with the materials Mr. Nihal Singh has at his command in an altogether different way. It is my conviction, although I do not know Mr. Saint personally, that Mr. Sarkar is not so narrow to say that a University man alone is well-educated.

I happened to disagree on a few points with Sarkar in regard to the review of the autobiography of Rajnarain Bose he contributed to the pages of the journal some time ago, but I felt that it would be height of injustice to disparage the splendid service he is rendering to the country by throwing new precious light upon a period of our nation's history. To be honest, we are all proud of Prof. Jadu Sarkar and his tireless labours towards the unveiling of historical truths have won him a renown which,

us hope, neither disparaging breath nor length of days will impair. It is rather funny when a man unable to choke down his spleen turns up his nose at such a useful member of the community and gives him the euphemistic name of 'a stay-at-home scholar'. I am of opinion that the masterly contributions of Prof. Sarkar have added to the value of the *Modern Review* and that they possess *great* charms for persons who are interested in what is permanent in literature.

Mr. Pol is right when he says that several have made their mark without going through a system of university training. Knowledge is not the monopoly of 'varsity' men alone but it comes to him who seeks it in right earnest. Mr. Pol should, nevertheless, bear in mind that any man without a university education who can put together words to say whatever gets uppermost in his mind is not above being 'half-educated' and that every such a one is not a Spencer or a Rabindranath Tagore. On the other hand, a graduate who thinks that whatever he says or writes will be thought an oracle because of his university diploma and that it must possess undoubted literary excellence has some sickness in his brain and is only half or *quarter* educated. Bengal can boast of several eminent individuals who owed little or nothing to their *Alma Mater* and Mr. Jadunath Sarkar though a flower of the Calcutta University is not, I trust, unwilling to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. Indeed, if I have understood Mr. Sarkar aright I think that he likes to see that one should be in regular pupilage ere one can climb Mount Sinai and shower down messages. Kristodas Pal, Harish Chandra Mukerji, Akshaya Kumar Dutt, Protap Chandra Mozoomdar and several other such non-university men contributed each according to his capacity to the thought of the world but we do not know what long years of study and meditation they had to pass through. Their culture, thoughtfulness and command of the language were manifested in their writings as it invariably happens to be the case with all well-educated persons.

Prof. Sarkar has judged of Mr. Singh's book from the standpoint of literature and has frankly recorded his views. It would have been better, however, if Prof. Sarkar had been somewhat less pointed in his remarks.

Mr. Stead is said to have given Mr. Nihal Singh praise for his style but that is not at all a dilemma to us. An Indian youth who can express his ideas tolerably well in English can be assured of encouragement from a generous-hearted Englishman; but in spite of the praise which Mr. Stead is said to have generously bestowed upon Mr. Nihal Singh it can be said that there is much in his language which offends one's finer sense of literary perfection.

It has not been my purpose to *defend* Mr. Sarkar. I have only attempted to *interpret* him as I have been able to understand him.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

"Messages of uplift."

Mr. Flower, in his Introduction to a collection of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's articles, put forth on his behalf, the claim that Mr. Singh was the preacher of important messages to his fatherland, that he was a great "enlightener and uplifter" of India and that he should be an "inspiring example to the young of Hindostan." Before singing *Hosanna* to the newly

risen messenger of "light and uplift" and receiving his "messages" with becoming rapture, I, in the July *Modern Review*, inspected his credentials and examined his claim to be set as a model for our benighted young men. This hardihood on my part has provoked in the August number, a lengthy protest from an anonymous scribe ('Pol') who either has not read my review through or does not understand the plain meaning of English words. For example, I gave Mr. Singh credit for his enterprising spirit, pleasant style, and (some) useful information,—though my critic ignores the fact. Again, the description of Mr. Singh as "A penniless Indian youth, &c." did not come from *my* pen (as alleged by Pol), but is a mere summary of what his admirers have said. Mr. Flower calls him a *penniless youngman* (p. 9 of *Messages*); Mr. Singh himself mentions some of the *odd jobs* by which he had to earn his bread, and many glimpses of his *Bohemian life* are supplied by an American panegyrist in the February number of this Review.

The points raised in my review are of the deepest *public* importance, and concern Mr. Singh personally only so far as he is an illustration. If Mr. Singh is to be the nation's teacher,—the teacher of something absolutely new and highly valuable,—we must first satisfy ourselves about his qualification for the high office. Such a scrutiny is the duty of the Press, and only a diseased imagination or dishonest advocacy can call it a personal attack.

'Pol' has cited the cases of Rabindranath Tagore, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer to keep Mr. Singh in countenance; but it is a false parallel; the former had not to *toil with their hands* while discovering 'truths' for 'the benefit of the fatherland.' Let me not be misunderstood. Labour is sacred. But a man who has to do hard manual labour—and a common workman in America must earn much or he would starve,—has no time to study institutions and races, no time to reflect, no opportunity of meeting the higher classes in free and equal intercourse. And if such a man does play the role of a political philosopher, his "messages" cannot, in the nature of things, be the highest lessons that India can get from America. That is my contention. Can any reasonable man deny it? Mr. Flower's high-flown praise of Mr. S. N. Singh would have been true only of a De Tocqueville or James Bryce. Applied to Mr. Singh it was either "Bunkum" (as I suggested) or a very big draft on the Indian reader's credulity. It is a waste of national energy and a misdirection of the national mind to cry up a "twinkling star" like a "blazing sun."

University education may be despised by my critic for reasons best known to him. But it is only by developing their Universities and sending their *best scholars* abroad that Japan and Germany have got "light and truth" from foreign lands. Foreign travel gives the finishing touch to education, but it cannot, except in the rarest cases, be a thorough substitute for the latter. What you learn in a foreign land depends on what you take there *within* yourself. "Unto every one that hath shall be given," is true here also. I am sorry to have to labour these elementary truths, but here I am not addressing 'Pol' but a larger audience,—the unhappy young men who may be misled by Mr. Flower's words into abandoning, useful and solid work at home in order to pursue a phantom in America.

If an Indian youth wishes to serve his fatherland, should we say to him, as Mr. Flower has done, "Go forth and imitate Mr. Saint Nihal Singh"? I emphatically answer, No; for such a counsel would be a double wrong,—a wrong to India which would be supplied with shoddy 'messages', and a grievous wrong to the youth, who would be left, penniless and untrained, to sink or swim in an alien land. Writing for the Press can supply bread to a very few of our countrymen in America. Mr. Singh is the only success among dozens of our youngmen who started on the same illusive quest. The path he is following was trodden 25 years ago by Mr. Amrita Lal Roy (sometime editor of *Hope*)—though the latter did not vainly invoke the sacred name of fatherland, nor pose as a new prophet.

In support of my remarks on the seamy side of the American character, I refer the reader to Shadwell's *Industrial Efficiency*, ed. of 1909, pp. 13, 17, 20, 27, *et seq.*

'Pol,' after preaching me a homily on good taste and the impersonality of true criticism, has exemplified his precept by imputing my criticism to a mean envy of Mr. Singh's great popularity! Historical articles, according to him, are dull and repellent to the public! Now, an opinion, as opposed to a fact, derives its sole value from the character of the person holding it. I must, therefore, decline to answer one who conceals himself under the mask of anonymity in assailing a controversialist standing in the open. But a word is necessary in defence of the growing school of Indian history. Historical articles do not seem to be unpopular, considering that every decent Indian magazine publishes one or more of them every month. I myself have been solicited for articles by the other four first class English reviews

published in India and the eight leading Bengali monthlies. The editors of these papers presumably know their own interests and the taste of the reading public better than nameless scribes can do. So, my "message,"—you see it is catching,—to my comrades, the worshippers of the Historic Muse all over India, is,

"Be of good cheer. You may fail to make any impression on the colossal wisdom of a certain class of politicians; but the world will survive such a calamity. There are plenty of other readers, fit audience and yet *not* few, ready to appreciate your efforts. Here, even here, you will have your meed of praise, and hereafter—the wreath of immortal fame!"

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Buddha's Relics.

I should like to add one thing to the valuable suggestion made in the August number of the *Modern Review* in connection with the relics of Buddha. It is this: That not only a monument should be built on the exact spot where the remains have been found but that institutions befitting the glory of the Prince of peace should be founded thereon for the good of man. A Buddhist *Vihara* with the objects of promoting the study of Buddhism and helping those who are in want and sickness will, I make no doubt, add usefulness to sanctity and glorify the blessed name of Him who laid down a royal Sceptre for the profit of all flesh; who was all love, sweetness, grace and peace, whose life and labour will form an eternal song of the human race and in the presence of whose dominion human knees shall ever bend and human lips shall ever be *awed* into silent praise and adoration.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

NOTES

Education in the Deccan in the Pre-British Period.

In his *Minute on Education* written in March, 1824, Mountstuart Elphinstone said:—

"The great body of the people (of the Deccan) are quite illiterate; yet there is a certain class in which men capable of reading, writing, and instructing, exist in much greater numbers than are required, or can find employment. This is a state of things which cannot long continue. The present abundance of people of education is owing to the demand there was for such persons under the Maratha Government. That cause has now ceased, the effect will soon follow, and unless some exertion is made by the Government, the country will certainly be in a worse state under our rule than it was under the Peshwa's. I do not confine this observation to what is called learning, which, in its present form, must unavoidably fall off under us, but to the humbler acts of reading and writing, which, if left to themselves, will decline

among the Brahmins without increasing among the other castes."

What Elphinstone anticipated has actually come to pass.

Alexander and the conquered races.

Gibbon writes:—

"When Alexander became master of the Persian Empire, he early perceived that, with all the power of his hereditary dominions, reinforced by the troops which the ascendancy he had acquired over the various states of Greece, might enable him to raise there, he could not hope to retain in subjection territories so extensive and populous; that to render his authority secure and permanent, it must be established in the affections of the nations which he had subdued and maintained by their arms; and that in order to acquire this advantage, all distinctions between the victors and vanquished must be abolished, and his European and Asiatic subjects must be incorporated and become one people by obeying the

same laws, and by adopting the same manners, institutions and discipline."

Mr. Cameron, who was a successor of Macaulay to the Office of Law Member, wrote in his work on the duties of Great Britain to India:—

"What we ought to copy from the great Macedonian King is, not the particular measures by which he proposed to make his Greeks and Persians coherent parts of one united Empire, but the generous philanthropic spirit, the imperial equity, with which he divided his favour and his protection between them. So copying them, we may expect to create that feeling in the governed which corresponds to imperial equity in the Governors—*imperial feeling* it might be called, simply as holding nations together under one head, in analogy to the phrase *national feeling*, for that to which a single nation owes its cohesion."

The attempt to strangle the boycott movement.

One X, presumably an Englishman, wrote a letter on "Anglo-Russian relations," to the *Pioneer* of Thursday, the 10th May 1898, in the course of which said:

"* * Can any one state positively and clearly where our interests and those of Russia clash? We are the great trading nation of the world. Russia neither competes with us; like Germany, nor does she like France, absolutely strangle our trade in her own territories. Since the 16th century we have usually found some plausible pretext for waging war with our various trade rivals, as they successively cropped up; Spaniards, Dutch and French. If we should have a war within the next fifty years with a great European power, are we not more likely to find that as in the past, our real enemy will be our great *trade* rival, Germany and not an overgrown power like Russia, who only wants peace to enable her to develop her vast Empire?"

A trading nation as the English are, it is no wonder that they will do everything in their power to ruin the trade and commerce of their rivals and competitors. They will not if they can possibly help it, give a fair field to those over whom they possess political supremacy. Now that the effect of the boycott of British goods is being felt by the manufacturers of England, every attempt is being made to discredit the boycott movement, to connect it with that so-called anarchism and terrorism that unfortunately has affected a few misguided and mischievous youths of this country. In a memorial recently submitted to government, the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Defence Association wrote much nonsense regarding this movement. It is a pity that the Association did not lay stress on those causes which

have brought the boycott movement into existence, which are responsible for its genesis. The Association would have secured the hearty sympathy and good will of every educated Indian if they had prayed for the removal of the causes in which originated the boycott of British goods; and if they had also asked the Government to advise and prevail upon the Colonists of South Africa and Natal not to ill-treat and boycott their Indian fellow subjects and not to brand them all as coolies.

There is Mr. Rees, M. P., in England who will do all that he can to bring prominently to the notice of Parliament and the British public the prayer of the Defence Association. The interests of the English manufacturers are affected by the boycott movement and so very willingly the prayer of the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians will be given effect to. Wrote Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence:—

"The difficulty in the way of the government of India acting fairly in these matters is immense. If anything is done or attempted to be done to help the natives, a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England, and finds sympathy and support there."

The Defence Association do not find fault with the Swadeshi movement, but that movement has been declared by a very high Anglo-Indian authority, no less a person than His Excellency the present Governor of Bombay, as "foolish";—and the present Viceroy expressed some three years ago his sympathy with "honest" Swadeshi only. That was the language of diplomacy in which "words half reveal and half conceal the soul within." His Excellency presumably did not consider the Swadeshi movement an "honest" one.

Should the boycott movement be strangled, what wonder if the Swadeshi movement should also be sought to be strangled on some other flimsy pretext?

The Swadeshi and boycott movements (or rather movement) are counterparts and supplementary and complementary of each other. One cannot properly flourish without the other. Indians should be wide awake and watch carefully the attempts that are being made to strangle and discredit these movements..

Putting down Education.

Educated Indians are not in the good graces of a certain class of Anglo-Indian

rulers who look upon them as Frankensteins whom British rule has brought into existence. From time to time attempts are made to put down or rather strangle high education. To keep the people in ignorance has ever been the policy of despotism—whether benevolent or malevolent. When the Aryans subjugated the aborigines of India, they did not exterminate them as is the wont of the Christian nations of the West. They gave them a place in their social polity, but enacted laws which had the effect of keeping them in ignorance. The shudras or the servile class were not slaves in the acceptations of that term in the countries of Islam or Christianity, but they were ignorant masses of people whom it was not considered proper to educate.

The slaves in the ancient Empires of Greece and Rome or of Babylon and Egypt were not so badly treated as those in the colonies of the Christian nations of the modern times. Writes a modern historian :—

"But we should carry away an utterly misleading impression if we supposed that the colonial slavery of modern time reproduced the servile system of states like ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Rome. Whereas in the ancient world men of every race and rank were, owing to the fortunes of war, liable to fall into servitude, the modern planters of America and the West Indies laid violent hands on a single race—the African negroes. Moreover the labour which, under the lash, they compelled the negroes to perform was restricted to such products as rice, sugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco. In the slave states there was no attempt to teach those men any handicraft.

"On the contrary, the education of negroes was expressly forbidden. Here, for instance, are some passages from the Code of Virginia in 1849: 'Every assemblage of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing shall be an unlawful assembly. Any justice may issue his warrant to any officer or other person requiring him to enter any place where such assemblage may be and seize any negro therein; and he or any other justice may order such negro to be punished with stripes. Again, 'If a white person assemble with negroes for the purpose of instructing them to read or write, he shall be confined to jail not exceeding six months and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.'

"Here is another paragraph from an Act passed in South Carolina in 1834: 'If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid in assisting any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall for every such offence against this act be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a person of colour, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars. And if a slave, shall be

whipped not exceeding fifty lashes.' " Sim were passed in Georgia and Alabama.

"Those Christian Legislators thus doo entire servile population to perpetual ignor degradation. Their aim was to exclude the from all human and humanising influences. this policy, however, with the policy of antiqu doubt thousands and thousands of slaves wo perished in chains on the harvest fields of Eg bylonia, and Sicily, and in Asiatic and Europea tin and silver mines. Their forced labour raw materials of ancient industry was as sever labour which Christian States imposed upon th of Africa in the nineteenth century. But the s ducts of antiquity were not confined to agricul mineral wealth. There was no department of industry in which servile labour was unrepre (Harmworth History of the World, Vol. IV, p

We wonder if the repressive policy v in vogue in India will ever dictate its tian rulers to pass such laws openly down education in this country as t religionists did in the Christian st America not quite a century ago. W and trust, not.

The Dance of Shiva

By NANDO LAL BOSE.

In the world, there is but one Indi even in India, only one Shiva ! The Go bliss that lies in nothingness, God c most renunciation, God of the rap annihilation,—the conception of Ma represents as extraordinary an achie of the human mind, in one line, as N *Principia* in another. For sheer em profundity, for philosophical daring, the directness of its approach to the l the whole world's poetry can offer i like this piece of Hindu mythology. the lowest savage upwards—may k our fourfooted brethren upwards!—a known how to worship a Creat Preserver, a Personal Guide and Prov a friend and father of men. But wh the sons of our Motherland, have d love Him who breaks the Illusion, H neither asks nor bestows anything s freedom of the soul, Him who loves c rejected-of-the world, Him whose in tion of joy lies in the annihilation things?

It is not the Shiva of myth and but this Shiva of absolute insight, assailable certainty, who is bodied l the Dancer of Destruction. Shiva as Raja, the Dancing King, is the crea

the South, where His form is the commonest of all emblems. The South seizes on the heart of philosophy, on the life-spring of theology. She gives us no static God, no remote Sannyasin, lost in meditation, but—Sankaracharya's Adwaita, and the common craftsman's Nata-Raja.

The present age has democratised and universalised every local trait and attribute. With burning thirst, we drink of the Adwaita, and appropriate, as a great genius has here done, the symbols of that faith.

'The Dance of Shiva' is *samadhi* become dynamic. It is *samadhi* represented as physical activity. Just so must it be, and no otherwise. The pillars and arches of heaven are falling. The *trisul* (trident) is flaming. The universe is on fire. And He the Immortal dreamer, dances,—drunken with God-consciousness, awake only to the harmony within,—dances the dance that draws the worlds into its rhythm, and makes night and day but the pulsing of its beat.

Again, as is so often the case with these Indian pictures, we are in the presence of a work so psychological, so meditative, so intense, that the faculty of criticism ceases before it, and we are swept away by the idea that seized the artist, and made to contemplate that alone.

N.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

Mr. Henry S. L. Polak has come to India as a delegate on behalf of the Transvaal British Indians, in order to educate public opinion here and to rouse India to a sense of her duty. Our sisters and brethren in South Africa are fighting a most heroic and glorious fight,—a fight which is far more heroic than any sanguinary battle. We are proud of them and ought to do all that we can for them. We pray to the Father of All Nations to give them faith and strength to carry on the struggle, unto death if need be.

We are indebted to *Indian Opinion*, Phoenix, Natal, for the portrait of Mr. Polak reproduced here and the following sketch of his life :—

"Mr. Henry Salomon Leon Polak was born just 27 years ago at Dover, England, and is the son of Mr. J. H. Polak, J. P., who is a member of the South Africa British Indian Committee in London. Mr. Polak is an undergraduate of London University, and is the holder of many certificates, in literary and



MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

economic subjects, issued by the London Chamber of Commerce and other educational bodies. He completed his education at the Ecole de Commerce, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, whereafter he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Society of Chemical Industry, in London. For reasons of health, Mr. Polak came to South Africa, in the early part of 1903. Before he became identified with the Indian cause, and accepted the Editorship of this Journal, which was and still is purely a labour of love, he was engaged in journalistic work. Desiring to realise some of his ideals, he left what might be termed a lucrative appointment, with promise of further pecuniary advancement, and in 1904, joined the Phoenix scheme, under which the members receive only just enough to support themselves in the simplest manner possible. The scheme, as readers of this journal are aware, is intended to put into practice the essential teaching of Tolstoy and Ruskin, and, in its outward manifestation, to assist in removing the grievances of British Indians in South Africa. Owing to the exigencies of Indian public work in the Transvaal, and in order the better to enable him to carry on his duties in connection with this journal, Mr. Polak took articles with Mr. M. K. Gandhi in the year 1905, and, in 1908 was admitted an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal.

Since the year 1906, he has acted as Assistant Hon. Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association

—a period that has marked a most critical stage in the history of British Indians in South Africa, and which has demanded from those who like Mr. Polak have been intimately connected with the passive resistance movement, the most unremitting zeal and devotion. During the last three years, Mr. Polak has known no rest. He has, besides using his able pen freely for the cause, travelled throughout South Africa, either making collections in aid of the passive resistance struggle, or addressing public meetings and enlightening Indians in different parts of the sub-continent as to the nature of the struggle. His knowledge of the different questions affecting British Indian settlers and Asiatic legislation in South Africa is almost unrivalled. In his eagerness to possess himself with accurate knowledge, he has considered nothing too unimportant to study, and, in order to have a proper perspective of the whole situation during what leisure he has been able to find, he has studied also modern Indian history. Mr. Polak has kept himself in touch with the current Indian thought by contributing to several leading newspapers and magazines in India. He, therefore, goes to India by no means unknown to the Indian public. The people of India will no doubt be glad to learn that, in order to know the inner side of Indian life and character, throughout his travels in South Africa, Mr. Polak has always lived with Indians in their homes like one of themselves. He has acquired such a hold on their affections, that, during the incarceration of the Indian leaders his advice was eagerly sought and implicitly followed.

Mr. Polak was married in 1905, and the Indian community in South Africa owes not a little to Mrs. Polak sharing her husband's self-sacrifice and public spirit. Latterly, she herself has taken up the organising of Indian women's meetings, and has thrown herself heart and soul into her work. Two children have been born to them in South Africa. Mr. Polak belongs to an ancient Jewish family, and, being a member of a race which has undergone much oppression, considers it a privilege to help in alleviating the sufferings of British Indians in South Africa. When he was yet quite a youth, ethics had a fascinating attraction for him. With him religion and ethics are convertible terms. He, therefore, naturally attached himself to the South Place Ethical Society in London, of which he is still an associate, and it was from an ethical standpoint that he felt himself called upon to take up Indian work."

Grievances of Indians in South Africa.

The shameful and inhuman persecution to which Indians are being subjected in South Africa would require a big volume to describe in full. But the following sentences taken from *Indian Opinion* may convey a slight idea of the sufferings of our countrymen there:—

"Under the covenant, during the past two years and six months over 2,500 Indians have suffered imprisonment mostly with hard labour. Many homes have been broken up, many families have been ruined, in the struggle. Father and sons have gone to gaol at the same time, leaving behind them weeping wives and

mothers. Many families are being supported from charitable funds raised by us. At the present moment, nearly two hundred Indians are suffering imprisonment for conscience' sake.

The hardship felt has been so great that many have succumbed owing to sheer exhaustion. Others have left the Colony and are probably to-day starving. A resolute band of over 300 continues an active struggle. Some have passed through the Transvaal gaols five times.

The covenanters are derived from all classes and strata of Indian society. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Sikhs and Christians are all fighting India's battle. Merchants who have never undergone physical exertion and have been brought up in the lap of luxury are breaking stones, or doing scavenger's work, or wheeling barrows of earth and living on coarse mealie meal and boiled potatoes or rice and ghee.

Many Indians domiciled in the Transvaal or in some other South African Colony have been by arrangement with the Portuguese Administration at the Province of Mozambique, deported direct to India, at a moment's notice, in some cases leaving families and businesses behind uncared for and unattended."

Indians in Mauritius.

In this connection we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the condition of Indians in Mauritius. The extract is taken from the *Parsi* of Bombay.

"The Annual Report of the Immigration department of the colony of Mauritius has just been published. The Report states that 'the total Indian population of the Colony is 261,550, of whom 142,202 are males and 119,848 females. *There were 103,922 deaths during the year.*' The words italicised ought to 'stagger humanity.' The report attributes this horrid loss of life to 'three main causes—Measles, Malaria and a Cyclone.' A more outrageous explanation of such a blood-curdling death-rate can scarcely be paralleled in the world's history. The vast majority of the coolies in Mauritius belong to India. Can Lord Morley do nothing in the matter? We have realised the painful fact that the Imperial Government are absolutely helpless where the Colonies are concerned. Can India not provide for these poor human beings that go to Mauritius only to die? Of what avail the cry of Swadeshi, if thousands of Indians needs must go to British Colonies to work like slaves and to die like flies?"

(The Paintings of Nanda Lal Bose.

Mr. Nanda Lal Bose is already well-known as one of the most brilliant of the still too small school of Indian painters who, following Mr. Tagore's lead, have shown that the Indian creative instinct is still a living power, and that there is a deeper meaning in Indian nationalism than a mere demand for rights. That deeper meaning is to be found in the significance for humanity of the *living* genius of the Indian people. The driving force behind

the national movement, still too unconscious of its real aims, is the 'will-to-be-free' of this genius of the Indian people. Most precious then are the signs, few though they yet appear, of that growing inner freedom which alone can make political and economic ends worth achieving.

No man can be a true nationalist to whom his country's culture—literature, art, or music—are meaningless. It is the damning proof of the worthlessness of a century of education inflicted by English philistines on Indian mobs, that to most Indians, even to many nationalists, Indian art is meaningless.

The educational work, then, of the Bengali school of national painters, is of infinite significance. It is through them alone and kindred art developments, that the young nation can perceive itself. The true nation-builders are the poets, singers, painters of the world. Art, as a wise critic has said, is not an imitation of life; but life is an imitation of art. If this be so—and it is profoundly true—how jealously, as national educationists, should we guard the hope of a national art.

It is most significant, and most hopeful that the new nationalist painters find their inspiration, as all true prophets have done, not in the present but in the past—and future. For it is only on idealised pasts that ideal futures can be built. Only heroic subjects, subjects that are impersonal, devoid of 'topical' interest, and at the same time universal in their content—warp and woof as it were of the web of cosmic consciousness—that are the true basis of a national or universal art. These two, we may note in passing, are not conflicting ideals, but inseparably connected. For it is for art to show to us the universal in the particular, revealing that one touch of timeless unity, that unity of self whereby the whole creation has one being.

Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, more perhaps than any other Indian painter, has reached the heroic level in his glorious 'Sati'*. That work is in itself a sole, sufficient answer to all the blind and grovelling criticism that has been levelled at that great ideal.

No figure in the world's art could be more selfless, more wrapped in the unity of personal devotion, more terribly sweet-perfect than this young serene Bengali girl,

whom the scorching flames wake not from her dream of Him who is her Lord in Death and Life. Not idly is it said that to Indian women, the husband-lover is her God; but this has a spiritual, not the domestic sense in which it is often misinterpreted. To all great lovers comes the knowledge that the one is Shakti and the other Mahadeva. Love then is more than personal.

This passion of devoted love is not only Indian but universal. So much the more of worth its Indian rendering. To an Indian writer, too, came the words which serve to echo the burden of the painting:

"Life of my life, Death's bitter sword
Hath severed us like a broken word:
Rent us in twain who are but one...
Shall the flesh survive when the soul is gone?"

This cry is one with Deridre's when the three candles of the Gael of whom the most beautiful and greatest was her lover and her friend, met their bitter death at the hands of the High King of Ireland. Her words might have then been those of an Indian Sati.

"Love of my life, my friend, my sweet-heart, my choice of the men of the earth, many is the woman, wed or unwed, envied me until to-day: and now I will not stay living after you."

Indian too might have been Brynhild's cry when the great Gothic King lay, treacherously slain, on his funeral pyre.

"How then when the flames flare upward may
I be left behind?
How then may the road he wendeth be hard for
my feet to find?
How then in the gates of Valhall may the door
of the gleaming ring
Clash to on the heel of Sigurd, as I follow on my
king?"

Thus is the whole world knit in one by those divine moments of intuition which belong to heroic life and art. It is high praise to say that the painting 'Sati' is great enough to rank beside the greatest of all other visual conceptions of heroic sacrifice.

In a more recent picture, Mr. Nanda Lal Bose has turned from this human-divine to a purely divine subject. The Siva Tandava, reminiscent (in its vitality and rhythm) of paintings of the Kangra school, and of South Indian bronzes, shows the White Lord dancing the Dance of Death, girt with snakes and tiger skin. In one

* Reproduced in the *Modern Review* for April, 1908.

hand he holds his drum, in the other a flaming trident. About him and beneath him are the ruins of civilisation, whence arise the destroying flames whereby the concrete universe is again resolved to Pralaya or void. Like a dreamer borne on by a more than personal force, the Lord serenely, peacefully destroys. His eyes are closed, rapt in an inner thought. The treatment is at once traditional and new. The Lord is ancient, but ever young--above all "He takes the forms imagined by his worshippers." Thus every age reshapes Him in its own imagination. Woe only to that age when of Him *no* vision is seen!

Such painting is as true and real an interpretation of religion as any book or song. Perhaps when this is realised, men will again remember the ethical significance of art, and give back to it that place in life and education that belonged to it in periods of true and noble civilisation. Without such wise imagination, the education of new India, even of nationalist India, is like enough to bear but little fruit. But if its true place in education is restored, then may we progress some little way towards that ideal education which teaches men to know, not facts, but the real from the unreal, and this of immediate intuition, not by reasoning.

A. K. C.

Complete Independence won without Fighting.

Last month in our comments on Mr. Gokhale's remarks on "ideas of independence" we took for granted the accuracy of his assertion that independence was never won except by physical force, that is to say, by fighting. But this assertion is not in fact historically true; there is at least one instance in history of a country becoming completely independent without fighting. Before we bring forward historical evidence in proof of our statement, we must draw the reader's attention to the meaning of independence and the methods of winning it. Complete independence on the part of any country means her separate political existence with full power to manage all her internal and foreign affairs. Evidently then there may be degrees of independence. For instance, the self-governing British Colonies, like Canada and Australia, have the full

right to manage all their internal affairs; but they receive their governors from Great Britain, have no independent armies and navies, and cannot declare war or peace with any foreign country, and cannot enter into any kind of diplomatic relations with foreign countries or do anything with respect to their foreign relations, without the sanction of the mother country. So this shows that these colonies are free as regards home affairs, but not free as regards foreign relations. Canada is already proposing to have a navy of her own. And the British Colonies may gradually become entirely independent by some such process as the following. First they may on the civil side claim to elect their own governors *from England*, next they may claim to elect their governors from amongst their own citizens, after that they may call this governor only a president, and lastly cut off all connection with the mother country or become part of an Imperial Federation enjoying fully equal rights with all parts of the Empire. On the military side, they may gradually have their own armies and navies and conclude by claiming to declare war and conclude peace according to their own needs.

This is the method of winning independence bit by bit. There is also the other method of becoming completely independent by an armed rebellion or revolution.

With regard to India, Mr. Gokhale thinks that she cannot become free by the use of physical force but may by peaceful means "in the fulness of time" come to possess rights of self-government similar to those now enjoyed by the self-governing British colonies. We agree. But we go a step further. We believe that if India becomes self-governing like the colonies, she will be able to become by peaceful means completely independent, if necessary,—the process resembling that of the colonies briefly described above; or she may, if that be to her advantage, remain an absolutely free and equal member of an Indo-British Imperial Federation.

Historical Evidence.

We now come to the historical evidence that we wish to adduce. The evidence relates to the very recent history of Norway. We assume that the reader knows that from

1814 to 1905, Sweden and Norway were parts of a united kingdom. The extract given below is taken from page 493 of Volume XVI of of the Historians' History of the World :—

"Throughout his [the Swedish King Oscar's] reign the relations between the two states which composed his dominions had frequently been precarious. One of the chief causes of dissension was *the desire of Norway for full equality with Sweden in the management of foreign affairs*. In 1899, the Norwegian Storting [parliament] for the third time passed a bill for a *national or "pure" flag*, and King Oscar eventually sanctioned it. Under the management of Lagerheim, the new Swedish minister of foreign affairs, there was a temporary lull in the contest, but after a time the Norwegian radicals began to press their demands for a *separate consular system and a ministry of foreign affairs* more vigorously than ever. Negotiations on the subject continued for a long time, and the *Swedish government and King at length agreed to allow separate consuls for Norway, provided these should be subordinate to the minister of foreign affairs in the Swedish Cabinet*. This was unsatisfactory to Norway, and on May 10th, 1905, the Norwegian Storting passed a bill for the establishment of a separate consular service to be placed under the direction of a Norwegian government department. When the King vetoed this measure, the Storting empowered the Norwegian ministry to exercise the powers hitherto vested in the King, and pronounced the dissolution of the Union, but at the same time issued an address to the King, disclaiming animosity to the royal house and asking that a prince of that house might be allowed to accept the Norwegian throne. A plebiscite taken on the question of the dissolution resulted in a vote of 368,200 for, and only 184 against it. The Swedish government and King protested vigorously against this secession, and *for some time an armed conflict between the two countries appeared possible*. More peaceful counsels, however, prevailed, and on August 31st, delegates from both countries met at Karlstad, where on the 23rd of September a complete agreement for a separation was reached. This agreement was ratified by the legislatures of both countries and Sweden passed an act dissolving the Union and *recognising Norwegian independence*.

"The question of what form of government Norway should adopt, was an open one. King Oscar refused to allow one of his family to accept the Norwegian throne, and in Norway many persons favoured setting up a republic. Ultimately a monarchy was established and the kingship was offered to Prince Charles of Denmark, a grandson of King Christian IX, and a son-in-law of King Edward VII of England. The prince accepted the offer, and took the title of Haakon VII. He made his formal entry into Christiania on the 25th of November, 1905, and was enthusiastically received by the people."

From the words we have italicised in the above extract, it will be clear that before the dissolution of the union with Sweden, Norway was not completely independent and did not occupy a political status of

exact equality with Sweden. It is necessary to state this in plain language; otherwise it may seem to the reader that the event we refer to was merely a dissolution of the union of two equally independent states, and not the closing chapter in the process of winning independence by a politically inferior state: for, in theory, according to the terms of the union, Norway was a free, independent state. India, too, in theory, according to Seeley and others, is not a conquered country, and we are theoretically the free citizens of a free empire. But in practice we know what we are. Further, in the preamble to the Act of Union, accepted by both Sweden and Norway in 1814, it is clearly stated that the union between the two peoples was accomplished "not by force of arms, but by free conviction." This is true, of course, *literally*, but the events preceding the Union lead one to the conclusion that the armed might of Sweden must be given almost all the credit for producing this "free conviction." These incidents may be gathered from the extracts given below :—

"After the battle of Leipsic Charles John [of Sweden] displayed much activity. He blockaded Hamburg; and by the Peace of Kiel, concluded in January, 1814, he forced Denmark to give up Norway. He then entered France, but soon returned, and devoted his energies to the *conquest of Norway*." * * * "Norway, treated as a domain or as booty, became the prey of the successful conqueror.....Prince Christian Frederick....became the leader round whom all who wanted independence and liberty for Norway gathered. He consulted with several important personages, and took up the reins of government, rejecting on Norway's part the dispositions of the Peace of Kiel, and proclaiming the country's independence."

"But it was now necessary to maintain the country's independence by force of arms; for Charles John [of Sweden] hurried back to Sweden with all haste, and set out for the Norwegian frontier, to carry out forcibly the conditions of the Peace of Kiel with an army of thirty thousand men, trained and hardened by recent campaigns. England and Russia had promised help in this enterprise, while English and Swedish ships blockaded the ports and coast of Norway. It was difficult, and almost impossible, to resist such aggression. The people were, in truth, brave and determined, but badly trained in arms, and Norway lacked money, provisions, war supplies and, more than all, a capable general.....Hostilities began on the 26th of July. Success alternated with reverses for the few weeks the war lasted, but it was not difficult to foresee the final result. Fortunately, Charles John was disposed towards moderation; he realized that the new Union would be badly cemented with blood, and sought to win over the Norwegian people by considerate treatment. He proposed an armistice and

conditions by which no one would lose anything, unless it were Christian Frederick, who would have to give up his newly acquired crown. The truce was signed at Moss, August 14th, 1814,.....Christian Frederick undertook to resign before a Storting convoked for the purpose. This was done, and on the 10th of October he laid down his crown and power before the assembly." &c. &c. &c.—*The Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XVI., pp. 469—470.

That Norway was politically inferior to Sweden will also appear from the following facts. Some of the fortifications of Norway were occupied by Sweden from 1814 onwards. (*Maunder's Treasury of History*, 1876, p. 723.)

"As Viceroy in Norway the King [of Sweden] may appoint his eldest son, or *his* eldest son, but none other;..." *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (1891), Vol VII, p. 531.

From 1814 to 1829, the post of Viceroy had evidently been held by Swedes. Then there was gradual improvement. For

"Since 1829 no Swedes had held the post and since 1859 no appointment of a viceroy had been made, the general hope being that the office would be abolished altogether. But the paragraph in the constitution still existed, and the Norwegians naturally wished to have this stamp of "provinciality" [which means political inferiority] obliterated." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Vol. XXXI, p. 271.)

The King refused to sanction a resolution of the Norwegian parliament for the abolishment of the office of viceroy; whereupon that body

"adopted an address to the King (April 1860) which stated that no Norwegian who had any regard for his country and his own honour would take any share in the revision of the Act of Union on any other basis than that of the complete equality of the two Kingdoms in the Union." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

We hope we have shown conclusively that Norway has gradually won complete independence without fighting. The position of that country with respect to Sweden was from the date of the union somewhat better than that of Canada or Australia, but still it was a subordinate position. If she has peacefully won absolute independence from that politically inferior position, Canada and Australia can certainly do so. And if India can in the remote future become like Canada without fighting, which is Mr. Gokhale's political creed, certainly India can in the remoter future become absolutely independent also without recourse to armed rebellion or a war of independence.

Hence Mr. Gokhale's assertion that no nation has in the past or can in the future

become independent without fighting, falls to the ground. Therefore those who declare their faith in peaceful methods of winning independence need not be held to do so in order to save their skins. Q. E. D.

The Tail wagging the Dog.

Usually it is the dog that wags the tail. But in the British Empire the tail wags the dog. The South African Colonists say: "None but white men can have citizen's rights in *our* country; the colour bar may be against Christianity, and what is *more*, it may be against the professed principles of liberalism, but we will stand no nonsense;" and Britons who "never shall be slaves" respond in the most redoubtable fashion, "*Jo Hukum*, (whatever you order), my lords." So the South African Union becomes an accomplished fact, broad-based—on the ruins of Christianity and Liberalism. Heathens as we are, are we permitted timidly to ask, "are present-day British politicians building on the Rock of Ages?"

These be the countrymen of Wilberforce and Clarkson, Fowell Buxton and Granville Sharp!

British history teaches us to regard Britishers as men who are neither bullies nor sneaks. Has there been any race deterioration, or has our reading of British history, or that history itself, been wrong?

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in England.

The daily and weekly papers, British and Indian, have been for some time past full of what Mr. Surendranath Banerjea did and said in England and men said of him and did to him there. We cannot say that we have been able to read all these things; but the net impression left on our minds by what we have read and heard is that the *coloured* man Surendranath Banerjea mixed there with all sorts of *white* notables, and found his level, and it was, to speak in measured phrase, a very high level, too. And this means that Mr. Banerjea and his countrymen are, if they had their natural rights, entitled to a far higher political status than they enjoy. Mr. Banerjea says that the English people have shown him great hospitality. True. But the South African cousins and erstwhile enemies of these same English people would kick out of

their country the greatest Indians if they went there. And the hospitable Englishman sneakingly backs up these Imperial bounders.

The "Swaraj" Sedition Case.

Before these lines meet the reader's eyes, judgment will have been pronounced in the *Swaraj* sedition case at Bombay, in which the Bombay agent of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's ably conducted journal is the accused. We may have occasion to comment on the case next month. In the mean time we only note that the periodical



MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

has not been prosecuted in London where it is published, though we have often been reminded by Anglo-Indian bureaucrats that the sedition law of England is the same as that of India. It is also noteworthy that Mr. Pal has always been so temperate and careful a writer that the Police could never lay their hands on him here for his writings in the press.

There is no party in India which can either grasp or represent all sides of the Indian political problem. It is, therefore, necessary that all schools of journalism and politics should enjoy reasonable liberty and facilities to lay their views before the public.

The Alipore Bomb Case Appeal.

The Chief Justice and one of his brother judges who are hearing the appeal in the Alipore Bomb Case are giving a most patient consideration to all the points raised by Mr. C. R. Das, the defence counsel, who has been conducting the case with conspicuous ability and great devotion.



MR. C. R. DAS.

In the original trial he threw himself heart and soul into the work and had the satisfaction of getting Mr. Aurobindo Ghose and several other accused, released.

It is naturally hoped, therefore, that his able conduct of the appeal will also be followed by similar results.

The Gwalior anathema.

The Maharaja of Gwalior, like some other ruling chiefs, has ordered all his subjects not to speak or write sedition. Therein, of course, he is right. But he has taken it for granted that some newspapers, among which are some of the oldest, ablest and most respectable in India, are seditious, and so he has made it penal for anybody in his territories to import them. We are sure these papers will survive his wrath. We are really sorry for the Maharaja. Did he really feel constrained to show himself more mortally afraid of his masters than many a lean and hungry British subject in British India? The Maharaja is an intelligent man and understands that it is convenient for the British Government to show to the "civilized world" that "Native" rulers are far more repressive than British rulers. But does it redound to the credit of these "Native" rulers, or do good to India? Alas! there is always a plentiful supply of such "Native" rulers to keep Anglo-Indian autocrats in countenance!

The Bombay School Circular.

The Bombay Government have issued an educational circular in which they lay it down that no schoolboy must attend any public meeting of any sort, or take part in the organisation of any public meeting of any sort! Further, parents and guardians of schoolboys must understand that when their wards join a school, they abdicate their authority over them in favour of the school authorities,—they must allow these day-scholars to be treated by the school authorities during and outside school hours in whatever way these authorities think fit;—in other words, they must cease to be parents, conferring the rights of parenthood on these statutory or official *ma baps*.

Co-operate, ye fellow-citizens of the Bombay Presidency!

The 7th of August Celebration in Calcutta.

Partisans have such funny ways! As Mr. Bhupendranath Basu pluckily presided over the last Calcutta Boycott Meeting,



MR. BHUPENDRANATH BASU.

some ultra-moderates, *e.g.*, the *Parsi*, have by implication classed him with the extremists. There is no salvation now for Mr. Basu. A veracious newspaper correspondent sent telegrams to the Lahore and Madras papers that the Moderates had nothing to do with the procession. But the banner inscribed "Boycott Celebration," carried by the processionists, was planted right in front of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and kept there as long as the meeting lasted. How is that to be explained away? The thing is in Bengal we are all of one mind with regard to the economical boycott. And therefore that part of Mr. Basu's speech, and it was the major portion, which dealt, and dealt ably and frankly, with the subject of the celebration, in the main met with the approval of all parties, though regarding other portions of his speech different views have been held.

Mallik's Calculator.

Babu Ashutosh Mallik, of 10, Shahnagar Road, Kalighat, Calcutta, has devised the model of a calculating machine called, after his name, "Mallik's Calculator," which works out sums (both simple and compound in Rs. As. P. and L. S. D.) from Addition to Division. The machine is original in conception, and also simple in design and easy to operate; as such, it is believed it will create a revolution in the field of account-keeping. The Calcutta Municipal office and other big offices should give it a trial. All swadeshi firms in which account-keeping has to be done on a large scale should encourage the inventor.

“The Pioneer” on Indian pictures.

It is really refreshing to find the *Pioneer* praising anything which is Indian, and *national* to boot. We, therefore, gladly make room for the following extract. The *Pioneer* says:—

A feature of this year's Arts Exhibition at Simla will be seen on screen No. 15, one side of which has been devoted to a collection of modern Indian paintings lent by the Indian Society of Oriental Art. This is probably the most representative series of pictures of the school that has yet been got together and demonstrates most conclusively the forcefulness of this Art movement. A special catalogue has been published explaining and describing the subjects depicted and the whole idea will be no doubt appreciated by visitors to the Exhibition. Mr. Tagore, the Vice-Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, and his students of the same institution, Mr. Nanda Lal Bose and Mr. Surendra Nath Ganguly, are the principal contributors. The set of pictures painted by the first named illustrating selections from Omar Khayyam are wonderfully good and should be carefully studied. But this small collection generally marks an important step in the history of National Art. The paintings of Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and his students have already become famous in the domain of artistic beauties, having attracted the admiring attention of artists of both East and West. We congratulate Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore on his great achievement. Mr. Tagore's labour and works to the cause of revival of Oriental arts to its ancient glory are matter of pride to his countrymen. >

Public Health in Bengal.

We make the following extract from the Resolution of the Bengal Government on the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal for the year 1908:—

3. *Births and deaths.*—The year 1907 showed an excess of both births and deaths as compared with that preceding it; but during the year under review, while the ratio of deaths again increased, that of births showed a falling off in comparison with the figures for

1907. The number of births registered in the province (exclusive of Angul) was 1,823,716, or 36.09 per mille of population, in comparison with 1,905,425, or 37.70 per mille, in the preceding year. In the opinion of the Sanitary Commissioner, the decrease in the number of births was due to the prevailing high prices of the principal food-grains, which re-acted upon the vitality of the people. The early part of the year under review was also unusually unhealthy. The total number of deaths reported was 1,948,513, or 38.56 per mille, against 1,906,192, or 37.72 per mille of population, during 1907. The average of the preceding quinquennium was 1,795,532, or 35.53 per mille. As in the previous year, it is reported that, owing to the difficulty in obtaining the ordinary food-grains, the poorer classes had recourse to less suitable forms of food, with a consequent deterioration in their general standard of health, but the explanation is of too general a character to be of material value. In comparison with other provinces, Bengal stood below the Central Provinces, Punjab, United Provinces, Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the North-West Frontier Province in the matter of the recorded birth-rate, while only in the United Provinces and Punjab was a higher death-rate returned. Within the province, the most unhealthy Divisions during the year were those of Orissa and Chota Nagpur, where cholera prevailed extensively. The Sanitary Commissioner brings to notice that, while the figures for the seven years 1902–1908, excluding mortality from plague, show that the public health in towns has always been better than in rural areas, this difference in favour of the urban death-rate has been increasingly marked during the last four years, a result which is attributed to the better sanitary arrangements obtaining in towns.

We are not satisfied that Government has ever been in earnest about the improvement of the sanitary conditions in rural Bengal. No doubt it will set its hands to the work in “the fulness of time” when and if the exigencies of Imperialism make it necessary to do so. In the meantime, we hope that not even the most erratic Bengali thinks it glorious to die of malaria, cholera, &c. Leaving Government aside, it is the zemindars who can do most for village sanitation. As they as a class, with honourable exceptions in individual cases, “neither toil nor spin,” but yet are arrayed in fine robes and feed on delicacies, they must justify their existence by improving their village surroundings.

That Government is undutiful is no justification for the landlords or other classes of the people neglecting their obvious duties.

As for an abundant supply of good food as the *sine qua non* of good health, our advice is, improve agriculture, manufacture swadeshi goods and stick to the resolve not to use foreign goods whenever countrymade goods are available.

Disappointed students.

From all parts of the country news comes of students seeking admission in colleges, Aligarh included, but coming away disappointed. Nothing sadder can be imagined than that students who seek knowledge and are ready to pay for it, cannot get it. Does such a state of things exist in any other civilised country? Men and women of India, resolve to set matters right.

Free Education in Native States.

Patiala has followed the noble example of Baroda in declaring its adherence to the principle of free elementary education for the masses. The British Indian Government should also give the people free primary education. Government apologists say the problem in British territory is vaster and therefore more difficult to cope with. Yes, but are not the British Indian Government's resources, too, vaster far than those of any and all Native States?

Buddha's relics.

Since we wrote last on the subject, we are glad to find that an increasingly large volume of public opinion has demanded that the ashes of Buddha found near Peshawar should remain in India. We cannot, in fact, imagine why they should not remain here. Had we a national Government, we are perfectly certain that that Government would never have dreamt of scattering the ashes of the greatest of India's prophets in the sacrilegious manner proposed.

There are large numbers of Buddhists still in India. And Buddha is one of the ten incarnations of the Hindu god Vishnu. And apart from the question of religion, is not Buddha our very own? It is absurd to think that any foreigner can have greater claims to his ashes than ourselves. It may be and is sacrilegious to keep his relics in a museum, but what stands in the way of their being kept in the shrines at Buddha Gaya and Sarnath? Surely India is large enough and solvent enough to spare a few square feet of space and a few thousands of rupees to build, if necessary, a shrine specially to keep these ashes.

Sir Henry Cotton on the Deportations.

During that annual farce known as the Indian Budget Debate in the House of

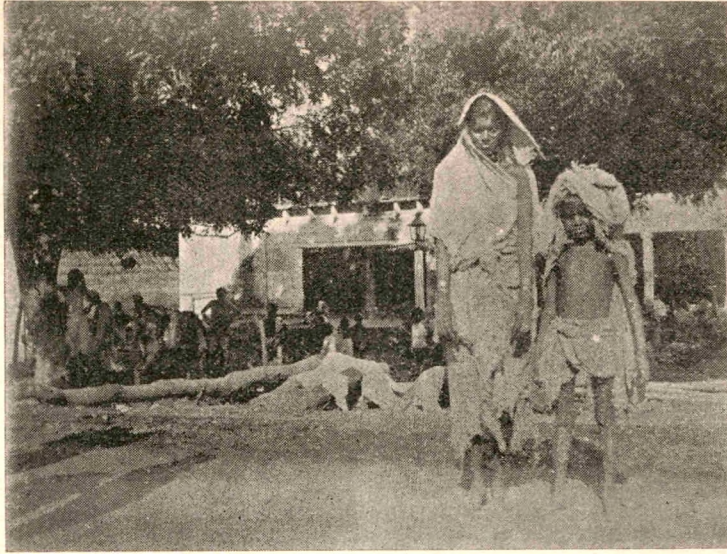
Commons Sir Henry Cotton is reported to have observed that he believed that the nine Bengali deportees were deported because of the active part they took in the Swadeshi movement. This should increase the zeal of all advocates of the Swadeshi-boycott movement.

The Calcutta Convention of Religions.

Reading the account of the Parliament of Religions, held in Calcutta some months ago, we are greatly struck by the marvellous civic sense and foresight displayed in the paper contributed by Maulvi Mirza Abul Fazl. The whole Parliament has evidently aimed at an expression of 'unity rather than uniformity,' to quote from the Jewish delegate who spoke. This, in the presence of the unwritten Indian consciousness, might have seemed superfluous, but was doubtless really necessary, in view of modern exigencies. At any rate, it was the undefinable Indian atmosphere that made each such declaration as it was made, easily understood and applauded. At any rate, Maulvi Abul Fazl's speech was that of a first-rate mind. He has supplied us with splendid texts and material, for the philosophy of civic unity as between Moslem and non-Moslem—and his acumen with regard to the marriage-contract between Mohammed's daughter and an unbeliever, is beyond praise. This is the kind of work that will more and more, we hope, attract Mussalman minds of the first order. There is room also for a great critical study of the Koran, as the foundation of a new evangel of secular knowledge, for Mohammedans. We were glad to see the mention of Mohammed's *problem* as nation-maker,—the recognition of the fact that a Prophet's own impulse may be checked in its expression by the capabilities of his people and his age; and the mention of the ideals held by the august Founder of Islam personally, in regard to the treatment of animals and servants. The whole paper deserves to be reprinted and given a wide circulation in the original English and in vernacular translations.

Our famine Photographs.

Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar, M.A., Member, Servants of India Society, who has



This photograph shows the condition of some women and children when the first came with their tatters on. This shows their only clothing.

kindly supplied the photographs illustrating his excellent paper, tells us : --

"I got my camera late and that is why I could not take many snapshots showing the very wretched condition of the people when they were first admitted into our poor-houses. The pictures in which you see the men, women and children nicely clothed were taken at the very close of our work, a day before we broke up our centres. If I had a camera from the very commencement I could have shown you the bare bodies, almost skeletons, women with nothing but rags on, ghastly faces, uncouth persons, and uncombed and uncomely hair, I mean most heart-rendering figures. But those that are in the pictures have stayed with us pretty

long, some for two months, some a month and a half and others a month. And as earnest attempts were made to supply them some of the homely comforts, such as oil for their hair and their bodies, combs, and as boys and men were given the services of a barber every week and fortnight, they look much better in the pictures. Women were given jackets, some a bodice and two dhotis; children were given shirts, with caps for boys at school and men were given plenty of clothing (old and new) which I secured from friends in different places. That is why you see them so fully clothed. I think this is an important fact to be noted, otherwise the pictures may produce quite a different impression regarding their condition as famine-stricken souls."

NOTICES OF SWADESHI ARTICLES.

National Soaps.

Some time ago we had occasion to visit the National Soap Factory. Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, the proprietor, very kindly showed us over the works and explained the various processes. We have used the soaps of his factory for months past and find them satisfactory.

"Puspie" Essence.

The manager of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., has given us some phials of essence manufactured by the firm by their own special process from flowers growing in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Behar and Orissa. We find the fragrance mild and lasting

Rajlakshmi Biscuit Factory.

Rajlakshmi Biscuits appear to us to be carefully manufactured. The factory expect some new machi-

nery to arrive shortly, when further improvements will follow. The factory expert received his training in Japan.

Krishna Mills Fine Dhotis.

The pair of fine dhotis received from the Krishna Mills seem to us to be very well woven, and smooth and uniform in texture. Those who cannot wear thick or coarse dhoties will find the Krishna Mills dhotis quite satisfactory. Our own opinion is that we should wear thick and coarse dhoties, for then the cotton, the yarn, and the cloth can be all swadeshi.

Bharata candles.

Bharata candles, manufactured by the South India Candle Works, Triplicane, Madras, deserve encouragement. The manager desires to raise more capital to be able to manufacture the stearine for the candles, for which, he says, abundant materials exist in India.



PARASHU-RAMA.

From the Illustrated Edition of Krittibasa's Bengali Ramayan.

THE MODERN REVIEW

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1909.

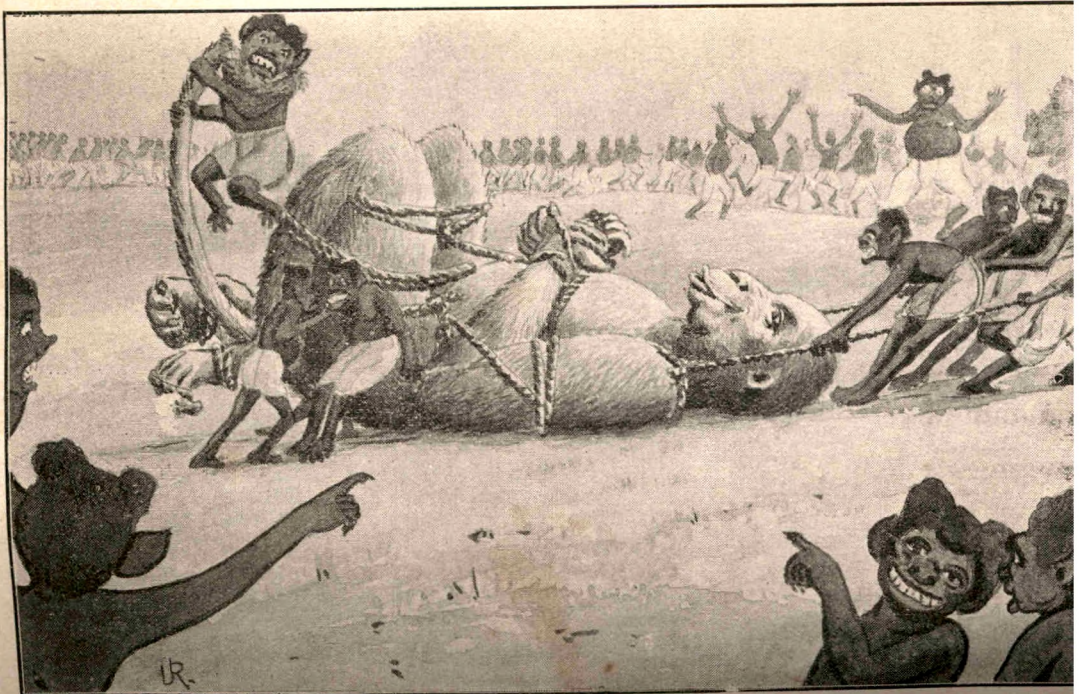
Frontispiece : The Dance of Siva, by Nanda Lal Bose. For appreciations by competent art critics, see the Notes.	
Anecdotes of Aurangzib. (<i>Translated from Persian Mss.</i>)— Jadunath Sarkar ...	201
This interesting and scholarly work, of which we publish the first section in this number, is not a mere translation. The division of the book and the arrangement of the anecdotes are the translator's own. The notes make the work reliable and very valuable from the historian's point of view.	
The Man of Law. [An essay in the manner of Elia].— "Elia" Junior ...	209
This is a humorous discourse on lawyers who are not burdened with too much practice in law-courts.	
Fatal Garland—Srimati Svarnakumari Devi ...	213
An official vindication of the Deportations—Surendranath Banerjea ...	220
This is a conclusive reply to Mr. Streatfeild's article in the July number of the <i>Nineteenth Century and After</i> on the subject of the deportations.	
The Gods of Kulu—Homersham Cox ...	222
This article is not only pleasant reading, but possesses considerable ethnological interest, and some historical interest, too.	
The Last Meeting (<i>a short story</i>)— Hemendra Prasad Ghose ...	234
The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race—Har Dayal ...	239
The writer's contention is that the political subjugation of a people is never complete without their social subjugation. Accordingly he tries to show how the social conquest of the Hindu race by the British people is going on apace.	
Forward or Backward?—Hemendra Prasad Ghose ...	248
It asks the question whether British statesmanship is on the wane or otherwise.	
The Famine of 1908 in India and the work done by Non-official agencies—Gopal Krishna Devadhar ...	250
Mr. Devadhar not only gives an account of the work done by non-official agencies, he proves the need of such work, and shows that the official attitude towards famine volunteers is not what it ought to be and says what it should be.	
A model Reform School : How it works—Saint Nihal Singh ...	265
This is an account of the Iowa Industrial School, which is meant to reform the characters of young offenders, and make them good citizens. It will be observed that the sons of respectable parents in India do not generally receive the kind of attention which juvenile delinquents receive in America.	
The International Congress of Applied Chemistry: and aniline dyes—Ananda K. Coomaraswamy ...	275
The object of this article is to show that every sort of application of scientific knowledge to various arts does not mark an advance in Civilization and Art and that the invention of the aniline dyes has done incalculable harm to the arts of dying and of painting.	
Preferential Tariffs for India—"Chandragupta" ...	278
This article shows that India wants protective tariffs against Great Britain more than against any other foreign country.	
Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and his English Experiences—Jitendralal Banerjee ...	280
Mr. Banerjee was specially interviewed for the <i>Modern Review</i> by Professor Jitendralal Banerjee.	
Reviews of Books ...	288
Comment and Criticism ...	294
Notes ... m ...	296
Notices of Swadeshi Articles ...	309

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THIS NUMBER.

1. THE DANCE OF SIVA.
2. FAMINE PICTURES AFTER MANY WEEKS RELIEF.
MESSRS. DESHRAJ, DEVADHAR, KAIKINI, AND GIRIDHARILAL.
MR. DEVADHAR AND SERVANTS WITH BABIES ALMOST SKELETONS.
A COMPLETELY HELPLESS FAMILY.
A POOR BRAHMIN WOMAN WITH 4 CHILDREN.
YOUNG WOMEN DESERTED BY THEIR HUSBANDS.
GROUP OF NON-BRAHMIN WOMEN.
OLD WOMEN WHO HAVE COME TO RECEIVE MONEY DOLES.
JUNGLE CROUP.
3. THE IOWA INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.
TYPES OF COTTAGE RESIDENTS.
MR. W. L. KUSER.
THE WIFE OF W. L. KUSER.
- TYPE OF COTTAGE AND RESIDENTS.
THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL.
DINING HALL FOR BOYS.
THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.
AN INTERIOR VIEW OF TAILOR SHOP.
AN INTERIOR VIEW OF CARPENTER SHOP.
A FOOTBALL TEAM.
COTTAGE PARLOUR.
MENDING ROOM.
PRINTING DEPARTMENT.
BUILDING ERECTED BY THE BOYS.
4. BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.
5. MR. H. S. L. POLAK.
6. MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.
7. MR. C. R. DAS.
8. MR. BHUPENDRANATH BASU.
9. FAMINE-STRICKEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

HANUMAN BOUND BY THE RAKSHASA'S.

From the Illustrated Edition of Krittibasa's Bengali Ramayan.





"ANXIOUS FOR THE BELOVED."

By Molaram (A. D. 1760—1833).

By kind permission of Sriyut Balak Ram Sah.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VI
No. 4

OCTOBER, 1909

WHOLE
No. 34

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB

SECTION II.

ABOUT HIS SONS & GRANDSONS.

A. BAHADUR SHAH (MUZZAM).

§ 9. Arrest of Prince Muazzam.

WHEN the Emperor called for Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, intending to imprison him, he came to the Emperor in the chapel. His Majesty told Bakhtawar Khan, the Superintendent of the Perfume Department, "Bring every essence (*atar*) that my son wishes for." Bahadur Shah submitted, "What power has this slave to make any choice himself? Any essence that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to present would be better [than one of my selection]." The Emperor replied, "This order of mine is also an act of grace." Then Bahadur Shah told Bakhtawar Khan, "Any essence that you have, except the essence of scented wax (*atar-i-fitna*), is good." His Majesty cried out, "Yes, I too, having the same prudential consideration in my mind, have put you to trouble in this house." When the essence arrived, he ordered the Prince to put off his arms and come nearer, in order that the Emperor might with his own hand rub him over with the essence. After the perfuming, when the prince went [back] to make his bow [of thanks-giving], the Emperor went away, ordering Muharram Khan, with the help of Hamid-ud-din Khan, to disarm the four sons of the Prince, and detain all the five there. As they went up first of all to Muhammad Muizuddin, the latter laid his

hand on the handle of his sword. Bahadur Shah in anger cried [to his son] "Wretch, you are resisting the order of your Centre of Faith and K'aba (*i.e.*, His Sacred Majesty)!" With his own hands he tore off his [eldest] son's arms and gave them up to Muharram Khan. The other sons without objection stripped off their arms and surrendered them.

When the Emperor heard of it, he said, "The chapel has taken the place of the Well of Joseph, and it will attain to the same end as the latter."

Text.—Ir. MS. 7a.

Notes.—Prince Muazzam, afterwards Emperor Bahadur Shah I, was imprisoned by Aurangzib about June 1689, and released on 13th July, 1696, when he was sent to Multan as Governor. The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 294) gives a slightly different account of the manner of his arrest. The Bakhtawar Khan of this anecdote could not have been the author of the *Mirat-i-alam* (who died on 9th Feb., 1685), but was evidently Khawajah Bakhtawar, created a Khan in April, 1705. There is a play upon the word *fitna*, which means (1) scented wax and (2) disturbance, tumult. The Kaba is the square temple of black stone at Mecca, towards which the Muslims turn their faces when praying. Joseph, the son of Jacob, was flung into a dry well by his wicked brothers, and then sold as a slave to some merchants going to Egypt, and this calamity was the means of his future greatness as the Prime Minister of Egypt. (*Genesis*, XXXVII, 24).

§ 10. Wise counsels for Kings.

On the day when the Emperor released Bahadur Shah from captivity, he made him sit down in his presence and told him, "As a father like me has been pleased with you, the crown will certainly fall to your lot. I had no need to satisfy my father Shah Jahan, as he was devoted to Dara Shikoh,

who had become the comrade of Hindus and infidel *Yogis* (ascetics). It is simply the assistance of the faith of the Syed among Prophets, *i.e.*, Muhammad, (**on whom be blessings and peace!**) that is the cause of victory.* Some counsels I am going to give you; you should lay them to heart. Although I know it for certain that it is far from your nature to put them into practice, yet I am speaking out of paternal affection and in view of the love and obedience which you have shown.

"FIRST, an Emperor ought to stand midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities exceeds the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display audacity, while the increase of harshness scares away hearts, *e.g.*, my uncle Sultan Ulugh Beg, in spite of his graces and good qualities, was fearless in shedding blood, so that for petty offences he ordered executions. His son, Abdul Latif, made him prisoner and sent him to the fort of Nahawand. On the way he asked a man 'What do you think was the cause of the fall of my royal power?' The man answered, 'On account of your bloodshed, which made men shrink from you'. What my august ancestor the emperor Humayun did was improper negligence, forgiveness, and weakness in affairs, because, in spite of his repeatedly hearing of the audacious deeds of Shir Khan in the province of Bengal, he acted with carelessness [towards Shir Khan], and only rebuked his father, Hasan Sur, saying 'You know of your son's acts and yet you do not write to him [to remonstrate]!' Hasan replied, 'His acts have passed beyond the stage of writing. I know not what your Majesty's negligence will at last result in.'

"NEXT this,—an emperor should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the most fatal causes of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible. (*Verse*)

It is bad for both emperors and water to remain at the same place,
The water grows putrid and the king's power
slips out of his control.

* Text has 'advice' which makes no sense. I read *nasihat* for *nasihat*.

In touring lie the honour, ease, and splendour of kings,
The desire of comfort and happiness makes him
untrustworthy.

"NEXT this,—always plan how to train your servants, and appoint every one to the task for which you deem him fit. It is opposed to wisdom to order a carpet-weaver to do the work of a blacksmith. Don't impose the task of the old on the young, nor that of the young on the old, because elderly people feel ashamed in doing the work of young men, and the young have not the capacity of doing the work of the old, so that utter disorder prevails in the affairs of the State."

Text.—Ir. Ms. 7a—8a.

Notes.—Mirza Ulugh Beg, a Grand-son of Timur, and the learned author of Astronomical Tables, was king of Samargand till 1449, when he was deposed and murdered by his son Abdul Latif.

§ II. Advice to his heir. Gloomy Prophecy.

When the Emperor released Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah from confinement, he conferred favours and gifts on him, and, on the day of giving him leave to depart, said, "Although out of sheer necessity and force [of circumstances] I have punished your extremely ruinous acts by keeping you in prison for some years, yet, this is the strongest sign of [your future] kingship, as the fortune and dignity of Joseph were conditional on his being [first] imprisoned. God willing, the same process will take place in your case. In this hope I have in my lifetime entrusted to you [the governorship of] paradise-like Hindustan.

"The presages of my horoscope,—composed by Fazil Khan Ala-ul-mulk, [and giving the incidents] from the day of my birth till after my death,—have all been verified by actual experience.† In that horoscope it is written that after me‡ will come an emperor, ignorant, narrow-minded, overpowered by injuries,—whose words will be all imperfect and whose plans will be all immature. He will act towards some with so much prodigality as almost to drown them, and towards others with so much rigour as to raise the fear of [utter]

† One example of the correctness of the horoscope is given in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii, 529.

‡ The translation here follows the Ir. MS. MS. N. reads, "After this reign, which is the divider of the life of *Samak-i-ranin* and *Samak-i-a'zal* (two portions of the constellation Leo) and is situated at the most conspicuous place of the degree of ascendancy, an emperor shall come, &c."

decline. All these admirable qualities and praiseworthy characteristics are found in your nature! Although I shall send [? or leave] behind me a very competent *wazir* who has come to the front in my reign and whom I have secured, yet what good will it do, as the four pillars of the Empire, *viz.* my four sons, will never leave that poor man to himself to do his work? In spite of this being the case, [he] ought still to exert [himself] that the work [of administration] may on the whole be well done. But it is a rule of medicine that so long as the bad humour does not descend from the upper parts of the body, although the lower limbs of the body may retain their strength, in the end the disease turns into [general] weakness and slackness, nay even into disorder and decline. In this matter, too, the same is the case. Although owing to my marching through wildernesses and forests, my officers who love repose and feel disgusted with their own parents, long for the destruction of this my borrowed life,—yet after my death they will, owing to the thoughtlessness and ignorance of this son incapable of appreciating merit, demand for themselves that very thing (*viz.*, death) which they are now praying for me. Any how, I advise you, out of a father's love, 'Don't be so salt that [your subjects] would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down.' But this advice is out of place here, as saltishness is not at all present in your nature, but is the share of your dear brother. The portion of saltlessness is the lot of you, my very sagacious son. May God keep both the brothers in perfect moderation! Amen, O Lord of the Universe!"

Text.—Ir. MS. 19b & 20a, MS. N. 21b—23a.

Notes.—Aurangzib's favourite *wazir* was Asad Khan. Fazil Khan (Mulla Ala-ul-mulk Tuni), a versatile scholar, was Shah Jahan's *Khansaman*. (Life in *M.U.* iii, 524—530.

§ 12. Infringement of royal prerogative.

From the news-letter of Kabul the Emperor learnt that Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah had at the time of his holding court ordered four drums to be beaten. The Emperor wrote, "The Prime Minister should write to the Prince a "Letter By Order" to this effect:—In the place of four drums you should beat four tabors, because it is the prerogative of Emperors alone to beat kettledrums while holding

court. When God gives you [the throne], you will [enjoy these Imperial rights]. Why this impatience?"

Text.—Ir. MS. 3b. MS. 9b-10a.

Notes.—Prince Muazzam, ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah I in 1707. He was appointed by his father Subahdar of Afghanistan in May, 1698.

§ 13. Infringement of royal prerogative.

From the letter of the courier (*harkarah*) of the province of Afghanistan, the Emperor learnt that Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah performed the traditional prayers after setting up canvas-screens (*kanat*) in the Cathedral Mosque. On the sheet of the letter Aurangzib wrote, "Verily this matter is not unconnected with fear and cowardice, which are traits of this son's character. In spite of such cowardice, he ought to have a little fear of me. How did he dare to do a thing which is the special prerogative of kings? The late Emperor Shah Jahan was very negligent towards his sons, so that matters came to a pass that is notorious." On the margin the Emperor wrote, "The *nazir* (of Kabul) is dismissed from his post and reduced in rank by a hundred troopers, as he has not written a single syllable about this affair. Muharram Khan should recommend another *nazir*. Entirely change the *jagirs* of the news-writer and reporter [of Kabul.] I have not degraded them in rank as they may be of service in future. The courier (*harkarah*) should quickly make another inquiry and write about the facts. If it is true, the Prince should be removed from the governorship and summoned to my presence."

Text.—Ir. MS. 10a & b., not in MS. N.

§ 14. Royal prerogative infringed.

The Emperor learnt from the letter of the *nazir* of Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah that when the Prince was issuing from the *Chakla* of Sarhind he whispered something into the ears of the Superintendent of his elephants which the writer could not catch. When they had advanced 8 miles from the [last] halting place, a fight took place between two infuriated elephants. The Prince himself stopped with his troops and camp-followers and witnessed the fight; afterwards the drivers of the two elephants separated them from each other and continued the journey. But in this combat

neither of the elephants had hurt or trodden down any person.

On the sheet the Emperor wrote, "The first statement was due to fear for his life, as concealment [of the matter] was impossible. The second statement, that 'neither of the elephants had hurt anybody,' displays the shame of avarice which makes people blind and dumb. The Chief Paymaster should reduce the *nazir's* rank by 200 and change his *jagir* in proportion to the reduction in his rank. The Prime Minister should write to the foolish Prince a 'Letter By Order' in the place of a *farman*, saying, 'Ordering an elephant-fight is the exclusive prerogative of kings. By these useless and unprofitable longings you cannot get the crown sooner. When the time comes and fortune befriends you, you will be king. What ruins a man is demanding more than his lot and before the ordained time. Why do you [by such assumption of royalty] make me angry and yourself afflicted?'"

Text.—Ir. MS. 11a & b, MS. N. 21a & b.

§ 15. Royal prerogative infringed.

From the news-letter of the province of Kabul the Emperor learnt that Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah on the days that he held court, used to sit on a carpet spread on a platform standing one yard above the ground. The Emperor wrote on the sheet, (*Verse*)

It is not by mere wishing that our works are done.
God's grace is required in every work.

You cannot secure the seat of great ones by [mere]
rash acts,
Unless you have gathered together all the materials
for greatness.

It is very strange that the confinement of so many years has not reformed the presumptuous mind of this proud and foolish [Prince]. Two strict macebearers should be sent to make him get down from his seat in open court, and to dismantle the platform. If they arrive [at Kabul] when he is not holding court, they should wait till he does so, and then carry out my order, as a recompense for that which they do. The late Emperor Shah Jahan showed so much leniency and negligence towards his sons that the independent chief of affairs was turned upside down.

Text.—Ir. MS. 21b.

§ 16. Suspicious watching of his sons.

Hamida Bānu, the superintendent (*mahaldār*) of the harem of Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, from the province of Multan, petitioned the Emperor, "Very often at night in the prince's private chamber, where his beloved ones come, he takes with himself his pen-case and memorandum-book. Out of regard for etiquette it is not allowed by the court regulations that the *mahaldār* or her deputy should be present at the time. When your Majesty gave this old slave woman [the writer] her congee you told her orally, and you also inserted it in a [subsequent] royal letter, that whenever the Prince would call for his pen-case this old bondmaid or her deputy Sharf-un-nisa should be present. These are the facts. What order in this matter?"

The Emperor wrote in answer, "If you cannot in etiquette go to the Prince's private chamber, what etiquette is there in your refusing to send him the pen-case? In any case in future do not at all leave the pen-case in the inner apartments. I have also sent an order to the *nazir* that whenever the Prince in the outer apartments needs [writing materials] he should produce the pen-case, so that the prince may keep it with himself only till the necessary signatures are finished; thereafter the *nazir* should keep it under his own seal. Tell my foolish son that his captivity for so many years has not made him wise, as he has taken such audacious steps! Even now the matter has not gone out [of my hand]. Distance cannot prevent [me from] punishing [him]. (*Verse*)

Here is the polo-ball, and here is the field,
You inconsiderate, utterly ignorant man."

Text.—MS. N. 20a 6—20b 12.

Notes.—Prince Muazzam, after being confined by his father from 1689, was finally released and on 13th July, 1696, sent off to Multan as Governor, (*M.A.* 382.) Here he remained for two years, nominally a Viceroy, but still watched by his jealous father's spies!

B. AZAM SHAH

§ 17. The Capitulation of Parli.

The siege of the fort of Parli had continued for four months, and then the rainy season approached. It was usual in that part for the rains to be always accompanied by hail-storms. The soldiers were in consequence greatly alarmed. Shaikh

Sadullah Khan submitted to the Emperor, through Muharram Khan, "If the Emperor's son 'Ali-jah is not displeased, peace can be made in a day." His Majesty said, "Wait to-day; the answer will be given to-morrow." At the end of the day it became known that the Prince had an intolerable aversion to making peace, and that the Shaikh had arranged for the surrender of the fort on the mere condition that the commandant and the garrison should go out [freely] without any property. The Emperor said, "Make the agreement complete, so that immediately on my giving the order, the Imperial flag may be planted on the fort without any delay." As he ordered, the matter was settled.

Next day, when holding the morning Court, His Majesty said to Prince 'Alijah, "I have to show consideration for your feelings. Otherwise, making peace is not so very difficult. Others, too, may accomplish it." The Prince replied, "I agree to any method by which your Majesty's work can be done." The Emperor rejoined, "But you will afterwards feel aggrieved!" The Prince answered, "What power has this slave to be displeased with his holy guide and preceptor?" and then [after a pause] he added, "Who is this man, the instrument for making peace?" "Shaikh Sadullah" answered His Majesty. The Prince said, "Let an order be issued to bring Shaikh Sadullah to the presence." The Emperor told Muharram Khan, "Send word to the Shaikh to plant the flag quickly on the fort." After two *gharis* the flag was set up there and the music of victory was played. Prince Azam with extreme irritation and anger said, "We servants of your Majesty ought now to take poison, as these rascals (*paji*) have become your companions." The Emperor answered, "I have indeed cherished rascals. Now I shall drive both the rascals out of my camp. Shaikh Sadullah will be sent to the Base Camp, and you to the Province of Ahmadadad (*i.e.*, Guzerat.)" Then he ordered that Siadat Khan, the superintendent of the mace-bearers, with all the mace-bearers should accompany the Prince and make him reside at Sanpgaon, 3 *koses* from the Imperial army, without permitting the Prince to go back to his present quarters. Then His Majesty dropped the screen and

retired from the Court. Prince Azam, in confusion and astonishment, entreated the mediation of Asad Khan the *wazir*, who begged the Emperor to give the Prince two days' respite, that the rains might stop a little. His Majesty replied, "What business have my servants to say anything in the affairs of my sons?" Asad Khan felt ashamed of having made the request. However, the Prince with the mace-bearers took up his residence in his own quarters, and thence submitted to the Emperor, "Wax for making oil-cloth cannot be had." Aurangzib replied, "You may take some from the Imperial Government [stores] after paying the price." The Prince prayed that the price might be deducted from his cash stipend. The Emperor wrote [on the application] "No wise man leaves cash to be turned into credit,* for at the time of payment there is no knowing who will live and who will be dead. You must pay the price in cash and take [the wax.]" So, the Prince did as he was ordered; he sent Rs. 1,200 and got the wax.

Text.—Ir. MS. 2a—3a, MS. N. 39a—40b.

Notes.—The fort of Parli, which is described as 14m. from Satara, was besieged by Aurangzib from 30th April to 9th June, 1700 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 425—428.) Prince 'Alijah was Muhammad Azam, the 3rd son of Aurangzib. Shaikh Sadullah was at one time the *musharraf* of the Emperor's personal attendants (*khawas*.) Mace-bearers were somewhat like sergeants, and made arrests and carried out the Emperor's disciplinary orders.

§ 18. Strict justice between a Prince and a Commoner.

Prince Muhammad Azam Shah wrote a letter to Inayatullah Khan with instructions to submit to the Emperor the purport of the letter and his requests. He stated therein, "Syed L'al, who has been holding a rank (*mansab*) in the Mughal service for three generations, drinks wine and does many kinds of irreligious practices (*bid'at*) in my *jagir* of Mandisor. The Emperor should order his *jagir* to be taken away from him and given to me, so that this evil may be put down." The Emperor wrote across the petition, "It is a novel and funny manner of appropriation to take on yourself a work which appertains to the Censor of Morals and to pray for the transfer of another's *jagir*."

* MS. N. reads, "It can't be. This is credit business, while I have written about cash payment. When the time for paying [the credit price] comes, there is no knowing &c."

It is impossible to transfer a *jagir* held for one generation only,—what to speak of one enjoyed for three generations? I won't transfer anybody's *jagir* at the mere word of any other man. In being my servants this son and Syed L'al are exactly equal, while the latter, by reason of his being a Syed, is a thousand steps higher. The chief *Sadar* should write to the Censor of that place to enquire into the truth of the matter and report the details to me. Praised be God that I have not given my sons predominance as the Emperor Shah Jahan did, lest I should be put to disgrace [by them]."

Text.—Ir. MS. 3a—3b, MS. N. 8t—9a incomplete and confused.

Note.—Censor of Morals or *Muhtasib*, an officer appointed to see that the ordinances of Islam are strictly observed in private life.

§ 19. Be not too bold.

The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of the army of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah that he used to go incautiously towards the entrenchments in order to view the fort of Panhala. Although the *nazir* and the *mahaldar* forbade him, he did not mind their prohibition. The same thing was also reported to the Emperor in the letters of the *nazir* and the *mahaldar*.

His Majesty wrote, "I wonder at this son, on whom my society has produced no [educative] effect whatever! He is a thousand stages remote from caution and farsightedness, and has not laid to heart the maxim 'Precaution is a suspicion of mischief,' nor put to use the verse 'Don't thrust yourself with your own hands into destruction' (verse)

A bird that is prudent in this garden of a world,
Suspects the rose for the claws of a royal falcon!
When a partridge flies without circumspection
Blood drops from its visible wounds, as the result of
its laughter.
The society of the good does not turn a bad nature
into good,
The almond retains its bitter kernel even in sugar.

Manliness does not consist in audacity and fearlessness but in breaking one's self (*i.e.*, humility).

The perfection of manliness and humanity lies
in self-suppression.
Kiss the hand of the man who has broken
this bow (*i.e.*, self)."

Text.—Ir. MS. 18a—b.

Notes.—Panhala, 11m. S.W. of Kolhapur. Aurangzib captured it after a siege lasting from 9th

March to 28th May, 1701. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 430—439, *Khafi Khan*, ii. 476—490).

§ 20. Prince Azam punished for quarrelling with the Superintendent of his harem.

Bahroz Khan, the *nazir* of the *deorhi* of Prince Muhammad 'Azam Shah reported to the Emperor "The Prince has behaved badly towards Nur-un-nisa, the *mahaldar*, so that he did not take her with himself [in his visits] to the Imperial garden at Ahmadabad. The *mahaldar* sent a letter outside [the harem, to me] forbidding the Prince's journey. So, this slave (*i.e.*, the writer) came and stopped the riding out of the Prince, in the absence of any order [from the Emperor]. The Prince expelled the *mahaldar* from his assembly (*majlis*). The Emperor wrote this order:—"The *mansabdars* appointed [to that province] and Khawajah Quli Khan with his own troops and those of the Rajah of Narwar, should co-operate and prevent the Prince from riding out or giving audience, pending the arrival of order from me."

Next day, when the Prince got news of it, he sent a petition through his sister, Padishah Begam, begging pardon for his offences, and enclosing an agreement to a compromise sealed with the seals of the *nazir* and the *mahaldar*. On the petition the Emperor wrote:—"I refrain from transferring your *mahals* (*i.e.*, *jagir*). But if no pecuniary punishment is inflicted, you would retain the audacity to do this sort of work again. Fifty thousand rupees should be taken from the cash salary of this shortsighted, base-minded and foolish son, into the public treasury as punishment for this offence."

Text.—Ir. MS. 4a & b, MS. N. 5a & b.

Notes.—Prince Azam was Subahdar of Guzerat from the middle of 1701 to September, 1705. Padishah Begam was the title of his sister Zinat-un-nisa. *Mahaldar* was the highest female servant and controlled the harem,—a sort of female *major domo*. She evidently acted as a spy in the interests of the Emperor.

§ 21. Maintain peace on the highways.

From the report of the province of Ahmadabad, of which Muhammad Azam Shah was the Governor, the Emperor learnt that—Janaji Dalia, a commander of the enemy [*i.e.*, Marathas], had plundered some merchants on the highway of Surat, at a place 80 miles

from Ahmadabad. This matter had become known to the Prince Shah Alijah [i.e., Azam] from the news brought by a courier; but he had said, 'It has occurred within the *faujdari* of Amanat Khan, the collector of Surat; I have no concern with it.'

On the sheet of the report the Emperor wrote,—“Decrease five thousand from the real rank of the Prince, and take from his agents money corresponding to the [loss] reported by the merchants. If it had been an officer other than a Prince, this order would have been issued after an inquiry. For a Prince the punishment is the absence of investigation. Bravo for your Prince-ship, that you consider yourself lower than Amanat Khan! As in my life-time you have a claim to inherit the empire, why then do you not make Amanat Khan a sharer of your heritage? (*Verse*)

A malady that does not go away for medicine,
has no cure.
A man who has not got wisdom, does not need any
thing.”

Text.—Ir. MS. 22b, MS. N. 26b—27a.

Note.—Is Dalia a mistake for Dulway, a Maratha family name?

§ 22. Unintentional contempt of “Court” punished.

One day when the Emperor was holding Court, Prince Muhammad ‘Azam Shah stood up and made a request. At not getting a reply favourable to his desire, he grew angry and advanced so far that his foot touched the Emperor’s seat (*masnad*). The Emperor in displeasure dropped the screen of the Court, went away, and forbade the Prince to come to the presence. Nobody else had the power to intercede with him; but Shah Salimullah, [a hermit] of Nandurbar, said to the Emperor, ‘That the Prince advanced his foot was not due to a spirit of daring, but to carelessness. **Of him who pardons and makes peace, the recompense is from God.**’ Below the above [Quranic] verse the Emperor wrote,—

“From the bank of safety into the sea of destruction, fell That man who set his steps beyond his own limits.”

Text.—Ir. MS. 5b, MS. N. 32a & b.

Note.—When the Emperor dropped a screen in front of his seat at a *darbar*, it was a sign that the Court was closed. Then he retired to the *harem* by a door at the back of his seat.

§ 23. The Emperor’s repartee.

Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, owing to his levity of character and vileness of tongue,

had likened His Majesty to the sweeper Jumma who used to serve in the Hall of Private Audience, and the matter had reached the Imperial ears. One day, while Jumma was sweeping the court-yard of the Private Audience Hall, the Emperor turned towards Azam Shah and said, “Baba! this sweeper has four sons.” Azam Shah replied, “He has only one son, and that too a mere child.” His Majesty rejoined, “Your statement is wrong. My information is even that one of these four sons has gone to Persia!” On hearing these words, the Prince understood the point [of the Emperor’s speech] and was greatly ashamed. He complained to his sister, Zinat-un-nisa Begam, “His Majesty, utterly disregarding the consideration and honour due to my lady mother, has described Jumma sweeper as my father!” The Emperor retorted, “But, then, son! you showed no consideration and honour to Shah Jahan, when you described his late Majesty’s son as the sweeper Jumma!”

Text.—Ir. MS. 6a, MS. N. 11a & b.

Note.—Only four sons of Aurangzib were alive at this time and one of these, Prince Akbar, had fled to Persia after the failure of his rebellion in 1681.

§ 24. Aurangzib keeps his sons at a distance.

Muhammad Azam Shah, who was Governor of Guzerat, petitioned thus,—“On account of the length of my illness, which was a quartan fever for a long time—though the disease had been totally removed for more than two months, I am still so weak that I cannot utter words. I pray for a transfer from this province to the Emperor’s presence so that at all events I may, after attaining the blessing of kissing the Emperor’s feet, give up my weak life.”

The Emperor wrote, “May the True Protector watch over this fruit of my heart [=son] in all conditions! To allow you to travel and come to me in this state of weakness, would not be free from cruelty. (*Verse*)

He considers remembrance as higher than interview,
Thank God! my eyes are not ungrateful.

This weak old man and this shrunken helpless creature [Aurangzib] is afflicted with a hundred maladies besides anxiety [lit., headache], but he has made patience his habit. (*Verse*.)

In the opinion of those who are ready for death

Every unseasonable trouble sent by fortune

appears as a suitable favour.

I have no greed for disease, otherwise
Every disease allotted to me by the Invisible is a
medicine.

While talking with my wicked and reprehensible passions, I say that with the exception of the heart, which is precious and worth protecting, the world and everything in it deserve to be left behind. Why have you bound [yourself] to the world and temporal things? Your heart is to be taken [with you to the next world], and the world and time will have to be given up. (*Verse*)

"Every [earthly] thing which you elevate will throw
you into the dust,
Except the flow of tears, which is capable of elevating
you [to heaven]."

Text.—MS. N. 10a. 5—10b. 11.

Notes.—In April, 1693 Prince Azam at Cuddappa in Madras had a long and severe attack of dropsy, after which he was conveyed to the Court by order of the Emperor, 22nd October, 1693 (*M.A.* 353, 361—363, *Khafi Khan*, ii, 434). But he was *not* then Governor of Guzerat. *Khafi Khan*, gives the following account of an application made by the Prince in 1705-6 to come from Guzerat and visit his father:—

"Prince Muhammad Azam, in Guzerat, on hearing of his father's illness, applied for permission to come to Court on the plea of the air and water of that province not being congenial to him. The Emperor was displeased and sent him a letter to this effect:—"I, too, had sent a similar petition to my father Shah Jahan during his illness [at the close of his reign], and he had replied to it by saying that the air of every place is agreeable to men except the wind of evil passions!" (ii. 541). In the end the Emperor permitted Azam to come to Court and he arrived there on 25th March, 1706. (*M.A.* 496, 512).

C. KAM KAKHSH.

§ 25. Kam Bakhsh placed under arrest.

The Emperor learnt from the letters of the *nazir* and news-writer with Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh,—“After the capture of fort Jinji, Nasrat Jang Khan made a request to the Prince about marching and halting, in a spirit of caution, as there were more than 50,000 cavalry of the enemy around [the Mughal force]. The Prince displaying roughness answered, ‘I have the power. I shall march whenever I like.’ Till at last the matter passed into unpleasantness. The Khan gave up waiting on the Prince in his quarters, and interviewed him [only] when riding out. On Wednesday, the 9th Ziqada [= 13th July, 1692] at noon when the Prince had dismounted in his own camp, he sent a slave to call the Khan, and the latter dela-

yed to come. Four slaves came in succession. At this juncture the Khan's couriers (*harkarah*) brought him news that the prince had formed a plan with his foster-brother to imprison the Khan. Also, from the letter of the *nazir* it became known that this report was true. The Khan called together the [news]-writers, took them as his witnesses, himself with Rao Dalpat Bundela went riding on elephants to inside the fence (*jali*) [of the Prince's quarters], and pulled down the Prince's court-tent with the elephant's trunk. The Prince on seeing this wanted to flee to his *harem*. But Rao Dalpat coming up seized both his hands, and pulling him by the sleeves dragged him to the elephant of the Khan, who made a sign to Dalpat to seat the Prince on his own elephant. So in that manner four marches were made, the Prince remaining with Rao Dalpat and staying in his tent day and night.

After reading it, the Emperor wrote on the sheet. (*Verse*)

“A Slave-girl's son comes to no good,
Even though he may have been begotten by a King.

What reform could Noah (**on the prophets and on him be peace!**) effect in his disobedient son, that I can succeed [in the same work]? Nasrat Jang Khan is not without wisdom. Whosoever speaks ill of him is himself a bad man. As for bringing this worthless [Prince], the leader of the wicked, let Nasrat Jang Khan accompany (*i.e.*, escort) him up to Bijapur, and thereafter entrust him to the Prime Minister. Send a *farman* to the Governor of Bijapur, to give him an escort of one thousand cavalry and send him to me. Nasrat Jang Khan should go to guard the newly conquered territory, such as fort Jinji and other places. When I send him a *farman*, he will come to me.” On the margin of the petition, His Majesty wrote, “For the sake of a son who, agreeably with the verse ‘**He is your enemy**’, has been proved and ascertained to be an enemy,—why should I quarrel with my friends, among whom a good servant is reckoned one? Especially when that servant is a near kinsman, being the son of my maternal aunt, and deserving the friendly intercourse of kindred.” [*M.S. N.* adds,—On the margin he wrote, “Plato has said, ‘**Your friends are three: the sharer of your salt, (*i.e.*, at meals),**

the sharer of your danger, and the companion of your travels.' ”]

Text.—Ir. MS. 22a & b, MS. N. 27b—29a.

Notes.—Kam Bakhsh, the youngest and petted son of Aurangzib and Udipuri Mahal, (born 24 Feb. 1667), began the siege of Jinji on 16th Dec., 1691, the real commanders being Asad Khan and his son Nasrat Jang. The fort fell on 7th Feb., 1698. But in 1693 Kam Bakhsh, for his opposition to the two generals and intrigue with the enemy, was arrested and brought to the Court, 14th June. (*M.A.* 355-359, *Khafi Khan*, ii, 418—421, *M.U.* ii, 94 & i, 313, *Dilkasha*, 107a et seq.)

D. Bidar Bakht (son of Azam Shah.)

§ 26. Bidar Bakht punished for neglect of duty.

The Emperor learned from the letter of the *nazir* accompanying Bidar Bakht Bahadur that he had at first greatly exerted himself to capture the fort of Sansani, belonging to Rajah Ram Jat, and that it became then known that he had sent a verbal message to the latter, which was evidently this that he should give his brother's daughter to the Prince and himself go out of the fort.

On the sheet the Emperor wrote, “There is no harm. Giving a daughter is a mark of submission. He may go out of the fort, but where will he go outside the Imperial territory? But (*verse*)

What sort of man was he who was less than a woman?
A man submissive to women is worse than a woman.

The bringing up of children belongs to fathers and not to grandfathers. Prince Alijah [Muhammad Azam,] out of his weak nature and affection for Bidar Bakht's late mother, has brought matters to such a pass. To wise men a straitened condition, which is [caused by] punishment in money is the greatest calamity and distress. For one year reduce his *jagir* by one-half and remove him from his rank (*mansab*).

Text.—Ir. MS. 21b & 22a; MS. N. 27a & b differs a good deal but only verbally.

Notes.—Muhammad Bidar Bakht, the son of Prince Muhammad Azam and Jahanzeb Banu Begam (the daughter of Dara), was born 4th August, 1670. All three of them were greatly loved by Aurangzib, and Bidar Bakht was the old Emperor's special favourite. With Khan-i-Jahan he led an expedition against Rajah Ram Jat, the rebel chief of Sansani, whom he defeated and slew, 4th July, 1688, (*M.A.* 311). Sansani was captured by him in January, 1690 (*M.A.* 334, *Khafi Khan*, 395). It is now a station on the E. I. R. between Hathras and Aligarh.

‘Late mother’ is incorrect, as the lady died long afterwards, March, 1705, (*M.A.* 494).

§ 27. Quarrel between Bidar Bakht and his wife.

From the letter of the *nazir* accompanying Prince Bidar Bakht Bahadur, the Emperor learnt, “The Prince had always before shown the greatest affection and favour to Shams-un-nisa, the daughter of Mukhtar Khan. But now, contrary to his usual manner, he often treats her with displeasure, so that one day he said, ‘The daughter of a rascal (*paji*) ought not to show such pride to princes.’ At this Shams-un-nisa replied, ‘If you like you may slay me, but I shall not speak to you again.’ So from that day the Prince had given up speaking to her.”

On the sheet of the letter the Emperor wrote, “(*Verse*).

At dawn the bird of the garden [nightingale] said to
the newly blossomed rose,
‘Don't give yourself airs so much, because in this
garden many like you had budded.’
The rose laughed [saying] ‘I am not displeased to
hear the truth; but
No lover ever spoke a bitter word to the beloved.’

(*Hafiz*).

Be it clear to this light of the eye [*i.e.*, grandson] that in the season of youth, which in the vile phraseology of his boon companions is styled ‘mad youth,’ I, too, had this relation with a person [equal wife] who had extreme self-will and stateliness, but to the end of her life I continued to love her and never once did I wound her feelings. Then again, to apply the term *paji*, to the Syeds is simply to act like a *paji*. If a Syed is called a *paji*, it will not certainly make him a *paji*. If I don't learn from the letters of the *mahaldar* and the *nazir* that you have made it up with this Syed girl, you will meet with rebuke, nay more, with punishment. [God shall give them] recompense for that which they were doing.

Text.—MS. N. 23b. 1-24a.5.

Notes.—Bidar Bakht, the son of Azam, and the favourite grandson of Aurangzib, was married to the daughter of Mukhtar Khan surnamed Puti Begam, on 21st Nov., 1686 (*M.A.* 284). A son, named Firuz Bakht, was born to them on 23rd Aug., 1695 (*Ibid.* 374). Bidar Bakht's father-in-law was Qamruddin, the son of Shamsuddin, the son of Syed Muhammad, all three of them being successively entitled Mukhtar Khan (*M.U.* iii., 656). This family, the Ben-i-Mukhtar, enjoyed the greatest respect among the Muslims, and traced its descent from the Prophet, through Abul Mukhtar, *Naqib* of Ali's Mashhad and *Amir-ul-hajj*. One of its members migrated from Najaf to Sabzawar in Khurasan, hence their title of Sabzawari. (*M.U.* iii, 409).

Ausangzib is referring to his own married life. His wife Dilras Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Salwi, (married 8th May 1637, died 8th Oct. 1657,) must have been a very proud woman, if we can judge

her character from that of her son, Muhammad Azam, who was incredibly vain and boastful.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KOL TRIBES AND SOURCES OF THEIR ANCIENT HISTORY

Look back, who list, unto the former ages,
And call to count what is of them become.—Spenser,
The Ruines of Time.

IN India, we have vast fields for historical research as yet lying unexplored or but partially explored. The early history of the so-called Kolarian aborigines of India is one of those obscure tracts that have hardly yet been rescued from the darkness of oblivion. A thick curtain of mystery hangs over the antiquities of these prehistoric tribes. Of their real origin and their primitive abode, we are in utter darkness;—of their successive migrations in ancient times through different parts of India, we have no written records to enlighten us, and of the various vicissitudes of fortune they underwent in the dim dark ages of antiquity, our present knowledge is next to nothing. And yet these are the peoples whose remote ancestors were once masters of Indian soil,—whose doings and sufferings, whose joys and sorrows, once made up the history of the Indian Peninsula. The historian of India generally dismisses from consideration these and other aboriginal tribes as “an unclaimed ignoble horde who occupy the background of Indian History as the jungle once covered the land to prepare the soil for better forms of life.”* A total absence of historical traditions regarding the antiquities of these tribes is tacitly assumed to exist by writers on Indian History. Not even a chapter of decent length is allotted to these peoples in any standard work on the history of India. And thus the story of their past has hitherto remained practically untold.

Patient inquiry, however, will reveal that some of these tribes still retain ancient traditions that may shed some light on their past history. These materials with which

the story of their past might be partially rebuilt, are, day after day slowly but steadily slipping out of our hands. With the lapse of time and the progress of civilization amongst these tribes, they appear every day to have been paying less and less heed to the traditions handed down by their ancestors. And thus it has come to pass that at the present moment a few stray old persons here and there remain the sole custodians of these heirlooms of their past. And the time may not be far off when this valuable traditionary lore, now in a rapid course of detrition and decay, may be lost to posterity beyond all chance of recovery.

It is high time, then, that antiquarian-investigators should turn their attention to the quasi-historical traditions of these interesting tribes,—and, with the aid of such traditions, seek to trace back their early history so far as is still possible. It is indeed a matter of regret that no Indian scholars have yet thought fit to devote that time and attention to the subject which it undoubtedly deserves. In fact, the subject is so vast and spreads out into so many ramifications that it would require the patient and persevering collaboration of a whole society of investigators to remove the dense mass of mists that has gathered around it, and open out to us ‘that new world which is the old.’ All the success that solitary inquirers may hope to attain is at best to uplift the corners of the misty veil and take an imperfect peep into a limited portion of this dark domain of mystery and oblivion.

The so-called Kolarian aborigines of India count more than a dozen tribes amongst their number. We shall here attempt, with the help of such feeble lights as we may lay hold on, to trace the traditional history of one important section of the Kols—the

*Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 110.

Munda tribe now inhabiting the highlands of Chotanagpore.

Dark brown—almost black—in colour, short in stature* but sturdy in his limbs, with irregular features, scanty beard, thick lips, broad nose, a low facial angle, with a head more brachy-cephalic than that of the average Dravidian, the Munda is a typical representative of the great Kol race.

The lamp of inquiry has hardly yet been lighted to illumine the dark caverns and hidden recesses of ancient Mundari history. And in the misty mazes of Munda antiquities, the first historical inquirers will now and again have to grope their difficult and often doubtful way through bye-paths of surmise and inference. Crude and conjectural as our account of the successive migrations of the Mundas† may appear to be, our only excuse for placing it before the public is that it may excite and perhaps assist inquiry, and invite worthier workers to the rich field of Kolarian antiquities. Ours will be but a feeble attempt to trace the bare outlines of a difficult and comprehensive subject. And it will be for more assiduous and leisured inquirers to fill up the details, and perhaps to alter the outlines themselves in the light of further research and fresh information.

As regards the remote past, Mundari History, if history it can be called, hardly passes beyond the region of mythical legends. And even such myths and legends as have been handed down to the Mundas by their remote ancestors do not appear to carry us back to a period anterior to the Aryan occupation of Hindusthan. In the pre-Aryan era of Mundari History, we have not even the rush-light of a myth to guide us. The scanty traditions of the tribe open their blurred and dusty pages at a comparatively later chapter of Mundari History.

On the name or geographical situation of their original home, the traditions and legends of the Mundas do not appear to throw any light. It has indeed been sometimes supposed that Ekasipidi Terasibadi, 'the land of eighty-one up-lands and eighty-three elevated rice-fields, celebrated in the Mundari legend of Lutkum Hadam and Lutkum Budia,‡ was the original seat of the tribe.

But this supposition will hardly bear scrutiny. The name alone seems to suggest that the legend cannot date back to a period prior to the colonisation of Northern India by the Aryan Hindus. Notwithstanding the professed antiquity of the legend, the hybrid name 'Ekasipidi Tirasibadi' points to a previous contact with the Sanskrit-speaking Hindus and an acquaintance with their language. The Hindu Numerals 'Ekasi' and 'Tirasi' have no place in the vocabulary of the Mundas who use 'upun-hisi-mid' and 'upun-hisi-api' respectively for eighty-one and eighty-three. And it does not appear at all likely that the conservative Mundas would profane the sacred cradle of the tribe by sacrilegiously transforming its name into a mongrel form even for the sake of euphony. And 'Ekasi-pidi Tirasi-badi', even if such a place had any local existence at all, must have been situated within the confines of Hindustan, and not improbably within Chotanagpur itself. In fact, Colonel Dalton proposed to identify the place with a village still known as 'Ekasi' and situate in the Borway Pargana of the Ranchi District.¶ The tradition still extant among the Mundas of a sanguinary struggle in the uplands of Chotanagpur between themselves and their kinsmen the Asura tribe who had occupied the country before them, would appear to lend support to this suggestion. If, then, this identification of 'Ekasipidi Tirasibadi' be correct,—and none other has been or can probably be suggested,—it is clear that that place could not have been the cradle of the tribe,—for, the traditions of the Mundas speak of their previous residence in other parts of India before they finally entered Chotanagpore.

Seya Sandi Bir,¶ the vast desolate forest,-- which a second Mundari tradition names as the original home of the tribe, is much less capable of identification, and it will probably ever remain a *terra incognita* to us.

The Munda Cosmogonic legend§ which names Ajabgarh as the place which was first raised out of the Primeval Ocean and where the first parents of the Mundas are said to have been created by Sing Bonga -- the Sun-God or Supreme Deity of the

* The average height of an adult Munda male is 5 ft., 6 in.

† In future articles.

‡ Vide an article in the Indian World for Sept., 1907, headed 'A legend of Munda mythology' by the present writer.

¶ Vide Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, p. 221.

¶ The words 'Seya' and 'Sandi' would seem to be obsolete Mundari words.

§ Vide article on "The Legendary History of the Mundas" in the Indian World for December, 1907 by the present writer.

Mundas,—is evidently a later invention, or rather a confusion of two distinct traditions regarding two distinct epochs widely distant from each other in point of time. The origin of the cosmogenic part of the tradition would seem to have been borrowed much later from the Hindus who appear to have been acquainted with the geological truth of the Age of Fishes having been followed in the order of creation successively by the Age of Reptiles, Age of Mammals, and the Age of Man. For, the statement in the Hindu *Purans* of the *Matsya Avatara* of Vishnu in the first age, the *Kurma Avatara* in the second age, the *Varaha Avatara* in the third age, and the *Nrishinha Avatara* in the fourth age,—is in all probability an allegorical exposition of the scientific knowledge of creation possessed by the ancient Hindus. Modern geologists tell us that animals allied to the crab were abundant in the Primary Epoch, and the tortoise was born and reptiles predominated in the Triassic period of the Secondary Epoch. But it was not till the Pliocene, or, at the earliest, the Miocene* period of the Tertiary Epoch that we have any positive evidence of the existence on earth of any being resembling man. And the Ajabgarh of Munda tradition, which, as we shall see later on, is identical with the modern District of Azimgarh in the United Provinces was not in existence till post-Tertiary times† when we find man widely diffused over the earth,—though in a condition of primitive savagery, chipping his rude stone celts and scrapers, flakes and arrow-heads.

Other legends of Munda mythology and Munda folklore bearing on the point, are generally so grotesque and absurd, and the kernel of historic truth in them if any, is so tightly pressed down under the thick shell of fiction that they can give us no clue whatsoever to the original habitat of the tribe. And the site of the original home of the Mundas will perhaps ever remain hidden from view in the mist of ages. Whether the Mundas immigrated into India from the now-submerged hypothetical con-

tinent of Lemuria which has been supposed to have once connected India with Madagascar and Africa,—or whether they entered India from the north-east as has been sometimes supposed‡,—or whether they originated from a mixture of colonists from Eastern Tibet or Western China across the Himalayas with the Australo-Dravidians to the south of that range||, or whether indeed they are genuine autochthones of Indian soil as the Mundas and their congeners in India assert,—we have, in the present state of our knowledge, hardly any materials to ascertain.

All that the patient linguistic researches of distinguished European Philologists have succeeded in discovering, is that a wide belt of territory extending over various parts of India, Farther India & Cochin China, the Malay Peninsula, the Nicobars, the Philippines, the Malacca Islands, and Australia, is to this day inhabited by rude tribes speaking dialects that bear unmistakeable affinities with one another. Points of similarity in vocabulary, in details of grammatical forms, and in principles of language-building, appear to establish a close connection between the Kolarian Mundari, Santali, Bhumij, Ho, Birhor, Koda, Turi, Asuri, Korwa, Kurku, Kharia, Juang, Savara and Gadaba dialects of India, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Sakei and Semang dialects of the Malay Peninsula, the Anamese, Bersisi, and Mon-Khmer languages including Khasi, the dialects of the aborigines of the Malacca Isles, the Dippil, Turubul, Kamilaroy, Wodiwodi, Kingki, Wailun, Toungurong and other dialects of the Australian tribes,—and the Car-Nicober, Chowra, Teressa, Central, Southern and Shompen dialects of the Nicobere language. The so-called Kolarian tribes of India. The Khasis of the Khasi hills the Sakei and Semang tribes of the Malay Peninsula, the Mon-Khmers of Further-India including the Anamese of Cochin China, the rude Nicobarese, the aborigines of the Malacca and the Philippines, and several wild tribes in southern and western Australia,—all speak allied dialects which seem to point to an intimate

* The chipped flint implements discovered at Pay courtney in the Upper Miocene strata and at Thenay in the Lower Miocene, have been pronounced by some authorities to be of Human origin.—*vide* Samuel Laing's 'Human origins,' Ch. X

† According to geologists, the only parts of India which were in existence in the Primary Epoch were the Panjab, Bhotan, the country round about the Aravallis, Bundelkhand, Chotanagpur, parts of Bengal, of Burma and of Kashmir.

‡ See Hewitt in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888 and 1889.

|| See "On some Traces of Kol-Mon-Anam in the Eastern Naga Hills," by S. E. Peal—*Asiatic Society's Journal*, Bengal, vol. LXV, Pt. III, pp. 20 &c.

racial contact in the past, if not to a common origin.

Philology, however, seeks to explain this remarkable similarity of the languages of so many lands in a different way. It contents itself with the supposition that at some distant age, all these countries were inhabited by an old race since extinct, whose language alone now survives as the common substratum underlying all the so-called Kolarian forms of speech.* But with due respect to the eminent Philologists and Ethnologists who have started this theory, we must confess that it does not carry conviction to our minds. We do not know of another instance in the history of the world in which a widely-diffused race which was powerful enough to impose its own language on a number of other peoples, has been utterly effaced from the face of the globe. Nor is such a wholesale extinction of a race of men at all probable. If we were permitted to hazard a conjecture at variance with the opinions of these eminent savants, we would suggest that most† of these tribes now speaking languages allied to Mundari are perhaps descended from one and the same original people, and that these common forefathers of the various rude tribes named above, were perhaps the earliest inhabitants of India. And we might further suggest that this primitive stock from which we have supposed the Mundas and other allied tribes in and outside India to have been descended, had their original abode in the hilly regions extending from the Aravalli mountains and proceeding eastwards along the Vindhyan and Kaimur ranges as far as the modern state of Surguja and the South Eastern districts of Chotanagpore. It is in these parts of India that remains of the most ancient human settlements have been discovered. Traces of the Stone Age have been found as far east as in the modern Districts of Singhbhum and Manbhum and in the south-eastern parts of the Ranchi District. Quartzite axes and spear heads have been discovered in the

Jheria coal-fields in Manbhum‡ and also near the village of Gopinathpur|| 11 miles to the south-west of Beharinath Hill in the District of Manbhum. In the year 1868, Captain Beechang, commander of a company of the 10th Madras N. I. on his march from Ranchi to Chaibassa for the purpose of quelling some disturbances in the tributary state of Keonjhar, lighted upon a number of chert flakes and knives at Chaibassa and also at Chuckerdhurpore—a place about 16 miles from Chaibassa¶ and Mr. Ball not only discovered similar flakes in many parts of Singhbhum but discovered a beautifully made celt at the foot of a small hill near the village of Buradih, south-east of Gamaria, in the eastern pargana of Tamar in the District of Ranchi.§

When these hilly regions no longer furnished space enough for their multiplying progeny, adventurous bands would naturally leave the original cradle and march off to the north and northwest and settle down in the fertile tracts along the mighty rivers of Northern India. In the hilly fastnesses that separate the Vindhya on the south and the Gangetic plains on the north, there have been discovered numerous rude caves with occasional rude attempts at ornamentation that bear evident traces of having been once used as human dwellings. And around these dwellings, large quantities of stone implements have been discovered. And even to this day may be found in the hills and jungles to the east and south of the Azamgarh District a scattered population of Cheros, Seoris, Kols and Kharwars. A few families of Korwas too are met with in the jungles in the southern parts of the Mirzapur District. The wild country now known as Saktigarh, a *tappa* of the ancient Parganah of Kantil, was once a Kol demesne, and was frequently called by their name Kolana** The Santal-Kharwar tradition of their ancient residence in Khairagarh††

* *Vide*, Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, p. 5.

† We say "most" because it is not unlikely that a few of these tribes may not improbably have adopted the language of a superior alien tribe. Thus, it has been supposed that the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, though now speaking a dialect akin to Mundari, were Negritos in origin but abandoned their original speech and adopted their present dialect. To come nearer home, we find that a large number of Dravidian Uraons round about the town of Ranchi, have long abandoned their own language for that of their Kolarian Munda neighbours.

‡ *Vide*, Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1865, p. 127.

|| *Vide*, Proceedings of the Asiatic Society Bengal, 1867, p. 143.

¶ *Vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868, p. 177.

§ *Vide* Pr., A. S. B., 1870, p. 268. This is described by Mr. Ball as the best formed celt weapon till then obtained in South-West Bengal.

** Aitkinson's Statistical Account of the N. W. P., Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 117.

†† Some authorities such as Colonel Dalton [Ethnology of Bengal, p. 211] would identify the Khairagarh of Santal tradition with a place of that name in the District of Hazaribagh. The Bir-Hoos also name Khairagarh as one of their ancient seats.

possibly refers to the *perganah* of that name in the adjoining District of Allahabad. The stone implements that have been unearthed in the District of Ghazipur, south of the Azamgarh District point to a period when the district, in the words of Mr. Carleylle, was "a wilderness, inhabited by rude pre-historic wandering aboriginal tribes"*. Along with these stone implements, Mr. Carleylle discovered two very strange things—"one, a large poison-fang of a snake, and the other the long sharp saw-edged fin-bone of some fish of the kind called *Tengra*". And as to these, Mr. Carleylle remarks,—"I have no doubt they were used by the aborigines of the Stone-Age to tip their arrows with".

Nor is it in the Districts of Mirzapur and Ghazipur alone that such ancient stone implements have been met with. Throughout the southern borders of the Gangetic valley as well as in modern Bundelkhand and Rewa, ancient stone weapons and flint chips have been discovered. In an article in the *Journal of the Calcutta Branch of the Asiatic Society* for the year 1894, Mr. John Cockburn writes:—"All along the Gangetic valley, in the wilder alluvian fringing the Vindhians and Kymores and as far south of these hills as I have been, in Sirgoojah and Rewah, the soil teems with fragmentary remains of ancient stone weapons. I have picked up as many as fifty perfect chert knives and two broken celts in a cotton field within 500 yards of my bungalow at Banda"†.

Thus, we have grounds for inferring that the Mundas and other Kolarian tribes originally lived in the hilly regions along the Aravalli and Vindhyan ranges and gradually spread further to the north and occupied the valleys of the mighty rivers of Northern India. Subsequent admixture with some Dravidian tribes of the south hailing from across the Vindhya may have contributed in assimilating their physical characteristics—the shape of the skull, the dimensions of the

nose, cheek bones, orbits, forehead and zygomatic arches, the breadth of the pelvis, the colour and texture of the hair, and so forth, with those of the Dravidians proper,—the ancestors of the tribes who speak the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese, Kurukh (Uraon) and other allied languages. The isolated tribe of Brahuis who now live in the mountainous regions in Eastern and Central Beluchistan and the neighbouring Districts of Sind speak a language akin to the Dravidian languages of Southern India, and may be supposed to represent the unabsorbed remnants of the first migration of the Dravidians of the south to Northern India, while the other allied tribes who joined them in this northward journey would seem to have been absorbed in the great Kol race. Such an intermingling of races, as ethnologists testify, has been steadily at work since neolithic times, and to this process of miscegenation we owe the blurring of all primeval types. When, subsequently, the Aryans began to pour into India through the north-western passes,‡ some of the congeners of the Mundas unable to resist the on-set of the invaders would naturally emigrate eastwards and passing through Pragjyotisha or ancient Assam would gradually follow a southerly direction. One band, the Khasis, settled in Central Assam. A second band, the progenitors of the Mons or Telangs of Pegu established themselves in the country fertilised by the Irawady||. Other branches of the Kol race moved on in their rude canoes further to the south and settled in the several countries now known as the Malay Peninsula, the Phillipines and the Nicobar Islands. Some tribes proceeded probably in their rude canoes further south and east as far as to Australia. Rude stone implements and celts, such as are met with in India, have been found in Pegu and many other countries whither the kinsmen of the Mundas migrated in those prehistoric times. And these would seem to lend support to the supposition we have ventured to put forward.

Among the Kolarian tribes who were left behind in the rude fastnesses of their original home along the Vindhyan Range were

‡ There appear to have been two successive Aryan migrations into India from the north-west by two different routes.

|| The termination 'di' or 'ti' some European scholars would identify with the Mundari and Santal word 'da' meaning 'waterd

* Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, Vol. XXII by Carleylle, p. 102.

† *Vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. L XIII; Part III, p. 27. Mr. Cockburn found forty-three stone hammers, flakes, spalls, &c. in some deep ravines cut through a Neolithic burial-ground near the village of Kon in South Mirzapur and two flint implements at Barkacha, 5 miles south of the town of Mirzapur. "So numerous are waste flint chips in this locality (properly called spalls)" says Mr. Cockburn, "that I collected several hundred-weights. . . . The site, however is Neolithic rather than Palaeolithic."

perhaps the Juangs who now dwell in the inaccessible hills of Keonjhar, Dhekana, and other tributary mahals of Orissa, whither they appear to have been pushed forward by successive waves of immigration. Their primitive habits as well as their traditions* would seem to favour such a conjecture.

However hazardous it may be to point our finger definitely at any particular locality as having been the original home of the Mundas it seems pretty certain that they were one of the non-Hindu peoples whom the Aryan immigrants found in occupation of the country when they first set their foot on Indian soil. The traditions of the Mundas themselves concur with various statements in the ancient Sanskrit works in suggesting that the Mundas and other cognate tribes occupied Northern India before the forefathers of the Aryan Hindus entered the country.† The woods and valleys by the side of the ancient Drisadwati and Sara-wati rivers appear to have rung with the Bacchanalian songs or *durnags* of the Mundas and

* In "Notes on a forest race called Puttoos or Juangs by E. A. Samuells, Esq., B. C. S., in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, we are told that the Juangs have a tradition that they have always occupied the land they now live in. Their only religious festival, we are told, consists of sacrifices and libations offered to the manes of their deceased in the month of Baisakh and their religious homage is confined to the nameless spirits inhabiting the woods and mountain. They know no Munda or secular head nor Pahan or village priest and no distinction of rank is observed, one and all calling themselves 'Padhan' the title which their neighbours the Uriyas give to the headman of a village. Moreover as Colonel Dalton points out they still employ some genuine Kolarian words, e. g., 'gone' for 'tooth', & 'ierang' for 'moon' which have cropped out of the other Kol dialects, except Kharia, in which terms of Sanskrit derivation have been substituted for them. [Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, p. 152.] Colonel Dalton tells us that the Juangs have a 'tradition of a Bora Raja probably some allusion to the Baraha avatar of Vishnu having had a fort in the heart of the country now occupied by Juangs, the remains of which are still in existence, and it is said that the Juangs are a remnant of his people.' In the conjecture we have made above, we have the support of Colonel Dalton, who says, referring to the stone implements occasionally found in the hill tract occupied by the Juangs, 'it is not improbable that they are the direct descendants of those ancient stone cutters and that we have in the Juangs representatives of the stone age *in situ*.'—Dalton's Ethnology, p. 153. When Colonel Dalton visited Keonjhar in 1866, Juang women who appeared before him had no clothing on, but wore girdles of beads "from which small curtains of leaves depended before and behind."

† The passages in the Vishnu Purāṇ (I 5, 28—32), which describe the Asuras as the first born of Brahman, from whose thigh they sprang, and the similar statement in the Mahābhārata (Santi Parva 84) that the Asuras were the elder brothers of the Gods, and the further statement in the Taittiriya Upanishad (VI. 2) that the earth formerly belonged to the Asuras while the gods had only as much as a man can see while sitting, have been supposed by Muir and other orientalists as referring to the former occupation of the country by the black aborigines. And the German Orientalist Weber (Ind. stud. I. 18, II. 243) pointed out that the 'Devas' and 'Asuras' of ancient Sanskrit literature referred to the two broad divisions of Indian population the fair skinned sacrificing Aryans and the godless black aborigines. Later authorities, however, seem to identify the Asuras in some at least of the many passages in the earliest Sanskrit literature in which the name occurs with the ancestors of the modern Pariahs the worshippers of *zu* Ahuras. But there can be no doubt that the term Asura has also been employed in ancient Sanskrit literature with reference to the black aborigines of the soil. And we may point out the very significant fact that one of the Kolarian tribes in Chotanagpur is even to this day known as the Asurs otherwise called Agorias).

other allied tribes long before the venerable Arya Rishis of old chanted their sonorous Vedic hymns on their sacred banks.

Many are the hymns in the Rigveda in which we hear the fair skinned Aryan warriors invoking the aid of their bright and beneficent gods against these and other black races who long and strenuously fought—but fought in vain—to stem the tide of Aryan progress into the country. For the aborigines with their black skin (*twacham Krishnam*)‡ fierce eyes (*ghora chakshas*),|| deformed nose (*visipra*)¶ and imperfect speech (*mridhravach*)§ the proud Aryans knew no better appellations than 'Dasas'*** and Dasyus††—slaves and robbers‡‡.

Nor is later Sanskrit literature less sparing of similar contemptuous epithets towards these natives of the soil—the pre-historic population of India. In the great Sanskrit Epics of Valmiki and Vedavyasa, the aborigines are denominated as monsters, monkeys and bears.

Some early Sanskrit writers, indeed, either in pursuance of some *a priori* theories of their own or perhaps from motives of policy sought to assign a fictitious origin to the aboriginal population of India. Thus, in the oft-quoted tenth chapter of the Manu Samhita (X. 4), we are told—"Three castes, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya, are twice-born; the fourth, the Sudra, is once-born; and there is no fifth." And, as a necessary corollary, all other castes and tribes are derived from a series of complicated crosses between members of the four so-called original castes. And the tribes which by loss of sacred rites became out-castes from the pale of the recognized castes

* Rig Veda, I, 130. 8.

† R. V., VII, 104, 2.

‡ R. V., V. 45, 6.

|| R. V., I. 74, 2; V. 32, 8; VIII, 6, 3.

¶ Rig Veda I. 32, II, 1. 104, 2, II, II, 4; II. 20, . & 7 VI. 20, 10, VI, 25 2, &c.

§ I. 33, 4; I. 3-18, I. 51, 5. 11. 20, 18; II. 11, 19, 11, 13, 9, 111, 9, 34, VI, 1-12, V. 31, 7; VI.-1, 4, &c.

** Among other epithets applied in the Rig Veda to the aboriginal population of India may be mentioned the following:—*Krishna-garbha* 'black born, the dusky brood', I. 101, 1; *anasa* 'noseless', V. 29 10; *Sinadeva*, 'lascivious', VII, 21, 5 X. 99 3; *Simya* 'destroyer', I. 100, 18 and VII. 18, 5 *Kravaya* 'eater of raw flesh', X. 87, 2, *Kimind* 'treacherous and malevolent being', X. 87, 24; *Vatudhana* 'explained as Rakshas by Sayana' X. 87 5 and 15, and I. 35, 10; *ayajwana* 'non-sacrificer'; I. 103, 6, and I. 121, 13, and I. 33, 5 and 6; *abratam* 'riteless', I. 33, 5; *muradeva* 'worshipper of mad gods', VII. 104, 54 s. *brahmadvisa* 'hater of Brahmanas' III. 31, 17.

and sub-castes are the Dasyus*. Again, in the Aitareya Brahmana† and a few of the Puranas, most of the Dasyu tribes are said to have been descended from the cursed younger sons of the sage Viswamitra, the great rival of Vasistha. In the Mahavarata‡ the supposed degradation from the rank of Kshatriyas to that of Sudras, of a number of Non-Aryan tribes is attributed to their "seeing no Brahmans".

The Bhagabat Purana|| gives still another fabulous account of the Kols—the generic name for the Mundas and other Kolarian tribes. It tells us that Raja Bena having been tainted with sin (*rajasivala*), the Rishis went to remonstrate with him. The Raja with a wave of his hand beckoned the Rishis to depart. Thereupon the sage Angira cursed him, and, as a result of the curse, the offending right hand of the Raja was immediately converted into a churning stick. And from this arm sprang a man short in stature, black as the crow, with short arms, high cheek bones, small legs and flat nose, red eyes and tawny hair. This man became Nishada. When the Rishis began to churn the left hand of Bena, three more men (*mithuna*) came out of the arm the Mushahantara, the Kolla and the Villa,—the Mushahary, the Kols and the Rhils of our own days.

“प्रथमो सुषहन्तारं द्वितीयो कौलमेव च
द्वितीयो मित्र संख्यातमित्येते च उदाहृताः ।”¶

The untenability of all these fanciful theories is too obvious to call for any serious discussion. If any refutation were necessary their mutual contradictions might be referred to as sufficient for the purpose.

Amid all these fanciful theories and legendary inventions, however, the one fact which stands out clear in the pages of ancient Sanskrit writers is that from the earliest Vedic times down to the dawn of the *Aitihasik* period,—as the period of the great Sanskrit Epics has been called,—the black aborigines were often the greatest opponents of the Aryan Hindus. Beyond

this broad fact, the authors of Hindu sacred writings tell us but little about these interesting tribes.

When we pass on from the region of mythical legends and unauthenticated traditions to what may be called the semi-historical region we are on ground more tangible, though not infrequently slippery, if not miry.

The historical consciousness of races as of individuals is a plant of slow growth. The historical memory of unlettered tribes is necessarily short and faulty. Young races, like young children, possess a short memory. The present fills their mental horizon,—the enjoyments and sorrows, the hopes and anxieties of the hour absorb all their attention, and they have neither the capacity nor the leisure to look before or behind. And the Mundas could have been no exception to the rule. It was only when more settled conditions of tribal life allowed them time to think, that their traditions must have taken their rise. And in that wide interval of time, how many an important event of the past must have been entirely forgotten, how many but dimly remembered, and what a considerable part must imagination have played in shaping, modifying and at times transforming the original traditions!

As for contemporary records, ancient Sanskrit literature rarely makes more than passing references to the aborigines of India—references that occur mainly in connection with the accounts of the victorious progress of Aryan arms into the country. Occasionally indeed we hear of the humiliation of Aryan prowess at the hands of the hated Dasyus. Thus, in the *Saptasati* of the Chandi Patha of the Markandeya Purana§, we hear of some Kola warriors defeating the Aryan king Suratha of the Chaitra race—a contemporary of the second Manu Svarocisa. This however was but a temporary defeat for the Aryan prince. Deprived of his dominions, Suratha retired to a hermitage and was there instructed by a Rishi to worship the goddess Sakti. And, by the favour of the goddess, he was before long restored to his kingdom. And Suratha is said to have been reborn after his death as the Eighth Manu Savarni.

* Vide, Manu, X. 4, and Kulluka's commentary thereon.

† Aitareya Brahmana, VII, 18.

‡ Mahabharata, Anusasana Parva, verses 2103, &c.

|| See also *Vishnu Purana*, Bk I, and *Padma Purana*, Bhukhanda.

¶ The *Brahma Vivarta Purana* ascribes the origin of the Kols to a Tivara mother. In the *Parasara Samhita*, the Bhillas and Pulindas are said to have been born of a Tivara father by a Brahmana woman.

* Chandi ;—LXXVII, 3—11

Again, in the Anusasana Parva of the Mahabharata, we have a story as to how the gods were conquered by the Asuras or Danavas, whereupon the gods applied to the Rishi Agastya for protection, and Agastya expelled the Danavas from heaven and earth, and made them fly to the south.*.

Similarly, the Asura Bali,† son of Virochana, we are told, conquered Indra, the chief of the gods, and, for a while, enjoyed "the three worlds". But he was not destined to enjoy this proud position for any length of time. For, Vishnu, at the supplication of Indra and the other gods, assumed the form of a dwarf, and for the benefit of the gods, by a trick occupied the whole earth and removed Bali to Patala or the nether regions.‡

Beyond such meagre incidental references, ancient Sanskrit writers disdain to take any notice of the despised aborigines. And even such scanty references as we meet with in early Sanskrit literature are so vague and general as often to leave much room for conjecture regarding the identity of the different races therein mentioned.

What wrongs the oppressor suffered, these we know. These have found piteous voice in song and prose. But for the oppressed, their darkness and their woe, Their grinding centuries,—what Muse had those?

Still less illuminating are the ancient foreign writers on India. One wades in vain through the accounts of the Greek writers on India in the pre-Christian era in search of any indubitable reference to the Mundas or their past geographical location. The Marundai or Mandi of Pliny|| and the Marundai of Ptolemy¶ have indeed been supposed by Colonel Wilford and a few other antiquarian scholars to refer to the Mundas of Chotanagpur, but this identifi-

cation, though very probable, is not altogether free from doubt.

Nor do the Chinese travellers§ of the opening centuries of the Christian era throw any light on the Munda people as they then existed, or the particular part of India they then occupied, though many other races and most other parts of India are favoured with notices from the lucid pen of Fa Hian**, Hiuen Tsang†† and some subsequent pilgrims‡‡ from the Celestial Empire.

As for distinctive architectural remains, the Mundas have none to boast of, unless the rude stone-memorials they put up on the mortal remains of their dead be classed as such. Nor have their ancestors left anything in the way of inscriptions. For, as may be expected, they were utter strangers to the art of writing or even to hieroglyphics—the first step to the more developed art. And epigraphy as a source of ancient history is of no avail in the case of the Mundas. The science of numismatics, too, affords no help to the student of Munda antiquities,—for, coins of any sort, the Mundas do not appear to have ever minted.

It is then to the traditions of the Mundas themselves with such side-lights as ancient Sanskrit writings may shed upon them, that we must look for the early history of this people. Occasional references to similar traditions of other allied tribes may perhaps prove of some help by way of corroboration or correction. Archæology, too, will, now and then, come to our aid. However meagre these few available sources of ancient Mundari History, if we can only get at the right clues we may perhaps succeed in making a near approach to historic truth. In future articles we shall attempt to construct the barest outlines of that history with such materials as we have been able to gather.

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.

* Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II. P. 166. It is however doubtful whether the Asuras spoken of here and in the next paragraph refer to the aborigines or to the worshippers of the Ahuras.

† The name Bali is a common enough name among the Mundas.

‡ See Mahabharata, Santi Parva; Vishnu Purana, II., 1 &c., Bhagabata Purana, VII, 5.

|| Pliny lived in the 1st century, A. D. From Pliny's account, it would seem that the Mandei lived near Benares. "In the interior behind the 'Palibothri,'" says he, "are the Medas and the Suari among whom is Mt. Maleas." Nat. H. vol. VI. 83.

¶ The epithet कौलविध्वंसिनः slayers of pigs, i.e. pig-eaters, in this passage, has been supposed by Herr Jellingham and others to refer to the Kols or Kolarian tribes, so called from their habit of eating pigs which are considered unclean by the Hindus.

§ The first Chinese historian Sumas-Chie, who completed his great work about 100 B. C., and has a good deal to say about India, did not visit the country.

** Fa Hian is believed to have begun his travels in 399 A. D. His work is styled 'Fo Kwok-i' or 'Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms'.

†† Hiuen Tsang began his travels about 629 A. D. He is believed to have learnt the Sanskrit language.

‡‡ Fa-Hian and Hian-Tsang were followed by a host of Chinese pilgrims to India. Many of them left records of their visits.

REVIVAL OF THE CANE SUGAR INDUSTRY AND ITS PROSPECTS IN INDIA

IN these days of our limited experience, when any topic about the sugar industry is raised, the people generally, without giving any thought on what science, with its up-to-date methods, has done for the world, think that sugar is still manufactured by the old crude methods. In the horizon of their knowledge they do not perceive anything more than ordinary vertical rollers driven by bullocks and open flat pans in which the juice is boiled by ordinary means of heating. They think that these are the only equipments of a sugar factory.

Western industries are flourishing only by the manifold improvements which science has brought about in its onward march. If we Indians want to follow the footsteps of the West we cannot refrain from taking advantage of the latest developments in science to successfully compete with more efficient nations and carry out our aims. The days have changed now. No longer in the manufacture of sugar, are ordinary vertical rollers or open flat pans employed. Sugar factories in these days are equipped with the latest and best appliances and yield cheaper and better results. This is what we want in business.

The sugar industry according to Western methods being comparatively new in India, there is a vast field for its future success.

At the present time there is no fear of any competition with the beet sugar of Germany. Owing to continental bounties and the high duty on sugar provided by continental Governments, the beet-root sugar industry prospered exceedingly and every year the number of beet-root factories on the continent increased until the production of beet-root sugar far exceeded the production of cane sugar and latterly two-thirds of the sugar crop of the world was beet sugar and only one-third cane sugar.

Although cane sugar was at the time being produced at a less cost than beet root

sugar could be produced, the selling price of sugar outside the continent of Europe, which was the world's price for sugar, was lower than the actual cost at which it could be turned out. It actually reached the very low price of six shillings per cwt. in 1902, while the actual cost of producing the same sugar was at least 8 shillings per cwt. The cane industry therefore suffered, while the beet sugar industry prospered owing to Government bounties and the formation of cartels. The internal price of sugar however for these reasons in those countries was so high that any loss made in selling the exported sugar under the actual cost was more than recovered, which of course meant very high priced sugar in those countries, making the same a luxury to the poor people, while it was used in Britain, India and other countries by all classes as necessary food. Ultimately the continental Governments became alarmed at the large sums of money they had to pay out as bounties, owing to the increasing number of beet-root sugar factories, this becoming such a serious drain upon the treasuries of various continental Governments that they found it necessary to call a meeting to see what could be done to remedy this state of affairs. After confidential communications had been passed, a conference of various Governments was held in Brussels, and an agreement was come to whereby the various Powers in conference decided to stop all bounties, but as Britain and India were the principal markets to which they exported their sugar, they then invited Britain to join the conference, as they considered this necessary for the proper working of the sugar convention, seeing that some of the sugar countries—such as Russia and Italy—declined to join the convention and the nations outside of the convention who might receive bounties from their Governments would export their surplus sugar to Britain and India and secure the British and Indian markets

against those nations who had agreed to withdraw all bounties. Britain was, therefore, asked to support the conference by penalising any sugar coming into Britain from countries which still granted bounties in sugar, and that penalty was to be equal to the amount of bounty given. By this means all sugar-producing countries were put on the same footing as far as the British and the Indian markets were concerned. As Britain saw this was making practically free trade of sugar all over the world and thus giving her own colonies free trade in sugar and probabilities of making a success therein, she agreed to the terms of the conference and thus the Brussels sugar convention became an accomplished fact and came into operation in September 1903. Soon after the British people saw that India was a very suitable place for producing sugar and several factories have been and are still being opened with European capital. Still there is no fear of competition at any future date, as Mr. Noel Paton, the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, says in his report of 1907: "If the total demand for commercial sugar were to be met by means of factories in India, at the rate of 20 tons as the daily out-put, 142 factories could scarcely cope with it."

Now we see that under the present circumstances there is no reason why we should not be able to compete with the beet-root sugar. It will ultimately come to be a matter of the survival of the fittest, if free trade in sugar is made permanent and, as cane has all along been the natural and the cheapest source of supply, there is every reason to suppose that there would be a steady increase in the production of cane sugar owing to the low price at which, under favourable conditions, it can be produced, and for this skilled and expert labour is necessary. There is still a doubt in the minds of many that sugar produced in India by modern methods may not stand competition with that produced and imported from Java. This also is without any basis. Before the Brussels convention, sugar was a very speculative article, and much money was lost or made owing to the great fluctuations in the price. These fluctuations were not entirely caused by the natural laws of supply and demand, but by speculation, sugar rising and falling thereby. The Brus-

sels convention remedied these evils, and speculation was reduced, and the world's selling price of sugar regained its normal price, so that, since the sugar convention, the sugar market has found its natural level as governed by supply and demand and is, therefore, in a much more stable condition. Cane sugar having recovered its natural position during the last few years has very much increased. So much so that in the years 1903-04 the cane sugar crop rose from 4,296,500 to 4,996,500 tons. In 1905-06 it again rose to 1,18,50,500 tons and in 1907, reached about 120,00,000 tons. The world's sugar production is still increasing and has now risen to over 130,00,000 tons and this has been brought about by the Brussels convention giving free trade in sugar and thus bringing cane sugar to the front. The lowest price at which beet sugar can be produced is £7-10s. per ton, but the average price is £8 per ton, the actual cost of production, whereas in the island of Java where there are well-equipped central sugar factories, sugar can be produced at an average cost of £6 per ton and in some cases less. At present in India sugar can be produced by modern methods at £7 per ton. The supply of labour is cheap and abundant in India and if factories were fitted with all the latest improvements as regards machinery and an up-to-date cultivation, there is no reason why sugar should not be produced here at £4-10s. per ton, taking £5 as the cost of production in some of the biggest factories in Java having an out-put of 500 tons per day, this being the lowest price ever reached there. When both at Java and India sugar could be produced at an average equal cost, it is evident that India should be able to sell it cheaper as it will not have to pay shipping freights, duties, etc., in addition. This reveals a great prospect for the sugar-cane industry in India, so that the production of cane sugar in the future will far out-step the production of beet-root sugar, and in no case and under no circumstances can beet-root sugar be produced at the low price at which cane sugar can be made.

Even should the Brussels convention at any future time cease to exist there is no likelihood of any continental Government again burdening themselves and draining their treasury to pay bounties for the export of beet-root sugar. It is also very unlikely

that the working classes on the continent who have at last tasted the benefit of comparatively cheap sugar, will in the future allow themselves to be taxed by dear sugar for the sole benefit of beet-root growers and beet-root sugar factories.

As practical experience shows, the people of India do not yet recognise the benefits of joint-stock companies. No sooner is a Company floated than the shareholders begin to clamour that their money is lying unremunerative for a year or two. They would have otherwise deposited this money either in some Bank yielding an annual interest of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or invested it in Government securities at an interest of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Is it not better to wait patiently for some time and reap the benefit of getting a probable return of from 10 to 20 per cent, than to get $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent interest from a Bank? The industrial improvement of India can only be made by opening large central manufacturing firms.

All the factories, whether large or small, must have a staff of expert men from the beginning. Most people in India think such a staff only an additional expense. Some of the factories it is known had the imprudence of actually employing lay men, thinking that to be an economy. They however got some scattered information second hand and got their plants put up some how or other. But what was the result? Either they could not work with such rotten or antidiluvian machinery at all, or they had to change them after a year or two, undergoing a useless expenditure which could have been avoided at the beginning.

There are many who think that there would be no probabilities of the above dangers if the whole plant could be taken from any

foreign expert firm and be set up by them. In most cases these people want to clear out their stock of old and out of date pattern machinery for unadvanced eastern countries. There is little demand for such things and finding people ignorant of what they are supplying, fill factories with machinery of *primeval* days. The writer has in mind two instances of very recent dates of similar occurrences. Two very big firms in Behar were supplied with a complete set of machinery by a leading firm in Scotland. They put the things up in a mess and supplied them with machinery so out of date and consequently so uneconomical in working, that these people found it very hard to work to a profit in competition with others working with up-to-date appliances. They had to alter all these things after two years at an additional cost of Rs. 45,000.

It would not be out of place here to give a table showing the comparative consumption of Sugar in lbs per head of the estimated population in various countries for twelve months.

	lbs.		lbs.
Great Britain	91'65	Portugal & Madeira	14'66
United States	65'21	Russia	13'96
Switzerland	60'32	Spain	10'60
Denmark	54'81	Turkey	8'00
Sweden & Norway	38'23	Roumania	7'78
France	56'95	Greece	7'19
Germany	33'88	Bulgaria	6'70
Holland	32'45	Italy	6'08
Belgium	23'30	Servia	5'25
Austria	17'64		

No figures have been available to find out the consumption of sugar per head in India.

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HOW SERICULTURE IS ENCOURAGED IN JAPAN

*Read at a fortnightly meeting of
India House, Tokio.*

THE first authentic record about the history of Sericulture or the art of rearing silk-worms in Japan is in the

4th Year of the reign of the emperor Chuai. Prince Koma, the 11th lineal successor of the emperor Ihia Hwang of the Tsing dynasty (China) came over and got naturalized in Japan, bringing with him and introducing

the Chinese species of silkworms. In 1831 A. D. another Chinese prince brought with him a large number of his countrymen; as these emigrants knew how to weave silk, they were distributed among different localities in the country, where they were made to teach the inhabitants the art of silk-weaving. Even in those early days the Court took assiduous pains to encourage the industry in the country and itself set an example in the work of planting mulberry trees and rearing the worms.

It issued decrees that some of the taxes to be paid in kind should consist of silk fabrics. From this time onward history continues to indicate the efforts which were made by succeeding emperors to encourage the industry, efforts which resulted in its further development.

Coming down to the Japanese middle ages we find that silk-raising and weaving had come to occupy the principal place among the productive industries of the country. Silk had come to be accepted for tributes and contributions to the Imperial Government. Under the circumstances sericulture and silk-weaving became almost universal throughout the country.

With the opening of the trade ports in 1859 the market for silk and silk-stuffs widened all at once, laying the foundation, so to speak, of the permanent prosperity of this industry and the indefatigable efforts made by the Imperial Government in its endeavours to encourage the industry and secure its further progress, have been crowned with success; so that the fame of Japanese silk has become world-wide and the article commands high prices in the market of the world.

The prevalence of the silk-worm epidemic in Europe in 1860 brought about a large demand for silk-worm eggs in Japan. About this time demoralization set in in the manufacture of raw silk and the buyers abroad were loud in their complaints against them. The authorities tried by legislative means to set right this evil tendency; they established at Tomioka, a model filature in which they engaged a French expert as superintendent in 1870; the step taken was conspicuously effective in reforming to a degree the silk-industry of Japan; special care was taken and elaborate rules adopted for the local conditions of each sericultural

district. The Department of Agriculture and Commerce in order to seek the views of all parties interested in the question of the filature industry held several occasional meetings which were attended by noted sericulturists and silk-manufacturers. On the strength of the report made and the answers received at the gatherings the Government in 1885 drew up a model set of regulations for the formation of silk-guilds and distributed these regulations among the prefectural authorities in order that the latter might each frame sets of regulations to suit the requirements of their own particular districts. The consequence was the organization of guilds among those interested in the matter in each locality; they provided against the production of shoddy, which put a check to all evil practices tending to retard the development of the business. There are nearly 129 guilds of this nature at present.

In the earlier days there were apparently no egg-card manufacturers separate from the sericulturist, the latter doing his own work of selecting the good cocoons out of his own crop for seeding purposes. The prevalence of the silk-worm epidemic in Europe created a demand for Japanese cards; it was at this time that many took up this business of egg-card making as if with one accord. With the progress and prosperity that have attended the sericultural industry in general, the special industry in question also revived to such an extent that there is not a locality throughout the empire which does not possess its own egg-card manufacturers. The number of egg-card manufacturers throughout Japan for spring hatching is 13000 and for summer and autumn hatching 7587.

As for fighting the silk-worm epidemic the Pasteur grainage cellulaire method was improved and remodelled as the result of investigations carried on at the sericultural laboratory and this improved method has since proved itself a very efficient means for the purpose for which it was desired. Then the enforcement of the silk-worms egg examination regulations proved another means of preventing the epidemic from spreading; while on the other hand the examination carried out under the above regulations had also the satisfactory result of raising the standard quality of the eggs.

Egg-card examining offices were set up in every sericultural district under Government supervision, whose duty is to examine gratis the eggs of both the egg manufacturers under license from the Government and also the private breeders; passing the good ones and rejecting the diseased ones. In spring hatching the number of egg-cards officially examined for manufacturing purposes is nearly 3,500,000 (in one card eggs of 28 moths are deposited) and for reproductive purposes nearly 32,000,000 moths, while in summer and autumn hatching for manufacturing purposes 2,081,800 cards and for reproductive purposes 9,228,052 moths; besides those which are examined for private use and which can not be ascertained. The offices for the prevention of the silk-worm diseases number 132 in all with 3175 officers. The Government pays nearly 1,500,000 Rs. to meet the expenses of these offices per year.

The mulberry farms of the country are on the whole on the increase and keep pace with the progress of the sericultural industry. Sericulture here has become a by-industry as the net profit dwindles down to an insignificant figure. The area of the mulberry plantations is 3899292000 sq. yds. and the number of silk-worm raisers is 2548228 (in family). The Government has been granting a certain amount of subsidy to induce the enlargement of mulberry plantations.

In 1870 the Government established a model filature as mentioned above: the example thus set before the people led those interested in the industry to start similar establishments on the factory system throughout the country. Even those who were previously contented with hand-reeling now took up the frame-reeling and adopted the practice of selling their product jointly by making its quality uniform. In 1900 the country had 2072 machine-reeling factories, employing 122116 pans against 597 frame-reeling establishments employing 56,022 pans.

In 1884 an Ordinance was promulgated about the formation of guilds. By the Imperial Ordinance of 1896, 2 sericultural Institutes were set up under the control of the minister of state for Agriculture and Commerce. In order to encourage the industry the princesses of the Imperial Household take to breeding silk-worms under

their own supervision in the palace and visit the sericultural institution every year. In this connection I should like to point out that the present crown-princess has a couplet composed by her Imperial Majesty herself which means when rendered into English, 'the foundation of the wealth of Japan is based on the Cocoon, reared by the peasantry' and which serves as a motto in many fans used in summer. Their examples have permeated the houses of the nobility and rich men; there are many amateur breeders among countesses and baronesses in the rearing season who take to the occupation simply for the sake of pleasure.

Institutions for encouraging sericulture:—

1. There are nearly 58 Agricultural Experiment Stations; their aim being to impress the farmers with the importance of the scientific knowledge of farming, besides 116 small experiment stations established by the sub-prefectural districts.

2. Agricultural institutions:—The object of these institutions is to impart to farmer's sons and to farming people generally some elementary knowledge of the general principles of agriculture, surveying, meteorology, physics, chemistry, natural history, etc. There are 5 such establishments.

3. Ambulant lecturers: they deliver lectures relating to farming and answer all inquiries addressed to them by the farmers in the district. There are altogether 310 such lecturers throughout the country. In 1884 the Government issued Rules for the inspection of silk-worm eggs; this legislation necessitated the training of men able to conduct the work of inspection; they have to take charge of the following matters:—(a) Instruction in sericulture, (b) Experiments and investigation in sericulture, (c) Lectures on sericulture, (d) Distribution of silk-worm eggs, (e) The answering queries.

There were 49 men who in 1880 were granted licenses to undertake the examination of silk-worm eggs to supplement the staff of inspectors for the better enforcement of the Rules for the inspection of silk-worm eggs. The sericultural institutes that now exist number 125, besides special courses in agricultural schools and experiment stations.

4. As a means of promoting the export of silk a regular silk-conditioning house was established in Yokohama to undertake the

weighing of net and condition weight of silk and to determine its quality.

5. In summer as the eggs hatch out after 8 or 10 days of deposition the Government undertakes to run special trains in order to dispose of the eggs in all the important sericultural districts.

6. The charge for the sending of egg-cards through the post office is nominal; the postal authorities are directed to distribute the egg-cards as early as possible (the delivery of egg-cards in summer is given preference over letters).

7. The Government has been granting subsidies for the establishment of industrial schools and agricultural training places.

8. There are 50 competitive exhibitions annually which aim at giving encouragement to sericulturists by collecting and exhibiting their products and awarding prizes and medals to the deserving candidates.

9. The Sericultural Association of Japan makes investigations and researches in the theory, art, and practical management of the

industry, open competitive exhibitions of sericultural products, encourage co-operative work concerning sericulture, introduce and supply teachers and experts, compile and translate books on sericulture and undertake every possible means for the growth of the industry. The members of this Association have reached the enormous figure of 60000.

10. There are nearly 2442 co-operative societies concerning sericulture the object of which is to induce the industrial as well as economical expansion of the people. These societies occupy 57% of the whole number (4264) of the industrial co-operative societies.

My object in writing this article is to draw the attention of the members of the National Council of Education and to all the Scientific and Industrial Associations of India to this and other similar subjects. The time has come for us to have similar institutions in India.

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SWIFT RETRIBUTION

(A SHORT STORY)

I.

IT was evening. Sitting inside the telegraph office at Sirajpur Railway Station, Dr. Hara Govind Chatterjee, addressing the young operator, said—"You needn't feel anxious. Send somebody with me and I will give him a powder and mixture for your little boy, to be taken once in two hours. It is nothing serious."

"Thanks very much indeed,"—replied the telegraph-operator—"your assurance is a great relief to me, Sir. That's our only child, you know, and my wife is greatly distressed over it. We really have passed some very anxious hours." Saying this, the telegraphist offered to pay the Doctor a couple of rupees, being the latter's usual fee for a visit and eight annas as his gharry hire.

The Doctor looked up smiling, and said—"What's that? Oh no, no, never mind, never mind. Keep your money, please."

"Thank you for your kindness, Sir, all the same,—but,—but,—it would be extremely unfair to you if I did not pay for your trouble"—the young man pleaded.

"Unfair to me? Why should it? Just wait,—let me cure your boy completely—and then you may treat me to a dinner on the full-moon day following and I promise to come. There is great merit in feasting a Brahmin on a full-moon day—there is, indeed"—and the good Doctor burst into a genial laughter. It was a rule with him never to accept fees from poor people.

As soon as the laugh subsided, a cheer of "*Bande Mataram*" was heard on the platform outside, joined in by numerous voices. The Doctor, looking surprised, said—"What is that?"

"There was a Swadeshi preacher come from Calcutta"—explained the telegraphist—"and I think, people have come to see him off."

Both walked out into the platform. The

preacher was no other than the well-known editor of the *Bir Bharata* (Heroic India) newspaper,—Srijut Benoy Krishna Sen.

Though a Government servant, the Doctor Babu, in common with other Indian servants of the Government, was a true Swadeshi at heart. It was whispered that under cover of night, he frequently visited the Swadeshi shops of the town, and brought home loads of forbidden, that is to say, cuntry-made goods. He could not resist the temptation of going and speaking to Benoy Babu. After a few minute's conversation, however, the train steamed into the Station.

The Swadeshi preacher, accompanied by Pleaders, Mukhtears, students and others who had come to see him off, hurried towards the train. He held a second class return ticket. Just as he opened the door of a compartment, a European passenger who was inside, shouted out—"Oh you,—this is not for *kala admis* (black men)"

"You don't suppose my rupees were black too, do you? I also happen to hold a second class ticket"—the Swadeshi preacher retorted and stepped inside.

Now this was too much for the *Badshah-ka-dost*.* He got up in a fury and gave a violent push to the disloyalty incarnate—clad in a dhoti, kurta and a silk chudder. Although Benoy Babu was the worthy editor of the "Heroic India," he was not much of an athlete. His health and his strength he had sacrificed at the shrine of the Calcutta University and had received a few pieces of paper by way of blessing. He had obtained, besides, a pair of gold-rimmed spectacles elsewhere, for which he had to pay extra. He fell flat on the platform and his glasses went to pieces.

The next moment, a tremendous shout of *Bande Mataram* rose from the assembly who had come to see Benoy Babu off. Two or three of them unceremoniously dragged the European out into the platform and began to belabour him mercilessly. Hearing the uproar the Eurasian guard was approaching there to see what the matter was. As soon as the real state of affairs became apparent to him, he ran breathlessly back to his brake

van and waved the green light as a signal for the engine-driver to start.

The bystanders, with great difficulty, extricated the poor European from the uncomfortable situation he was in. By this time the Doctor Babu too arrived there. Seeing the Sahib's condition—he was bleeding profusely—he offered to take him to the Government Hospital and bandage his wounds. The Sahib readily consented.

In the meanwhile Benoy Babu had got up and quietly seated himself in an Intermediate class compartment. The next day he arrived at Calcutta without further adventure and published a furious article in his paper about the insolence of Europeans in this country.

II.

Babu Hara Govind was in charge of the Government Hospital of the town. He had grown old and commanded a large practice although he was only a hospital assistant by qualification. There were two M. B.'s, and half-a-dozen L. M. S.'s in the town—but still Hara Govind Babu was in great request. No one else inspired so much confidence in the minds of the public as did Hara Govind Babu. He was so much sought after that he had scarcely time enough to have his meals in peace.

Babu Hara Govind had two sons—the elder, Ajay Chandra was studying for his B. A. degree at the Ripon College in Calcutta; the younger, Sushil attended the Zilla school of the town. Ajay was now at home during his summer holidays. He had recently been married and his wife was here also.

Babu Hara Govind returned home from the hospital after ten o'clock that night.

"How is the Sahib, father?"—Said Ajay Chandra as soon as his father arrived.

"Much better now. He was rather seriously hurt on the head—but he will be all right, I hope. Poor fellow—he has been handled very roughly."

"Served him right, father—don't you think so? Just because he has a white complexion, he thinks he is the Viceroy himself. I am not sorry for him."

The Doctor Babu mused for a while. Then he said—"No doubt the Sahib acted wrongly. But five men attacking one man

* The allusion here is to the military officer who wantonly assaulted a respectable Punjabi Pleader on the Kalka-Simla road some years back and at the same time boasted that he was *Badshah-ka-dost* (a friend of the Emperor himself).—God save the Emperor from such friends.—*Translator*.

—was it a fair fight? I am ashamed at the conduct of my countrymen.”

“I do not think”—rejoined Ajay—“there ever can be a fair fight between an Englishman and an Indian.”

“Why not, pray?”

“Because everything is unfair right through. Should there be a criminal case in connection with this matter, for instance, would justice be done to such as are hauled up as accused?”

The Doctor smiled.

“I don’t think much of your logic, Ajay,”—he said—“Because somebody else does what is wrong, is that any reason why I should act similarly?”

Ajay did not know how to meet this. After a little while he said—“What seems to me, father, is, that in such matters, number ought not to be the determining factor in judging whether the fight has been fair or otherwise. A Bengalee is nothing but an individual in such cases. An Englishman, on the other hand, is an individual, a member of the ruling race—and not infrequently, one vested with some amount of authority. So it follows that it would take three Bengalees to match an Englishman—or perhaps more than three.”

“Do you know Ajay”—said the Doctor, a little piqued—“that you insult your own nation by advancing this argument? An Englishman, like a Bengalee, is nothing but an individual. May be he is a member of the ruling race—may be he is the District Magistrate himself—but do you think that these considerations would give additional strength to his muscles?”

“Not to his muscles,—certainly not,—father; but wouldn’t it help to strengthen his mind?”

The Doctor Babu felt in his mind the force of this argument. Aloud, he said,—“To a certain extent, no doubt, you are right, Ajay. But I can never bring myself to believe that one Bengalee wouldn’t be a match for another man, to whatever nationality he may belong. In such cases, wouldn’t there be strong influences acting on the mind of a Bengalee also? When one of us stands up determined to save his self-respect from being sullied, to protest against oppression and tyranny, to protect his mother, his sister, from insult offered by any one,—I am sure these considerations

would give additional strength to his honest arms.”

About this time the house servant made his appearance and announced that supper was ready. Father and son walked into the inner apartments.

III.

The next morning there was a great sensation in the official circles, owing to this European-assault case. The District Magistrate’s temper was on fire. He issued strict orders on the Police to complete the investigation and send up the accused persons for trial within three days. The town Sub-Inspector, Badan Chandra Ghose, took up the investigation. Foregoing food and sleep he rummaged the town all day long in search of evidence. He arrested a few junior pleaders and mukhtears, and some students who were noted for their robust constitution.

The investigation made a rapid progress during the first day. The next morning, at six o’clock, Doctor Hara Govind was sitting in the front verandah of his house, enjoying his early morning *huqa*, when the Sub-Inspector, dressed in his *Dhoti* and *Chudder*, made his appearance. He had a silver mounted Malacca cane in his hand which he was swinging to and fro sportively. His face was beaming with a self-complacent smile.

The Doctor Babu welcomed his visitor and begged him to be seated.

After a few commonplace observations the Daroga said—“It has become difficult for me to keep my job, Doctor Babu.”

“How so?” queried the Doctor, somewhat surprised.

“That Sahib-assault case of day before yesterday will bring me to grief, I fear,”—responded the Sub-Inspector in a plaintive tone.

The Doctor with a smile, faintly sarcastic, remarked—“But you have arrested a good many of the culprits, haven’t you?”

“Yes, I have”—replied the Daroga—“But I have failed to collect much evidence, so far.”

“If there isn’t any satisfactory evidence, what led you to arrest them?”—and the Doctor again indulged in a smile full of meaning.

“Oh, I have arrested the right persons, sure enough. Those fellows are great

ruffians. Many a time have I seen the Magistrate-Sahib driving along—and these lads coming from the opposite direction,—and let the Magistrate-Sahib pass by without even *salaaming* him.”

“Is it on that ground that you have arrested them?”

“Oh no, no, not at all”—replied the Daroga with vehemence—“There is no doubt that they assaulted the Englishman. I have got witnesses too—but not what the Courts call credible witnesses.”

“If the witnesses are not credible, surely you ought not to keep these men in *hajat*”—observed the Doctor Babu.

The Sub-Inspector said with a shudder—“If I let them off,—I shouldn’t remain in my post long, Doctor Babu. There is only one day intervening. The trial begins the day after to-morrow. That’s what I have come to you for.”

“To me?” queried the Doctor, somewhat surprised—“To me?—But how can I help you?”

“You can, Doctor Babu,—of course you can”—grinned the Daroga and continued in a tone extremely polite and solicitous—“I hear that you were present there—so I have come to beg you to give evidence in this case.”

“I was present there at the Station, no doubt—but not on the platform where all this happened. I came on the scene when the assault had been over. The assaulters had dispersed before that. So how can I say who assaulted the Sahib?”

The Sub-Inspector looked as though he was very much vexed with himself. “Is that so? I have made a mess of it then. I wish I had known—I really do”—he said.

“What’s the matter, Daroga Babu?”

The Daroga shook his head slowly, pursed up his lips and looked at the ceiling. Then, in a regretful voice, he murmured—“I am so sorry. I have created trouble for you—but how could I know?”

“What have you done?”—asked the Doctor Babu rather anxiously.

Slowly, the Daroga proceeded to explain—“You, see, it was in this way. Yesterday afternoon the District Magistrate was at the club and he sent for me. I went and stood there, *salaaming* him. ‘Well, Daroga’—he said—‘have you collected good and strong evidence in the European assault case!’—

‘Yes, *Huzoor*’,—I replied—‘There are a constable and two chowkidars* who saw the whole occurrence and can identify all the accused’. The Magistrate seemed to be very angry at this. ‘Nonsense’—he exclaimed—‘a constable and two chowkidars? Couldn’t you find out any credible witnesses!’ The bloodshot eyes of the Magistrate Sahib threw me into such a state of confusion that I did not know what I was saying. ‘Yes, *Dharamawatar*†,—I faltered out—‘there is the Government Doctor Hara Govind Babu who also was present there and recognised all the accused persons.’ ‘All right’—said the Magistrate Sahib,—and walked off to the tennis court.”

The Doctor felt very annoyed. “You ought not to have said this to the Magistrate, without ascertaining if it was a fact”—he said.

“But how am I to blame, Sir? You were present there, you brought the gentleman to the hospital, how should I know that you did not witness the occurrence?”

“Well—all that you can do now is to go back to the Magistrate and tell him the real facts.”

“Oh no Doctor Babu, how can that be?”—the Daroga burst out. “What? Blow hot and cold in the same breath? I am not the man to say one thing to-day and the opposite thing to-morrow. I am a man of my word—and I stick to my word through thick and thin,—come what may.”

The Doctor smiled. He then said—“I will go and tell the Magistrate Sahib myself.”

The Daroga held up his hand in solemn warning. “I wouldn’t do that if I were you, Doctor Babu.” Then after a little pause, he said—“Do you know what the consequence will be?”

“What?”

“It is an official secret and perhaps I am betraying the Government in disclosing it to you. But I am your friend and I shall do it. Listen”—and the Daroga said in slow and solemn words—“You are already in the bad books of the Government, because it is known to the Sahibs that you have abandoned Manchester cloth in favour of country-made *dhotis* and are no longer eating Liverpool salt. If you go now and tell the

* Chowkidar—a village watchman.

† Dharamwater—Incarnation of Justice.

Magistrate Sahib that you did not see the assault on the European gentleman, he would naturally think that you are unwilling to depose as a witness because it is a *Swadeshi* case."

"Is it disloyalty to wear Bombay-made *Dhotis* and eat country salt then?"—the Doctor flared up—"Besides, what has *Swadeshi* to do with this assault, pray?"

The Daroga replied with great composure—"Don't excite yourself, Doctor Babu. Don't you see how times are? Granted, it is not disloyalty to eat country salt and wear Bombay cloth. Granted, this assault has nothing whatever to do with the *Swadeshi* movement. But *they* think so. You cannot alter that fact. What's the use of bearing your head against the wall?"

This had the desired effect on the poor Doctor. "Yes, I suppose you are right. But the question is how am I to get out of it?"

Very much pleased at the prospect of bringing his host down from the high horse he was riding, the Daroga said—"You must make the best of the situation, Sir. Just half an hour in the witness box wouldn't harm you much. Shall we walk to the thana now? You will see the accused there confined in the *hajat*. You ought to have a good look at them now, so that there may be no mistake when identifying them in Court. I will also read out to you the case-dairy from which you will know what the other witnesses are going to say before the Magistrate. Nothing like being thoroughly prepared beforehand."

There was an immediate explosion. Hara Govind Babu stood up, trembling with indignation. Shaking his fist at the Sub-Inspector he said—"What? You dare propose that to me? You think I am the man to give false evidence, do you? Get out at once.—Anybody there?—Kick this wretch of a Daroga out of the house."

Babu Badan Chandra rose. Adjusting his *chudder* round his neck, he said—"Take care, Sir. You will have to smart for this."

Hara Govind Babu shouted out—"You can do your worst. Go and tell your father* the Magistrate Sahib—I don't care."

IV.

The Daroga Babu, mad with rage, returned to the thana as quickly as he could.

Addressing his Head Constable, Hafez Ali, he said—"Jemadar Sahib, do you know the names of the Doctor's two sons?"

"The Doctor's sons? Which Doctor?"

"Hara Govind"—replied the Daroga impatiently—"Hara Govind, who else?—The man who eats the salt of the Government and is faithless to it."

"I am afraid I don't know their names"—the Head Constable ventured to reply.

"Will you get me their names quickly?"

"Yes, I will. What's the matter with them?"

"Oh, don't stand there bandying words with me. Go."

The Head Constable disappeared. The Daroga then paced the verandah of the thana like a tiger in fury and began to murmur to himself.

"What?—He dares insult the Daroga himself! Get his servant to kick me out of the house? What does Hara Govind think himself to be, I wonder? I will get both his sons arrested before they are an hour older—yes I will. But that won't satisfy me at all. I will crush the Doctor under my heels—see if I don't. I will get up a case against him—a very serious criminal charge—take my word for it. What shall it be? Yes—he receives stolen property. Thieves come to his house at night and dispose of their booty to him at half price and quarter price. I will search his house and discover heaps of stolen property. I know how it is done—nothing easier. But—but—would the Deputy Magistrate believe it when trying him? Wouldn't he? To Deputy Magistrates, the words of a Daroga are as the holy Gospel. Acquit the Doctor—would he? I would like to see him doing that. I would go to my Superintendent and get him to send a long report to the Government about the conduct of the Deputy Magistrate—and what would happen when the next Gazette is published?—Why, the Deputy's promotion would be stopped for two years—of course. That's why the Deputy Sahibs are so afraid of the darogas now a days—that's the secret of it. But should the Judge set aside the conviction on appeal? Should he, for instance, say—'Here is a Doctor earning so many hundred rupees a month—is it likely that a man of his education and position would receive stolen property? What then? Yes, the Judge might do that. They are dan-

* This is a common form of abuse in India.

gerous men—these Judges. Pity they are not under the thumb of the Executive. Let me rather do another thing. The other day I sent some injured persons to him for examination in connection with a rioting case. He certified the injuries as being of the nature of simple hurt. I will get hold of one of those persons and make him lodge a complaint to the effect that his injuries were really severe, coming under the definition of grievous hurt, but the Doctor Babu took a bribe of three hundred rupees from the accused persons and reported the injuries as simple. That would seem plausible enough, and I should like to see how the Doctor would get out of *that*. Wouldn't the fellow lodge the complaint if I want him to? Would he dare disobey me? Does he not know that I can start a bad livelihood case against him and send him up under section 110 any day I choose?"

At this moment the Head Constable returned and gave the names as being Ajay Chandra and Sushil Chandra.

The Sub-Inspector immediately sat down to write a confidential report to the District Magistrate praying for a search warrant. The following is a faithful translation of his Bengali report—

Hail Cherisher of the Poor!

During my investigation in the European Assault Case, as directed by the Huzoor, I have found that two other boys took part in the outrage—they are Ajay Chandra and Sushil Chandra—both sons of the Civil Hospital Assistant Hara Govind Chatterjee. Ajay, it seems, is a very turbulent young man, studying at Babu Surendranath Banerjee's College at Calcutta. It appears that it was at the instigation of Ajay Chandra that the other accused persons fell upon the European and began to beat him. I am taking steps to arrest both the brothers forthwith under Section 54 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

2. By diligent enquiry I have also found that this Ajay had also taken part in the recent Beadon Square riots at Calcutta. He has started a *Samity* here to teach youngmen the use of the *lathi* and this nefarious society is supported by monthly subscriptions given by many gentlemen of the town. The other boy Sushil Chandra, though very young yet, has started a "Children's Stone Throwing Club," the object of the members

being to throw stones at European ladies and gentlemen whenever they get a chance of doing so.

3. Having made a confidential enquiry I have come to know that the bloodstained *lathi* actually used in assaulting the Sahib is concealed in the Doctor's house. The subscription list of the Lathi-play Samity, is also there—and an examination of its pages may give me additional clues in detecting more culprits. I therefore pray that your Honor may be pleased to grant me a search warrant under Section 96 Criminal Procedure Code to search the house of the said Doctor Hara Govind Chatterjee.

4. I also desire to bring to your worship's notice that Dr. Hara Govind is a staunch supporter of Swadeshi. Only country-made sugar and salt are used in his household. He has purchased shares worth five hundred rupees in the Indian Cotton Mill in the *benami* of his wife. Both his sons being accused in this case, I apprehend that he would not depose truly if examined as a prosecution witness in the case. I have therefore struck off his name from the list of witnesses. I have also heard that the Doctor is going about telling people that he does not care a rap for any Judge or Magistrate.

Your most obedient servant

BADAN CHANDRA GHOSE,

S. I.

In the meanwhile the two ill-fated boys were brought to the thana under arrest. A little while after, some pleaders came to have them out on bail, offering to stand sureties themselves. "The Sahib's *hukum* is against it"—was the Daroga's laconic reply.

V.

The District Magistrate signed a search warrant as soon as he received the Daroga's report. His *chuprassi* came to the thana and delivered it to the Sub-Inspector. At that time the Daroga was engaged in striking a bargain with a man accused of cattle lifting. The accused, with folded hands, was saying to the Daroga—"Here I have got a hundred rupees, your Lordship, to collect which I had to sell off my ploughs and bullocks. Be pleased to accept this amount and let me off." The Daroga was replying

that not a cowri less than two hundred rupees would he accept, and if that sum was not forthcoming within the day, he would send him up to take his trial the next day. But the opportune arrival of the search warrant so pleased the Sub-Inspector with himself and the rest of the world that he immediately relinquished his just claims, accepted the hundred rupees, and submitted a final report in the case in the following words:—

"On enquiry I find that the accused is innocent of the charge. The complainant's cow ran away from its pen and trespassing into the cow-shed of the accused, began unlawfully to eat the fodder which was stored there. The accused therefore tied the cow up by way of punishing it. Mistake of facts."

Having thus dismissed the cattle-lifter, Daroga Badan Babu read the search warrant through very carefully. Then he hurriedly put on his uniform, and getting together a force of ten or twelve constables, marched heroically to the Doctor's house.

Arriving there, he called two of the Doctor's neighbours to witness the search, as required by law. Standing at the front door, he began to shout vociferously, demanding admission.

Babu Hara Govind came out, looking very much surprised. The Daroga showed him the search warrant and requested that the ladies of the house might retire and shut themselves in the kitchen till the search was over.

The Daroga then entered the house and began his operations. He told the constables to take all the boxes and trunks from the different rooms and heap them up in the court-yard. This done, he unlocked the boxes, the keys of which were forthcoming. The rest were forced open. He caused the contents of all the boxes to be thrown down in a heap and began his search by kicking them about. Shawls, alwans, saris from the looms of Dacca and Santipur, coats, shirts, chemises, blouses, handkerchiefs, socks flew about in every direction. From the box of the Doctor Babu's daughter-in-law came out a bundle of love-letters from her young husband. The Daroga grasped at the bundle saying—"Evidence of sedition and conspiracy—to be sure." He stowed it away very carefully in the inside pocket of his coat. From Ajay Chandra's box came out a

copy of *Ananda Math*.^{*} The Daroga yelled with delight and pounced upon it. When the contents of the boxes had been ransacked the Daroga visited each room in succession and broke open almirahs, drawers, in fact, everything he could lay his hands on. The Doctor's book containing copies of prescriptions, two or three files of old letters, the household account book, a framed portrait of Babu Surendranath Banerjea, monthly magazines containing portraits of Bepin Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, &c, were all seized with avidity. Opening the almirah containing medicines, he examined every phial minutely to see if anything of an explosive nature could be discovered. There was a bottle enclosed in a wire-netting, displaying a label well known to the Daroga by its appearance—for he could not read English. He took it out, held it against the light and addressing the two search witnesses, said—"Hello,—I didn't know the Doctor went in for such things. I thought he was a d—d teetotaler." The Daroga looked at the bottle very affectionately—and turning to the gentlemen, said—"Have a drop?"

"No, thanks, we don't drink"—replied one of them.

"Nothing like an ounce of brandy, taken neat, when you are tired"—and the Daroga suited his action to his words.

But it tasted so peculiar that the Daroga felt some misgivings as to what it was. Handing over the bottle to the search-witnesses, he requested them to see what it was. They read the label and declared it was excellent cognac, the produce of France.

The Daroga then wended his way to the Doctor's bed room. "Rip open the pillows and the mattresses"—he said to his constables—"On many occasions have I discovered incriminating things concealed inside them."

The constable carried the bedding to the court yard, ripped everything open and shook down the cotton wool. Nothing incriminating came out, however. The winds sportively carried away a great portion of the cotton wool and showered it down on tops of trees, and heads of wayfarers in the neighbouring streets.

* A patriotic novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the most eminent Bengalee writer of modern times.

So the search came to an end. Badan Babu then began to draw up a list of the articles seized. Suddenly he recollected that no *lathis* had so far been found.

"Look every where, constables"—he said—"if you can discover any *lathis*."

Sew Eatan, the up-country servant of the house, was the happy possessor of a heavy bamboo stick brought from his native village in the Mozafferpur District. The constables soon got hold of it. The Daroga examined it minutely to see if there was anything which could pass muster for an old blood-stain. But there was no such mark. The *lathi* nevertheless was entered in the search list with the remark—"One heavy bamboo club, stained with blood." Strange to say, when this *lathi* was produced in Court the next day but one, it *did* show unmistakable stains of blood. The Daroga then got the witnesses to sign the search list. Giving the Doctor Babu an ironical salute, executed in the military style, he triumphantly marched back to the thana.

Poor Babu Hara Govind, all this time, was quietly sitting in a chair, placed just outside the kitchen door. The ladies were inside—so he did not stir from there for one single moment, lest the ruffians should offer any insult to them.

When the Daroga cleared out, Hara Govind Babu left his post and came outside. The search witnesses were still loitering there. "You have seen everything, gentlemen,"—he said.

"Yes, we have,"—said one of them.

"I am going to see the District Magistrate. Would you mind coming with me to his bungalow for a few minutes?"

"What for?"—said one.

"I want to go and state the whole affair to the District Magistrate. I want to see whether he takes any steps to mete out justice to me."

The two men stood silent for a little while. The Doctor, growing impatient, said—"What do you say, gentlemen? Would you come with me?"

One of them replied—"I think you had much better go and speak to the Magistrate yourself. Sir, it is a very delicate matter—and I hardly think—the presence of a third party—"

The other man was more outspoken. He interrupted his companion, saying—"I hate

diddle-daddle. I tell you plainly, Sir, your going to the Magistrate would be perfectly useless. Besides,—we won't speak against the Police—we can't. We are poor men,—somehow contrive to maintain our family. After having seen how you, Sir, — a Government servant and a man of wealth and position—have fared at the hands of the Police, it would be insane for us to court their displeasure. To you, they haven't done anything worse than searching your house. Us, they would handcuff and drag along the public streets, poking at our ribs with their batons all the way."

Hara Govind Babu looked at them for a minute in silent contempt. Then he said—"Just as you please, gentlemen."

"Good afternoon, Sir"—the two men departed.

The Doctor then dressed himself and walked to the Magistrate's bungalow. The Sahib was then in his tennis suit, with a racket in his hand and was preparing to bike to his club.

"Good afternoon, Sir"—saluted Hara Govind Babu and stood before the Lord of the District.

"Good afternoon. What's it, Doctor?"

"I am here to seek justice at your hands, Sir. The Kotwali Sub-Inspector, on pretence of searching my house this afternoon,—"

The District Magistrate interrupted him, saying—"Haven't two of your sons been arrested to-day in connection with the European Assault Case?"

"Yes, Sir, they have. But it is out of sheer malice that the Daroga has done so. Only this morning—"

The Sahib became crimson with anger. "How dare you!"—he shouted—"how dare you come and try to bias me, knowing that I try your sons' case the day after to-morrow?" The Sahib then jumped into the saddle of his bicycle and the next moment he had disappeared.

Babu Hara Govind heaved a deep sigh and with languid steps, walked back to his house.

VI.

It was dusk. The Doctor was sitting inside his house, surrounded by his wife and daughters. The false accusation against his sons, the disgrace and the insult he had

suffered, had cast a gloom over the household.

The hours wore on. No arrangements were being made to cook the evening meal. Nobody had any appetite. The Doctor himself was suffering from a head-ache. He was lying down on a sofa. His daughter was applying eau-de-cologne and water to the handkerchief with which his head was bandaged. His daughter-in-law was fanning him.

Somebody was heard shouting outside, "Doctor Babu—Doctor Babu—."

The servant Sew Ratan went out to see who it was. He returned and said—"There is somebody who wants you to go and see a patient, Sir."

"Tell him I am unwell this evening. He should fetch some other doctor"—said Babu Hara Govind.

"Yes, Sir"—and the servant went out.

Half-an-hour passed. Again there was a shout—"Doctor Babu—Doctor Babu."

Sew Ratan went out again. Coming back he said—"The same man has returned, Sir. He says he wouldn't leave this time without seeing you."

"All right. Show him in"—said the Doctor with some annoyance.

The ladies retired. The man entered, bowing ceremoniously.

"We are in great distress, Sir. It is a bad case,"—the man said.

"Who is ill?"

The man stood speechless, fixing his gaze on the floor.

The Doctor reiterated—"Who is ill? What's the trouble?"

"I hardly know what to say, Sir."

The Doctor was not a little astonished at this mysterious reply. "Who are you, please?"—he said.

"I am the writer-constable at the thana. My name is Hara Dhan Sircar. The Daroga is very ill. He is extremely sorry and repentant for all that has happened to-day. Is he past forgiveness?"

"What is he suffering from?"—enquired Babu Hara Govind.

"He has a great pain in his chest and the head. O, do come, Sir and forget the past."

"There are other doctors besides me in this town. Go to one of them."

The writer-constable then drew out of his pocket a hundred rupees in silver and

currency notes. Placing the amount near the Doctor Babu's feet, he said—"Have mercy, Sir."

The sight of the money highly offended the Doctor. "Have you come to tempt me with money?"—he said angrily—"Do you suppose that everybody is as money-grabbing as the Police? I wouldn't come for a lakh of rupees even. Take yourself off, Sir, at once."

The writer-constable then gathered up the money and departed.

The clock struck nine. The Doctor's wife said to her husband—"Will you drink a little milk? Shall I boil some for you?"

"Yes, thanks,—if you don't mind."—said the Doctor.

The lady went into the kitchen and lighted a fire. When the milk had nearly boiled, the rumbling of a carriage was heard stopping at the back door. The next moment a young lady, accompanied by her maid, entered.

"Where is the mistress of the house please?"—the young lady enquired.

"Who are you, madam?"—asked the Doctor's wife.

"She is Daroga Badan Babu's wife, madam"—replied the maid-servant.

"I am the person you are looking for"—the Doctor's wife said. The young lady came inside the kitchen and stooping down caught hold of the feet of her hostess.

The Doctor's wife was greatly embarrassed. "What is all this?" she demanded in an astonished voice.

"Madam, my husband is dying."

"Is he so very ill, then?"

"Yes, madam. Your husband says, why don't we send for some other doctor. But madam, no other doctor would do him any good because they would not be able to diagnose the case properly. My husband drank something here which caused this illness."

"Drank something here?"—exclaimed the Doctor's wife—"He didn't drink anything."

"Yes, he did"—said the young lady. "Would you kindly take me to your husband so that I may tell him everything? I wouldn't hesitate to speak to him at this crisis, though I am a stranger."

The lady of the house took her visitor to the Doctor.

"Have mercy on my husband, Sir. Save

his life"—said the young lady entreatingly.

The Doctor's wife then explained everything.

"Drank something here!"—said the Doctor with surprise. "What did he drink?"

"He was telling me that when searching your dispensing room, Sir, he found a bottle labelled brandy—and he drank some of its contents, thinking it was brandy. But now he fears that it wasn't brandy at all."

"A bottle labelled brandy?—Wait a minute"—and the Doctor disappeared. He went into his dispensing room and examined the bottle.

Returning to the room he exclaimed—"Good God! He has poisoned himself, madam."

Tears began to flow down the cheeks of the disconsolate woman.

"Have you come in a carriage, madam?"

"Yes, Sir, I have."

"Then I am going to the *thana* in your carriage. You please wait here till I send you the carriage back."—Saying so, the Doctor hurriedly got together some surgical appliances and a chest of medicines, and was ready to depart.

"Do you think, Sir, that my husband will be saved?"—asked the young lady in a voice choked with sobs.

"It all depends on Providence, madam"—and the Doctor shot out of the room.

He spent the night at the *thana*, attending on his patient. The Daroga was saved.

In due time the European Assault Case was decided. The two sons of the Doctor were acquitted, as no witnesses could identify them. The others got six months hard labour each.

Translated from the Bengali of

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKERJI.

AN INDIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

AMIDST the cry for technical training in India at the present day, the problem of general education is being, it seems to me, greatly neglected. In a system in which the two are combined and each forms a compulsory portion of the double routine of work, the tendency will be to accentuate the importance of the former, and to make it the special subject of study, while the other will grow more and more to be a matter of form to the student. It will be difficult to prevent it from so growing. The concreteness of the technical study and its tangible results will work far more on the imagination of the student than any general subject and a more or less abstract method of study can influence the intellect. It is in recognition of the dryness of intellectual training and the generally poor attractions which it holds out for the average student that rightly or wrongly the examination system has been instituted in the West, to act as a precise stimulus to work. Where the evils of the latter have been recognised, and in view of

the artificiality of stimulus which it seeks to create, it has had to be done away with, there the efficiency of general education would have to be provided for in other ways. The modern Kindergarten and Froebel methods do, indeed, seek to provide those other means whereby the young mind and intellect would grow and foster on general scientific principles of development rather than by other tedious incentive. But the scope of those methods, so far as they have been worked out and so far as they have yet been seen to be practicable in their application to the conditions of our schools, is limited, and they have up till now been intended mainly for children. The conjunction of general with technical training would, therefore, in such a case seem doubly detrimental to the former, forming an effective bar to its future evolution.

Apart from the constructive development of general education upon national lines which can only be a process of slow growth, what could justly be pointed out at this stage of independent efforts for the evolu-

tion of an Indian system of education, is that no attempts practically have hitherto been made to eliminate that conglomeration of faults in the University mode of teaching which has so largely to account for the physical, moral and mental degeneration of our youths. Our present University system was created by the ruling race, who are totally unacquainted with the conditions of our native life and thought, and it may have been formulated with purposes not wholly identical with the intellectual and moral progress of Indians. A purely secular education imparted by a foreign people in their own tongue and upon their own methods can, never, in any case, conduce to the higher evolution of a race or a nation. Mother-tongue, thought and education of youth cannot scientifically be dissociated from one another. Education must begin with the mother-tongue; it must rest upon it. It is only by a revolution of the mental and nervous calibre that a foreign language can be substituted for the mother-tongue to conduct thought in the mind, to generate and develop it and fructify it into action. However strong the genius inherent, to seek to educate or manifest it with the aid of a foreign language substituted in lieu of the natural and native one will be similar to the efforts to move a railway steam-engine not on rails but on a road of gravels. The analogy is here a true one. The energy wasted in the sole endeavour of riding roughshod over the best and native instincts of thought in its natural growth and of substituting a vocal medium of accent, pronunciation and elocution perfectly at variance with the speech-gift of heredity is only commensurate with the immense check to accelerated progress afforded by a road of obstacles to a moving body. A foreign tongue learnt with the first dawn of ideas in a child and gradually usurping the place of the native one in the speech and mind of growing youth will suffice to answer for such deterioration of the entire individual in thought, action and words as can hardly be held accountable to any other cause. The evils of such a process have been, indeed, partially recognised by now, but its ominous significance to the free growth of our race is, it might be said, still ungrasped in its true extent. One

might just try to conceive the malignity of that influence by an analogy. If this method of making a child learn an entirely foreign language from the first years of tuition before his ideas of a language have at all grown and matured were applied to an English boy in an English University, how would he fare? Imagine, to make the case easy, that the foreign language he has to be taught in is Bengali; and let us conceive, an English boy does undergo an equivalent process to that which a boy in our Indian schools has to submit to from his first years of education in respect of his entire linguistic training. As he gets old the English lad would have to learn all the different subjects in Bengali. He would have to converse, if possible, with his teachers and sometimes with his companions in Bengali; and would listen to conversation most frequently interspersed with Bengali words, phrases and diction. In his college career he should have to make Bengali almost his sole literary and scientific language. He would have to accustom himself to think his thoughts, all his higher thoughts, in Bengali. We can imagine for ourselves the result of such a training for the born English child. His whole genius would be misled upon a track that he is ill-fitted to tread upon. It would mar his ideas, stunt his mind, injure his feelings and enfeeble his will and energy. For it would be to introduce and engraft a strong foreign element into his thought-self, so that for that thought-self to operate upon it, would be to stumble and drag itself over impossible ground. The English youth labouring under such ill-designed circumstances of education, would have his whole natural perspective of the region of thought confused and altered, obscured and made unstable. He would not know how to think or to speak, nor even how to behave; he could not know his own self or understand others. Language is the vehicle of thought, and the thought and genius of a nation are always a qualified unit and bear definite relations to the language that expresses them. The former and the latter are bound by indissoluble ties that have their common root in heredity. It would be easier to judge from the above analogy, because it reverses the scales of the problem and puts the case in

a fresh light to us. The process is equally fatal whether applied to the English or to the Bengali youth. In either instance a forced and alien medium of instruction will produce incomparable effects of moral and intellectual evil. Those effects in all their intensity have naturally been generated in each and every educated Indian of the present day. It is remarkable, amidst the great number of otherwise brilliant products, who have been turned out from the Indian Universities, how few have justified their education later in manhood by original study and scholastic work. In not even a single instance, so far as one can perceive, where the Indian Universities are alone responsible for the education, the credit belongs for any considerable work of sustained and original merit.

It should, therefore, be with the utmost caution that the teaching of English should be introduced into the curriculum of study of the Indian boy. It must never at any rate be taught from the commencement of his school life. He first must learn through his own mother-tongue the elements of language and of reasoned thought, the arts of enquiry and deduction in concrete examples. He ought already to have imbibed a sufficiency of ideas as well as the capacity of expanding them, before he can be trusted with the burdensome difficulties of a foreign language and that only with the secondary view of enlarging his field of study in later years. His mind ought to have received such impetus and acceleration of thought as could not be suppressed or hindered to any appreciable extent by lessons in the rudiments of English pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. In a word, the teaching of English should always be imparted as a means to an end, *viz.*, the later acquaintance with the science and literature of the West, and, therefore, should be made a subject of secondary and not of primary importance. But boys must first be taught to *think*, which will be found necessarily to imply the mother-tongue for the mode of expression. All the other different subjects must be learnt by boys in their vernacular, and when later on English text books upon those subjects are introduced, it should be mainly to teach the language itself and not the subjects, previous knowledge of them in the vernacular having been acquired by the students in a

necessary degree. The latter themselves should fully understand the real object of their learning the English language and its place in the curriculum of study.

The foregoing is the only manner in which English can be scientifically taught to Indian students. How different the method and the spirit in which our boys have up till now been instructed in it! It is refreshing to find that both in the Universities and out of them this absolute defect has in part been recognised and sought to be remedied. But already in the decades gone by such immeasurable mischief has been committed and so much ground have we lost by it that it will be most imprudent to dally in regard to it henceforth. We must make short shrift of it in the way which reason and common sense point forcibly to.

But the teaching of English in the most injudicious manner possible is not by any means the single serious drawback on account of which our Indian Universities are even more injurious in their ultimate effects than they can be beneficial by reason of the education they impart. In the next place should be mentioned the multiplicity of subjects and the irregularity of the routine of school-work, both of which may best be considered together. We just should look at the way in which a boy usually is made to go through his numerous subjects at school. They come perhaps in the five different periods in this order; English in the first, Mathematics in the second, and history, English grammar and composition and, lastly, the vernacular in the three next periods. This or one similarly incongruous and irregular order of teaching prevails in the schools. Is it possible for pupils to go through such a thoughtlessly arranged succession of studies without losing a considerable part of what in one period is acquired in the very succeeding one, and, besides, without impairing very seriously the faculties of concentration and retention and generally the entire mental constitution? Study like all other work will proceed upon the universal laws of motion. Any fixed subject read or taught for any period of time will necessarily create an impression upon the brain relative to it and leave it in a condition to 'dwell upon and' assimilate the matter studied. After this effort should supervene a sufficient period for rest, reflec-

tion and the recovery of mental balance. The length of time employed to this latter end ought to be almost the same as the period of work itself. The mental acceleration created by the exercise of the brain in a certain mode must never be broken in upon thoughtlessly by an immediately subsequent study of another subject, but in all cases should be allowed to be retained and absorbed as so much mental energy. Hurrying the mind through a disarranged, unconnected succession of studies can only result in a loss of balance and energy similar to what would befall a vehicle if it be made to run upon a zigzag course that has numerous sharp turns in it. In such a case the vehicle has either to slow down in its motion and make a complete stop at the points of turning, or it has to lose its balance altogether at those changes of direction. In neither case is it able to gain that acceleration which is the advantage of a straight course nor does it acquire the evenness of motion which it could obtain in a path of gentle curvature. For our routine of school-work the second circumstance of similitude holds perfectly good, for at each change of hour the student's mind has by far the most often to undergo a striking and abrupt change of subject for the thought. The close of a period is usually the most interesting part of it and has the best hold upon the student's attention; and the result of introducing a subject of far different import to be learnt by equal emphasis immediately as soon as the hour expires and another in the routine marked for a separate branch of study begins, is in every case the same loss of mental vitality and equilibrium as corresponds to the locomotive in its unforeseen plight at the sharp corners of its journey. Such waste of energy entailed by the unnatural strain upon the brain is calculated effectually to prevent a pupil from getting a real hold upon subjects and a genuine taste for them, and in any way acquiring the mental virtues of a student. The Indian lad in consequence of it rarely attains the capacity for self-study and can seldom lift himself up to a plane of seriousness and practicality of mind, which alone will enable him to turn his studies to profit.

to proceed in even other respects. The routine is made to vary almost from day to day. In every week, in the period for Mathematics boys have to study the three subjects included in it, Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry. The teaching of each of these, therefore, recurs only every third day. In the period of History there are one or more text books on history, one of Geography; in the first and second classes over and above these three are physical science and physical geography, and in the former class there is besides the book styled 'Citizen of India' (omitted, I believe, under the new Regulations). The hour of the period for a subject not infrequently varies, too. Need it be pointed out how this unsteady, erratic mode of study can influence the mind? It will in itself incapacitate the mental faculties for sincere and systematic pursuit of an intellectual task. It will demoralise the boy of best intellectual parts and drive him to profitless and harmful studies. Moreover, it will make the teacher's work a mechanical task from day to day lacking in fervour and the elements of progressiveness equally, as it will make his own student's labour wanting in those qualities.

But in India the present school routine is senseless and baneful for reasons more primary and powerful. For, above all, it disregards the fundamental laws of health as well as the rules of Indian life. It is directly responsible for the hard all-day intellectual labour on the boy's part that leaves him neither time nor appetite for recreation or else to perform the rest of his duties at home. The school is held between the hours of half-past ten in the morning and four o'clock in the afternoon. Teachers and students have to repair to it after eating their heaviest meal of the day. They have to perform mental work almost continuously for five hours with a loaded stomach. The laws of health declare against such a system; it militates against the rules of Indian life. Such a method of intellectual labour will tell upon the soundest health: it will create brain-fag to the most acute intellect. On the one hand a full repast calls for a period of rest to the mind. On the other hand, the Indian youth is forced to make a hasty meal

to sleep and digestion. Such a period of daily work at school is suited only to English needs and ways of living; to copy it in Hindustan and engraft it into Indian student-life is a case of impossible and ill-befitting imitation. Now consider, besides, the chain of indirect consequences which such a thorough encroachment upon nature and habit necessarily will entail. At school-time boys are unable to prepare their lessons; the only reason is that the real time for study is not then. They, therefore, have to work evening and morning upon their tasks; so there is left through the day not much more than an hour's time for all the other purposes, games and recreation, duties to the circle at home and amidst society and towards religion, and the not less needful purposes of free thought and observation.

A more injurious, a more perverse system could, therefore, hardly be conceived. Laws of Psychology make the intellect dependent for healthy action upon its two associate faculties, will and emotion. The last are the active faculties and are more needed and more often exercised in life in general than the intellect is. Left unaided by these, thought and study would surely degenerate into craze and cant. They would grow into dry, insipid, purposeless intellectual work, and bring ruin upon the mental organ. Boys must not, therefore, be made to smother their growing views of life or be deprived in any manner of time and inclination for purposes of needful activity. Physical exercise, in the first place, is necessary for the sake of the body; activity amidst family and social circles is needed to educate the youth in the rules of conduct and the responsibilities of a station, however humble, in human society; lastly, free self-thought both as contemplation and imagination, is needed strongly in order that the latent virtues and abilities of the mind may fully be displayed. They together form a triple duty which is binding upon each student for the sake of his practical welfare. To make him sacrifice these three portions of the day's task conceived in the light of human science in lieu of mere hard and dry intellectual training is to lay the axe at the root of the primary laws of education. While, therefore, the mind is being trained, and youthful ideas

of life and a career are expanding and deepening at the same time, the endeavour of education should be to allow the latter all possible opportunity of untrammelled growth. There could not be a more improper system of instruction to the youthful generation than that which seeks to check and curtail the natural formation of ideas upon life and its actualities in the mind of youth. These and these alone will serve to guide and inspire immature age through its shapelessness, its undetermined stage of career, on to a definite course of life true to manhood, dignity and truth. Could a training in dry intellectual lessons sustained neither by a study of character nor by acquisition of ideas, in and beyond the precincts of school, contribute to a healthy method of education? No, certainly not.

Evidently thus, a school system providing for a day's labour spent in mastering tasks and naught besides, is injurious to an extent as great as could be, retarding as it does free growth of the young mind, isolating it from character, personalities and ideas. The despair of the situation in this respect amidst those methods of education which meet public recognition in India at present is really as great as only its definiteness is. To find the remedy for such a condition a sense of the underlying defect is needed in the first instance. It is our lethargy, long enduring custom and submission to foreign opinion which has bred lack of independence in thought, which alone can count in the matter of getting over a primary fault of this nature. The demolition of an element in a national system as much alien as it is unnatural is difficult only for the demoralisation it accomplishes among its subjects when it has long been continued in operation; but the process of removal itself is perfectly easy and natural. Let us see. In our land the periods for mental exercise have ever been, principally, the morning, and the afternoon next in importance to it. Accordingly in all our time-honoured methods of imparting instruction, they form the hour for application. In both our *path-shal's* and *tols* the morning and afternoon system has always been in practice. To utilise it for the purpose of a course of instruction suited to our modern requirements, we should have to introduce a double course of study, a primary and a

secondary one into the daily routine. The morning must form the period of the study of a primary subject, the afternoon to be devoted to the teaching of a secondary one. The different branches of study in a modern curriculum may clearly be classed into two groups: the literary, and the scientific or mathematical. Either may, according to the nature of instruction, both in its specialisation and progress, make either the primary or the secondary study; in the former case the class of each should be held in the morning, and in the latter case it should be held in the afternoon. The advantages of this mode of school-work are as obvious and manifold as the disadvantages of the one that obtains are. Briefly, it will be found to remove all the drawbacks in the latter and to substitute for them the corresponding elements of perfection within it. It will obviate for the student a double preparation of lessons at school and home. As a necessary consequence the mutual relations of teachers and the taught will grow to be more easy, warm and intimate. It will leave the student enough time for all other needful duties. Lastly, if the study of each special branch in either period in the day be made continuous for an adequate part of each annual session, then, that multiplicity and incongruity of subjects taught which obtains in the present system will besides have thoroughly been amended. Such a scientifically regulated course of instruction will form a natural and vigorous support to the young mind in process of formation. It is really the only one which could displace the present methods, and is our ancient *tal* system interpreted and utilised in the light of modern conditions of teaching.

There remains, finally, to speak of one other great blot upon Indian University education. It is the examination system upon which that may be said essentially to rest. It was created to formally test the different degrees of proficiency of students, and the method of awarding marks was introduced with that view. This, in the first place, suggests an insufficiency of trust reposed in class tutors as their knowledge about their own pupils is deemed neither reliable nor necessary for that purpose. Such apparent mistrust, while it demoralises those who ought to be treated in a manner worthy of their position as colleagues to the

guardians of an institution, vitiates its moral atmosphere altogether. It creates an aloofness and a lightness of relation between pupils and their masters which in the interests of either party ought much to be deplored. In the second place, the examination system has been devised to stimulate the zeal of the boys at their tasks, and seeks to provide for them something of an immediate goal to their efforts. Such procedure only demonstrates the fundamental fault of the whole system, *viz.*, the lack of life and realistic fervour in it. There is a wart in it of that genuine academical atmosphere which furnishes the best incentive to progress in a university. This condition would rest upon high ideals to inspire both teachers and the taught and upon direct association of the moral and emotional elements in their respective tasks. A free and unconventional mode of examination, indeed, cannot reasonably be dispensed with in education of the higher kind. Such examination would be made the test for character, morals and conduct equally as for receptivity of the purely mental instruction imparted. It ought accordingly to take into account differences of temperament of any kind among students, *viz.*, the different tastes, capabilities and predilections of each of them, which ought to meet with frank and sympathetic recognition at the hands of teachers. Each student should be led to feel delight in his own individuality, and the spirit of progress should be made to be as free as possible from that of narrow rivalry and jealousy.

In a word, while the present University system is utterly artificial and cramped in the spirit which it breathes, it ought to yield place to one which should be perfectly natural, wide and far-seeing. Finally it goes without saying that the true academical sphere is altogether distinct from one adapted to the needs of technical instruction. A double system in which both ordinary and technical studies are sought to be rigidly combined, will, to all intents and purposes, become one in which merely the technical element will predominate. Some profess to view in this a perfect combination of the all-round training which should be imparted, manual instruction being supposed to serve equally the purpose of physical exercise. This is a quite erroneous belief; outdoor

games and exercise can never be discarded for a process of manual training imparted as a definite means of livelihood. Above all, a system of education for the young should never be divested of its appropriate poetry and freedom which lay the foundation of concentrated and definite endeavour in after-life. It seems to me to be scarcely necessary to dilate on this aspect of the subject. This is an experiment untried in any part of the civilised world, and forced upon us by the exigencies of a political situation and it ought to make room for a more rational and systematic method while the country is yet early on its way to self-realised progress. Developed manhood, it may be understood, would not fail to take care of itself in the world. But unsystematised training will not serve the purpose; it will be weakening and harassing in its reactionary effects which will preclude for its youthful subject a steady career in life, a settled purpose in the mind and a continuity of progress and prosperity through later years.

P. S.—The active supplement to school education is not, indeed, the too specialised training which is afforded by a course of instruction in handicrafts and the use of mechanical appliances wherein the muscles and senses grow fixedly trained in labour of some special sort. This is not equivalent to that capacious growth of high activity which implies free and logical use

of the powers of observation and initiative as well as moral action consonant with the dictates of pure conscience, and which may truly furnish the positive side to a scholastic career. While the practice of a special profession may in the case of grown up people of formed abilities go hand in hand with general culture, yet to impress the two modes of instruction together upon the unshaped capacity of tender youth is to cause such elements to join hands in the process of education as are contradictory and not complementary. To forestall in the young mind ideas upon the severe necessities of mature age, is to mar its tenderness and receptivity altogether and stunt its natural growth in every direction. Evidently we cannot preserve that joyous freedom of growth and spontaneity of emotion which form the best and dearest characteristics of young age amidst a training that is manifestly designed to furnish a way of living or a source of income. Thoughts of earning will befit and come naturally to grown up youth alone, who understand and enjoy the struggles of ripe manhood and its responsibilities. Technical education is primarily required for them, except in cases where special necessity or predilection is shown to exist. It, at any rate, should be allowed to lie apart from general teaching, the scope and ends of which are altogether in a different sphere.

CHARU CHANDRA CHATTERJI.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

EDUCATION OF INDIANS. (1813-1833).

I. STATE AID.

WHEN the East India Company attained political supremacy in India, they did not bestow any thought on the education of the inhabitants of their dominion.* Gold was their watch-cry. Every

one of their servants who came out to India tried to enrich himself as quickly as possible at the expense of the children of the soil. It was on this account that Burke described them as "birds of prey and passage" in India. Regarding this class of the British sojourners in India, Burke said:—

"Young Magistrates who undertake the government and spoliation of India, animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless hopeless

* In the pre-British period in India, there were four methods of education at work; viz., the instruction given by the Brahmanas to their disciples; the *talas*, or Seats of Sanskrit learning; the *maktabs* and *madrassas* for Mohamedans; and schools in almost every village of note.

prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage with appetite continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. * * Their prey is lodged in England, and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about, in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean. * * *

"Here (in England) the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scant-portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgoes his oppression and his oppressors."

According to Herbert Spencer,

"The Anglo Indians of the last century—'birds of prey and passage,' as they were styled by Burke—showed themselves only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico. Imagine how black must have been their deeds, when even the Director of the Company admitted that 'the vast fortune acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country.'"

These residents of Britain after making their fortunes retired to England, where they were known as "Indian Nabobs."

But as years rolled on, it became patent to some thoughtful Anglo-Indians, that their dominion in India could not last long unless education—especially Western—was diffused among the inhabitants of that land. Accordingly in 1793 A.D. on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, an attempt was made by some people in England to compel the Company to spend a portion of the revenues of India on the education of Indians. But this proposition struck terror and dismay into the hearts of the generality of the people of England.

In his evidence on the 15th June, 1853 before the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, Mr J. C. Marshman said :—

"For a considerable time after the British Government had been established in India, there was great opposition to any system of instruction for the Natives. The feelings of the public authorities in this country were first tested upon the subject in the year 1792 when Mr. Wilberforce proposed to add two clauses to the Charter Act of that year, for sending out schoolmasters to India; this encountered the greatest opposition in the Court of Proprietors, and it was found necessary to withdraw the clauses. That proposal gave rise to a very memorable debate, in which for the first time, the views of the Court of Directors upon the subject of education, after we had obtained possession of the country, were developed. On that occasion, one of the Directors stated that we had just lost America from our folly, in having allowed the establishment of Schools and Colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in

regard to India; and that if the Natives required anything in the way of education, they must come to England for it. For 20 years after that period, down to the year 1813, the same feeling of opposition to the education of the Natives continued to prevail among the ruling authorities in this country."

Twenty years rolled away and the Company's Charter came to be renewed in 1813. This time the attempt to make the Company set apart a fractional portion of their revenues in educating the people of India was successful. A clause was inserted on the motion of Mr. R. P. Smith, who had been Advocate-General in Calcutta, in the Charter Act of 1813, which ran as follows :—

"53 Georgii 3, Cap. 155, Sec. 43. And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such Regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council, subject, nevertheless, to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries; provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated."

It was of course from considerations of political expediency that the magnificent sum of one lac of rupees was ordered to be set apart for the instruction of the natives of India. This is also evident from the letter of instructions communicated to the Bengal Government by the Court of Directors, an extract from which is reproduced below :—

Extract from a letter, in the Public Department, from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council of Bengal; dated 3rd June, 1814.

"In our Letter of the 6th September last, in the Public Department, we directed your attention generally to the 43rd Clause in the Act of the 53rd of the King, by which our Governor General in Council is empowered to direct that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees out of any surplus revenues that may remain shall be annually applied to the revival and improve-

ment of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. We purpose in this Despatch to convey to you our sentiments as to the mode in which it will be advisable you should proceed, and the measures it may be proper, you should adopt with reference to that subject.

"In the consideration of it, we have kept in view those peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered it incumbent upon us, from motives of policy as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions.

"The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration; first the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country.

"Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration.

"We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.

"In a political point of view, considerable advantages might, we conceive, be made to flow from the measure proposed, if it should be conducted with due attention to the usages and habits of the natives. They are known to attach a notion of sanctity to the soil, the buildings and other objects of devout resort, and particularly to that at Benares, which is regarded as the central point of their religious worship, and as the great repository of their learning. The possession of this venerated city, to which every class and rank of the Hindoos is occasionally attracted, has placed in the hands of the British Government a powerful instrument of connexion and conciliation, especially with the Mahrattas, who are more strongly attached than any other to the supposed sanctity of Benares.

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we desire that your attention may be directed in an especial manner to Benares and that you call upon your public representatives there to report to you what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city; what branches of science and literature are taught there; by what means the professors and teachers are supported; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage.

* * * * *

"We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by

a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.

"The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly chaplain at Madras; and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.

"This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindoos is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants. We are so strongly persuaded of its great utility that we are desirous you should take early measures to inform yourselves of its present state, and that you will report to us the result of your inquiries, affording, in the meantime, the protection of Government to the village teachers in all their just rights and immunities, and marking by some favourable distinction any individual amongst them who may be recommended by superior merit or acquirements; for, humble as their situation may appear, if judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand those village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India.

"We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of Ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the Judicial Department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

"With a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of these departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanscrit language, * *

"We encourage ourselves to hope, that a foundation may in this way be laid for giving full effect in the course of time to the liberal intentions of the Legislature; and we shall consider the money that may be allotted to this service as beneficially employed, if it should prove the means, by an improved intercourse of the European with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which are essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India."*

It is evident from the letter, an extract from which has been given above, that it

* Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I Published, 1832, pp. 486-47.

was not so much the intention of the Legislature to do anything in the shape of disseminating knowledge among the inhabitants of India as to make a survey of the indigenous educational institutions that existed in the country and also to take steps for their preservation. It should be remembered that India was not a country inhabited by savages and barbarians. In the Pre-British period, India possessed educational institutions of a nature which did not exist in the countries of the West. The village communities of India had not then been destroyed, and it being the duty of every village community to foster education, a school formed a prominent institution in every village of any note. Thus one Mr. A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, wrote in his Report, dated 1823, as follows:—

"16. The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England. The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught, and the want of competent masters.

"17. Imperfect, however, as the present education of the natives is, there are few who possess the means to command it for their children. Even were books of a proper kind plentiful, and the master every way adequate to the task imposed upon him, he would make no advance from one class to another, except as he might be paid for his labour. While learning the first rudiments, it is common for the scholar to pay to the teacher a quarter of a rupee, and when arrived as far as to write on paper, or at the higher branches of arithmetic, half a rupee per mensem. But in proceeding further such as explaining books which are all written in verse, giving the meaning of Sanscrit words, and illustrating the principles of Vernacular languages, such demands are made as exceed the means of most parents. There is, therefore, no alternative but that of leaving their children only partially instructed, and consequently ignorant of the most essential and useful parts of a liberal education: but there are multitudes who cannot even avail themselves of the advantages of this system, defective as it is.

"18. I am sorry to state, that this is ascribable to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own English manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own territories to the distant frontiers of our newly subsidized allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain; the transfer of the capital of the country from the native government and their officers, who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans, restricted by law from employing it even temporarily in India, and daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect, which has

not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.

"19. It cannot have escaped the government that of nearly a million of souls in this District, not 7,000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits but too strongly the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none; and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded.

"20. Such is the state in this District of the various schools in which reading writing and arithmetic are taught in the vernacular dialects of the country, as has been always usual in India, by teachers who are paid by their scholars.*** But learning, though it may proudly decline to sell its stores, has never flourished in any country except under the encouragement of the ruling power, and the countenance and support once given to science in this part of India has long been withheld.

"21. Of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this District, I am ashamed to say not one now derives any support from the State. * *

"22. There is no doubt, that in former times, especially under the Hindoo Governments, very large grants, both in money and in land, were issued for the support of learning. * *

23. * * * Considerable alienations of revenue, which formerly did honour to the State, by upholding and encouraging learning have deteriorated under our rule into the means of supporting ignorance; whilst science, deserted by the powerful aid she formerly received from Government, has often been reduced to beg her scanty and uncertain meal from the chance benevolence of charitable individuals; and it would be difficult to point out any period in the history of India when she stood more in need of the proffered aid of Government to raise her from the degraded state into which she has fallen, and dispel the prevailing ignorance which so unhappily pervades the land."

Extracts from the report of A.D. Campbell, Esq., the Collector of Bellary, dated Bellary, August 17, 1823 upon the Education of Natives: pp. 503-504 of Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I. published 1832.

But with the destruction of the village communities and the impoverishment of the people which were inseparably connected with the British mode of administration of India, educational institutions which used to flourish in every village of note became things of the past. When the framers of the Charter Act of 1813 set apart one lac of rupees, it was their intention that the Government of India would make a survey of the indigenous educational institutions and do something for their preservation. But the Indian Government did nothing of the

sort. It was so late as June 25th, 1822 that is nine years after the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, that Sir Thomas Munro in inditing a Minute in his capacity as governor of Madras was compelled to say :—

"We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces, we have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population; but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have no record to shew the actual state of education throughout the country. Partial inquiries have been made by individuals, but those have taken place at distant periods, and on a small scale, and no inference can be drawn from them with regard to the country in general."*

The Indian Government did not pay any heed to the other instructions which the Court of Directors communicated to them in their letter of 3rd June 1814. Thus the Court had written :—

"There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner."

But the Indian Government did absolutely nothing for the study of the indigenous drugs of India.

It appears that it was not the intention of the Legislature to diffuse knowledge among the mass of the people.

Thus one Mr. Fraser of Delhi

"reported to the Chief Secretary to Government in September, 1823, that considering the ignorance and immorality of the mass of the people, and actuated by a desire to improve their moral and intellectual condition, he had at different periods since the year 1814, instituted schools for the instruction of about 80 boys, children of the Zaminders, or peasantry, in reading and writing the Persian language, at an expence to himself of about Rs. 200 per mensem. This institution he proposed to place under the patronage of the Government, and recommended that it should be extended so as to afford instruction in the English, Persian and Hindoo languages to 400 boys, the children of Zaminders, at an expence of Rs 8,400 per annum.

"The general committee to whom this proposition was referred, considered the charge large in comparison with the extent of benefit to result from it, and with the village schools of Chinsurah, and objected, on general principles, to the government charging the school fund with this expenditure, remarking that fund was not equal to any extended patronage of village schools, and that as the peasantry of few other countries would bear a comparison as to their state of education with those of many parts of British India, the limited funds under the committee's management ought in preference to be employed in giving a liberal education to the higher classes of the community. The Government concurring in this opinion, Mr. Fraser was informed accordingly."†

* *Ibid.*, p. 500.

† *Ibid.*, p. 409

The Court of Directors of the East India Company also concurred in this opinion. In their letter to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 5th September, 1827, they wrote :—

"From the limited nature of the means at your disposal, you can only engage in very limited undertakings; and where a preference must be made, there can be no doubt of the utility of commencing both at the places of the greatest importance, and with the superior and middle classes of the natives, from whom the native agents whom you have occasion to employ in the functions of Government are most fitly drawn, and whose influence on the rest of their countrymen is the most extensive."‡

It was political expediency which prompted the Indian Government to undertake the education of Indians. Even a very large portion of the magnificent sum of one lac of rupees was not spent for many years for the purpose for which it had been recommended to be set apart. But it was necessary to spend money on education, otherwise it was impossible to get servants for the public services of the State. Thus some of the witnesses in their evidence before the Lord's Committee of 1830 deposed that—

"The Sudder Adawlut has represented that the knowledge of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law is becoming extinct among the natives, and that there is much difficulty in finding law officers."||

The Calcutta Madrassa, or Mahomedan College was founded by Mr. Warren Hastings in 1781 "with a view*** to the production of well-qualified officers for the Courts of Justice."¶

The Benares Hindoo College was founded in 1791 with the same object in view as the Calcutta Madrassa, that is to say to produce well-qualified Hindoo law officers for the Courts of Justice.

These were perhaps the only two educational institutions which received any support from the Government of India previous to the passing of the Charter Act of 1813 which authorised the annual expenditure of one lac of rupees for educational purposes.

The Deccan College at Poona was established in 1821. The Peishwas used to annually distribute large sums of money among learned Brahmins. After the annexation of the Deccan to the British territory, it was proposed by Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan to devote part of the funds which the Peishwas used to

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

distribute annually to the support of a College. Such was the origin of the Poora College.

Thus the Government of India were compelled to spend some money on the education of natives, otherwise it was impossible for them to get employes for their public services. We have said above that it was the intention of the Legislature to spend a portion of one lac of rupees per annum on the education of natives in order to qualify them for the public services of the State. As a matter of fact, the Indian Government were getting native public servants not only very cheap but without paying much for their education. The truth of this assertion will be proved to demonstration, if we take into consideration the large sums which the Governments of Bengal, Madras and Bombay had to spend every year from the beginning of the nineteenth century on the education of the Civil Servants.

There was a College established at Calcutta in 1800 for the education of Civilians. The sum of 1,50,000 rupees was fixed by the Honourable Court of Directors for the annual expenses of the College.

The following is the Memorandum, showing the average expense of the education of each writer during three years (1825—1828).

	Rs.	As.	P.
"In the year 1825—26, the expenses of the College of Fort William, exclusive of the Salaries of the students, amounted to	1,36,497	13	5
"In 1826-27	1,26,500	9	1
"In 1827-28	1,39,636	10	7
"Rent of the Writers-buildings for two years, at 140 rupees for each of 19 sets of the rooms in them ...	95,760	0	0
"Salary of 114 Students for three years, at 300 rupees per month	2,56,470	0	0
TOTAL	7,54,865	1	1

"And this sum divided by 114, the number of writers in three years, will give an average expense for each writer of 6,621 rupees.*

The following table† gives an account of the expense attending the establishment of the College from its institution in 1800 to 1830; also the number of individuals who

have received instruction there in each year:—

Year.	Expense attending the establishment of the College.	Number of Students.
	£	
1801-2	52,411	57
1802-3	51,540	40
1803-4	53,197	44
1804-5	36,665	67
1805-6	29,797	41
1806-7	18,884	38
1807-8	18,635	36
1808-9	18,456	38
1809-10	18,105	44
1810-11	20,738	45
1811-12	20,861	32
1812-13	20,172	41
1813-14	23,707	46
1814-15	23,674	49
1815-16	21,378	37
1816-17	17,204	32
1817-18	15,682	34
1818-19	15,752	29
1819-20	14,368	19
1820-21	14,489	18
1821-22	14,314	17
1822-23	15,953	16
1823-24	13,247	9
1824-25	13,240	16
1825-26	16,215	16
1826-27	14,731	23
1827-28	15,694	38
1828-29	15,895	53
1829-30	14,598	49

Regarding the College at Madras, in a letter from the Civil Finance Committee, dated 1st October, 1829, it was written that—

"The College of Fort St. George is similarly superintended by a Board, consisting of a member of Council as president, and of three other gentlemen selected from amongst those holding offices at the Presidency, attached to which are a Secretary and Assistant-Secretary, on salaries amounting to Rs. 350 and 300 respectively. There are no professors or examiners attached to the institution, but, * * the translators to Government perform the duty of examiners. The native establishment consists chiefly of moonshees, retained for the purpose of affording instruction to the junior civil servants, whose salaries, regulated at different rates according to the mode in which they are employed, amount to Rs. 1,125 per mensem; the total charge on account of the institution being Rs. 1,995.8 per mensem, or including contingencies, Rs. 24,807 annually.

"At Madras, the allowance of junior civil servants on their first admission into the College is Rs. 175, which is increased progressively, on the attainment of prescribed degrees of proficiency, to Rs. 260 and Rs. 350. In addition to the allowances above men-

* P. 644 of Appendix L to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company Vol. I, Public.

† Page 676 of Appendix (L) to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, vol. I, Public.

tioned, each student receives the sum of Rs. 35 per mensem for house rent, * *

"One of the principal items of charge connected with the College at Calcutta, which does not exist at the presidency of Fort St. George, is the salaries of the professors, and of the pundits, &c. attached to them.

The expenses of the college at Madras were as follows;—†

In 1818	...	...	58,296
1819	...	...	65,439
1820	...	...	57,880
1821	...	...	50,842
1822	...	...	47,661

In a letter from the Secretary to the Madras College to the Chief Secretary to the

Year.	Number of students attached to the College.	Amount of Junior Civil Servants' salaries and allowance drawn at the Presidency.		Amount of Junior Civil Servants' salaries and allowance drawn at Out-Stations.		Amount of Native Teachers' salaries drawn at the Presidency.		Amount of Native Teachers' salaries drawn at Out-Stations.		Total of the year.	
		Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.
1825	23	42,287	4 5½	10,780	0 0	15,176	1,104 2 8½	69,347	7 2		
1826	26	61,349	2 3½	6,030	0 0	17,972	105 0 0	85,516	2 3½		
1827	30	67,850	13 8	4,650	0 0	19,326	1,520 0 0	93,346	13 8		

Regarding Bombay, in a letter from the Civil Finance Committee, dated 1st October, 1829, it was stated that

"At Bombay there is no College, but the young men receive Rs 38 per mensem for maintaining a moon-shee, and are attached soon after their arrival to different collectors in the provinces, as supernumerary assistants, until they are reported ready to pass an examination. They are then examined by a committee temporarily formed at the Presidency, and if they pass in one language they are promoted to the station of an assistant, but they must pass in two languages before they become eligible to the station of a second assistant. We have no alteration to suggest in the system thus generally described, as it is stated to be efficient, and is clearly economical." ‡

At one time it was proposed to establish a college for the education of civil servants at Bombay. Thus in the public letter from the Bombay Government dated 29th August 1821 it was stated that,

"The instructions conveyed by your honourable Court in the 57th paragraph of your despatch, dated the 14th of July 1819, in the Revenue Department, have induced us to take measures for the establishment of a college at this presidency; and as the subject has occupied our serious attention during the last year, we proceed to submit our proceedings to your honourable Court. * * * *

"The establishment was to be placed under a College Council, assisted by a Secretary, who was also to be examiner and librarian.

* Page 651 of Appendix (L) to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I, (Public).

† Page 689 of Appendix (L) to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I (Public).

‡ Page 652 of Appendix (L) to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I (Public).

Government of Madras, dated 27th August 1828, it was stated that --

"On a computation of the expenditure on account of junior civil servants attached to the College of Fort St. George from the year 1820 up to the present time, it appears that the annual expense to Government at which instruction has been afforded to *each student* may be stated at between three and four thousand rupees, the salary of the student being included in this amount: as the fluctuating number of the students prevents the expenditure of one year forming any criterion whereby to judge of that of another, the Board have thought it advisable to state the actual expenditure at which instruction has been afforded to the junior civil servants attached to the College during the last three years.

"In addition to the salary of the Secretary of 1,000 rupees per month, the following sketch of the expense of the college comprehends the best estimate we can form of the amount, the salaries for the teachers having been fixed at the lowest possible scale; *viz.*

"The College for instructing Europeans, calculated for from 30 to 40 students:

	Rs.
1 Native of Arabia, for <i>Arabic</i>	100
2 Natives of Persia, for <i>Persian</i> (who might also occasionally teach Arabic, if qualified,) at Rs. 100, and Rs. 80	180
10 Teachers of Hindoostanee, average 60 (The majority might be expected to be qualified to teach <i>Persian</i> .)	600
5 Teachers of Mahratta (also qualified to teach Sanscrit,) at rupees 60, average	300
5 Teachers of Guzerattee, qualified to teach Sanscrit	300
TOTAL	1,480

"With regard to the establishment of a college at Bombay on the plan thus submitted to your honourable Court, we have been prevented from carrying the arrangement into immediate effect, * * but we strongly recommend the adoption of it.

"The only possible objection that appears in our minds is the expense, but the greater part of it must be incurred whether the college be eventually instituted or not, while the education of your junior civil servants is evidently indispensable; nor are we aware of any other arrangement by which this can be effectually provided for."

In other words, the Bombay Government considered an annual expenditure of Rupees thirty thousand necessary for the instruction of some 30 or 40 European Government

|| Page 693 of Appendix (L) to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I (Public).

servants. Had the College been established, the annual expense to Government at which instruction would have been afforded to each student would have been about one thousand rupees, the salary of the student *not* being included in this amount.

But the Court of the Directors of the East India Company did not approve of the Establishment of the College at Bombay. In their letter to the Bombay Government, dated 11th June, 1823, they wrote :—

"This being the view which we take of the subject, and nothing being regarded by us as essential but the teaching of these three native languages, Hindoostanee, Mahratta and Guzzerattee, we are far indeed from being of opinion that the apparatus of a College and its great expense are either required for the purpose, or would afford the best means of accomplishing the end.

"Two things alone appear to us to be necessary; the first, a sufficient number of natives qualified to teach to young Englishmen the three languages in question, the second, a well-constituted organ of superintendence for seeing that the masters perform their duty, and for examining the students." *

So the scheme for the establishment of the College for the instruction of junior civil servants at Bombay fell through. But nevertheless the education of the European public servants of the Bombay Government cost the Indian tax payer as large a sum as those of Bengal or Bombay.

Now, let us see what it cost the Indian Government for the Education of natives from whom also public servants had to be recruited.

Previous to 1813, there were only two educational institution in India, *viz*, the Calcutta Madrisa and the Benares Hindoo Sanscrit College, which were maintained at the expense of the Indian Government. The pecuniary aid afforded to these institutions is exhibited in the following tables.

"An Abstract Statement of Pecuniary Aid, granted by the *Bengal* Government to the *Calcutta* Madrisa, from its first institution to the end of the year 1824, so far as the same can be ascertained.

	Rs.
Cost of the original building in 1781 ...	75,745
Revenue of lands granted to the Institution as an endowment of the estimated value of 29,000 rupees per annum, from A. D. 1782 to 1793, 12 years ...	3,48,000
Actual expenditure from 1794 to 1818, 25 years as per account exhibited in July 1819...	4,94,197

	Rs.
Charges on account of the Madrisa as fixed by Government,	
A. D. 1819 ...	30,000
1820 ...	30,000
1821 ...	30,000
1822 ...	30,000
1823 ...	30,000
1824 ...	30,000
Sum appropriated in July 1823, for the purchase of ground, and erection of a new Madrisa ...	1,40,537
TOTAL ...	12,20,479†

"Amount of the pecuniary aid granted by the Bengal Government to the College of Benares, (including the assignments of revenue) :—

	Rs.
For the year 1791 ...	14,000
From 1st January 1792 to 31st December 1824, being 33 years, at 20,000 rupees per annum ...	6,60,000
TOTAL ...	6,74,000‡

It should be remembered that not an inconsiderable portion of the above sums went into the pockets of the Anglo-Indians who were appointed as Superintendents of these above two institutions. Thus the Superintendent of the Calcutta Madrisa used to get 6,000 Rupees and that of the Benares College 5,400 Rupees a year.

The following two tables|| are very important.

An account of all sums that have been applied to the purpose of educating the Natives in India from the year 1813 to 1830; distinguishing the Amount in each year.

	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	Total.
	£	£	£	£
1813	4,207	480	442	5,129
1814	11,606	480	499	12,585
1815	4,405	480	537	5,422
1816	5,146	480	578	6,204
1817	5,177	480	795	6,452
1818	5,211	480	630	6,321
1819	7,191	480	1,270	8,941
1820	5,807	480	1,401	7,688
1821	6,882	480	594	7,956
1822	9,081	480	594	10,155
1823	6,134	480	594	7,208
1824	19,970	480	1,434	21,884
1825	57,122	480	8,961	66,563
1826	21,623	480	5,309	27,412
1827	30,077	2,140	13,096	45,313
1828	22,797	2,980	10,064	35,841
1829	24,663	3,614	9,799	38,076
1830	28,748	2,946	12,636	44,330.

† *Ibid*, p: 399.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 40.

* Page 697 of Appendix (E) to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India company, Vol. (Public).

|| (P. 483 Appendix I to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Committee Vol. I (Public.)

"The following Statement exhibits the estimated Amount of the Sums annually chargeable on the Revenues of India for the support of Native Schools, as the same appear upon the Books of Establishments, and by the proceedings of the respective Governments last received from India.

I BENGAL.

	Rs.
Calcutta Madrissa, per annum	30,000
" Hindoo Sanskrit College (in which those of Nuddea and Tirhoot have merged)	25,000
" School Book Society	6,000
" School Society	6,000
" At the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction (inclusive of the Chinsurah, Rajpootana and of the salary to their Secretary Rs. 6,000,	106,000
*,, Old Charity Schools as rent for the court-house, per month Rs. 800	9,600
†,, Free School	720
Benares Sanscrit College	20,000
" Charity School	3,000
Cawnpore Free School	4,800
Hidgelee Madrissa	365
Moorshedabad College and School	16,537
TOTAL Rs.	2,28,022

II. FORT ST. GEORGE.

Tanjore Schools, per annum	4,620
Sunday School at the Mount	1,200
Committee of Public Instruction for the Madras School-book Society and the collectorate and tehsildary schools	48,000
TOTAL Rs.	53,820

III. BOMBAY.

Bombay School	3,600
Society for promoting the Education of the	

* Both these schools were for the benefit of Europeans and half castes.

† Pages 433-434 of Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I. (Public.)

Poor within the Government of Bombay ...	Rs. 11,385
Bombay Native School-book and School Society	12,720
Native School Society, Southern Concern ...	500
For the Education of natives on Captain Sutherland's plan	4,800
Dukshina, in the Deccan	50,000
College at Poona	15,250
The Engineer Institution at Bombay ...	180
For an English class	960

TOTAL Rs. ... 99,395

EAST INDIA HOUSE, } (Sd). THOMAS FISHER,
February 7th, 1827. } Searcher of the Records.

Thus it would be observed that the Indian Government had to spend every year more money on the education of their civil servants who in the three presidencies seldom exceeded more than 100 in number than on the education of their Indian subjects who at the lowest computation must have exceeded fifty millions of human beings.

Even the sum of one *lac* rupees was not devoted to the purpose for which it was intended till the year 1823, when a Committee of Public Instruction was appointed by the Government of India, consisting of the principal functionaries at Calcutta, and the arrears of this *lac* of rupees from the year 1823 were accounted to this Committee. Mr. C. H. Cameron, in his Examination before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories in 1853 was asked by Lord Montague of Brandon on the 7th July, 1853 :—

When you were at the head of the Council of Public Instruction, did you ever endeavour to obtain the payment of any portion of the arrears of that *lac* of rupees which had been left unpaid for so many years?"

His answer was, "No, we never did."

THE FATAL GARLAND

By SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHAPTER XXVI.

IT was the end of the rainy season. The midday rain had ceased, but the sky was still cloudy. This was not one of those autumn afternoons which are brightened by the golden effulgence of the setting sun. The rain-drops dripped from shining leaves and a breeze stirred the smooth stillness of the lake.

The ugly bull-frogs croaked in the wet grass, and the cricket's doleful chirp suggested evening, although it was only a little past noon. The measured tread of the stalwart sentries patrolling the camp, harmonised with the universal solemnity all around.

Some of the attendants of the Maharaja's household were seated on the paved embankment of the lake. Although not enlisted

soldiers, they were armed and fully equipped for fight. All the forces were kept ready for an emergency, and the Maharaja's men were seated with dagger girded on and spear in hand. In those days the Bengalis were a fighting race, they had not then as yet come to their present state of helplessness, in which the people of Bengal have retained naught but their ideals, which thanks to the Great Preserver, are still strong enough to point the way to higher realization and a future to equal the past.

Among these men was Nobin Adhikari, a dramatist and theatrical manager, and the husband of the gay Rangini whom we have met in the garden festival at Pandua. The Raja was so fond of his songs that he had made him the Court-poet, and he was held in high esteem. The most noted of his songs was Krishna's Wooing, and this was so well known that it was on the lips of young and old alike. He was forty-five years of age and had four wives, three of whom had been chosen for him by his parents in his childhood. The fourth, the pretty Rangini, had come into his life through a romantic incident. A cousin of his had deputed him to see the girl and get her for him. But Nobin Adhikari, ever young in love and wooing, would not let so precious an opportunity escape him, and so outwitting his unsuspecting cousin, he wound up the bargain by marrying the girl himself. Thus his life had hitherto been spent in continuous courtship, and fame and fortune had smiled on him alike. Suddenly, however, this aggravating war changed all. The young Rani had followed her husband into the camp and Rangini refused to be parted from her mistress and followed her. And the Brahmin minstrel, unwilling to be parted from his young wife, had no course left him but to go with her. And thus we find Nobin Adhikari at the camp, accoutred with sword and spear in addition to flute of love and lyre.

In time of war love songs are out of tune. The Raja and his counsellors were busy with the plans of the campaign. No one would listen to the poet's songs. He seldom left the camp, for whenever he did, he was obliged to dress up like a sepoy. But idle hands were not allowed in camp. Since sword and spear were too hard for the touch of fingers trained to string the lyre, a soft instrument had to be found for poet's hands.

And so the poet laureate found his place in the culinary department, and the minstrel was forced to exchange the flute of love for the ladle, his Brahminical caste fitting him particularly for this service. This was not a bit more to his taste than fighting, but it was less dangerous. Of course, on the stage he was accustomed to dressing up in many ways. There he impersonated many characters and not unfrequently donned woman's garb, for one of his favourite characters was Brinda, the messenger of Radhika. But when it came to playing a role in actual life and a most unromantic one to boot—well that was quite another thing.

On this rainy day, however, his poetical spirit could not contain itself in camp and kitchen and so sareng* in hand, to pour forth once more his songs of love's joy and woe, he had joined the crowd by the lake with sword girded on. He took off his turban and placed it beside him. His head was shaven, leaving only a little tuft of hair about three or four inches long, in the centre. This was twisted in a knot at the end.

And now the poet was inspired, he closed his little blinking eyes and nodded his shaven head in tune to the music. His fingers softly played the sareng, while he began to sing—

The Sravan† month has come, the month of rain,
The clouds are dense, like evening is the day.
The ponds overflow; the rustling leaves complain
The rain drops fall with melancholy play.

But alas, for the poor minstrel, his song fell flat today, there was no appreciative audience to applaud him, and his music was drowned by loud talk and laughter. He was about to give the second verse when one interrupted him, saying, "what do you say to it, Thakur?"

The Brahmin became vexed and retorted, "All I have to say to you is that you may remain separated from your sweet-heart the whole of the rainy season, and may heaven preserve me from such dull company as this."

Srikanta Paramanick, the barber, replied, ‡"Moonshi ||Mahashoy" let the Thakur

* A musical instrument. The violin was not introduced in the Indian Theatre until after the advent of the Portuguese.

† July.

‡ A scholar of the Persian and Arabian languages.

|| Sir.

sing and listen to him quietly. Go on, Thakur, I am homesick, and your song soothes my sore heart."

The Brahmin was pleased and continued.

"The winds blow madly on with icy breath, and ever and anon the lightnings flash, —"

"Bravo Thakur," interrupted Paramanick, "bravo. Unfortunately I have nothing with me with which to prove my gratitude."

The Thakur felt encouraged now and would have continued, but the unpoetical Moonshi was there again. Paramanick had been telling them he had a strange dream and he was anxious to hear of it. "What did you see in your dream last night, Paramanick," he asked of the barber. "Go on with it." "Paramanick is famous for his dreams" called out the Bhandari.

"I thought I saw the southern sky turn red."

"And from it blood poured down and flooded the earth?" asked Shiam Sardar, the wrestling master.

"On such streams of blood", continued the barber, "there was a sea of blood flowing all around with waves rising high upon it as in a storm. And then I saw these waves were men, and, oh, I beheld myself as one of them. I then began a loud lament. But suddenly there appeared the divine form of †Bhagavati, seated on a lotus and gently said, "Fear not, my child, fear not." Then I awoke.

"Wonderful, wonderful," called out the listeners in a chorus, "whom did the figure resemble?"

"The sannyasini."

"It must have been she," the learned Moonshi replied, "she saved us once, and now by her power we shall be victorious in the war. This is an auspicious dream indeed."

The Raj Baidya, ‡ Nikunja Sen, who absorbed in his own thoughts, had kept quiet all this while, remarked somewhat abruptly, "May it come true. May the Mussulman's pride be humbled and with it the vanity and nonsense of the Hakims ||. Fraud, fraud the whole system is a fraud, I should like to see Hakim Nazir Ali, then." And then the

learned doctor relapsed into silence again. Becoming as grave as before he looked in another direction as if he had not spoken at all. He usually kept himself aloof of the crowd.

Shiam Sardar took up the thread of the conversation, and said, "But to quarrel with the Badshah is no easy matter."

"In what respect is our Maharaja inferior to the Sultan?" asked the barber.

To which the Moonshi added "Especially when the divine sannyasini is on our side?"

"That is true," replied the wrestler, "but it is so long since we left home that our houses must have gone to wreck and ruin. Goodness alone knows what may have become of our families."

"Can you tell me," said another, "why the Raja's mother is so against the sannyasini? The very mention of her name angers her, and she asserts the priestess is the cause of this war, that she is an impostor, and that it will go badly with the Maharaja as long as she is with us."

"The Maharani fears that this war will have serious results some day," put in the Bhandari. "She therefore urges to have it abandoned and peace made with the Badshah."

"What she says is true," answered the Sardar, "I hope peace will be made."

"Plague on you for talking in that way," this angry reproach came from the barber, "if the Maharaja were to humble himself before the Sultan, the latter would become so inflated with pride that nothing could save us, he would soon force the whole kingdom to read the Koran. But if our Raja is victorious, he may become Sultan one day, and then we shall have the days of Ram's golden reign again. There will then be no more oppression in the land. What happy times we shall have then."

This glowing picture satisfied the Sardar. "That is true," he said, somewhat consoled.

"What a pity Ganapati is not here. He is a great astrologer. He would soon interpret Paramanick's dream for us," said the Moonshi, who was interested in dreams, to which the Sardar replied once more.

"Perhaps the Thakur can help us. He is a Brahmin, he must know the Shastras. Thakur, listen, did you hear that dream? Tell us who will win, will our Maharaja become a Sultan or not?"

* Steward.

† A goddess of the Hindu mythology.

‡ A physician of the Hindu system of medicine.

|| Physicians of the Mohammedan system of medicine.

The Sardar became excited as he spoke and gave the poor Brahmin a push that almost dislodged him from his seat. The little minstrel became still more annoyed.

"The devil take you and your dreams," he said gruffly. "I am off. I see I cannot stay here in peace." With these words he took up his sareng and trudged off.

"Stay Thakur," the Sardar called for him, "don't go away without explaining that dream to us."

"You have forgotten your turban, Thakur" shouted the barber, "come back and fetch it."

But the witty Moonshi topped them both with his remark. "Thakur," he called out, "come, get your turban. If any one strikes you on the head there will be nothing to ward off the blow. That little tuft of hair of yours won't protect you much."

All laughed and continued to pass jokes at the expense of the poor dramatist, excepting the physician, who only honoured the departing figure with a glance, then closed his eyes again and went on with his meditation. The Thakur took no notice of them, but went on doggedly till he was out of sight. Then seating himself on the forked trunk of a tree, he played his sareng and sang to himself undisturbed, finishing his song this time.

"The Sravan month has come, the month of rain,
The clouds are dense, like evening is the day.
The ponds o'erflow, the rustling leaves complain,
The rain-drops fall with melancholy play.
The winds blow madly on with icy breath,
And ever and anon the fiery lightnings flash,
And silver showers glisten all around,
When lo, the thunder roars with madd'ning crash,
The way-worn traveller trembles in despair.
And youth and maiden, full of glad delight,
Are linked and linger in love's fond embrace.
But I in lonely sorrow spent the night,
I dreamt of lovers' meetings, raptures sweet,
When up I started and with weeping eyes
Beheld myself alone upon my couch,
The distant thunder roared, deep were my sighs,
Alas, alas, my love is far away."

CHAPTER XXVII.

The song was ended. The Brahmin put down his instrument and began softly to hum another tune. Suddenly he saw two bright eyes fixed on him from behind a Shefalika tree. And then approached the figure of a woman, and said softly: "Saluta-

tion to the Thakur, what a beautiful song!"

The Brahmin looked up surprised, for the woman was young and fair, and in the forest she came upon him unseen like a woodsprite. He thought a forest fairy greeted him and he could not find a word of reply.

"Do not stop, Thakur," said the same silvery voice, "Do let me hear another song." The vain old minstrel felt flattered, but his curiosity was uppermost and he wondered who she might be. The forest fairy was none other than the great-hearted heroine of this tale, Shoktimoi, and she had recognised the dramatist at first sight. Seven years had altered him but little, but her case was quite different. She had since grown from childhood into womanhood, and that is a great change.

"My fair lady, may I ask who you are?" he said.

"Can you not tell me by my dress? I am a beggar woman."

The Brahmin dropped his sareng, joined his hands in salutation and said, "Do not deceive me, you are the goddess of the forest," and he prepared to prostrate himself before her. But she became distressed to see his attitude and stopped him saying, "Thakur, it is not fitting that you should salute me thus, I am a Kshatriya by caste. But I have no one belonging to me in the world, I am a beggar indeed."

The Brahmin replied, his voice still ringing with amazement, "I have seen many beggar women, but none like you, my lady."

Shokti thought it time to change the conversation, she therefore said quickly—"Thakur, won't you let me hear another song? I am so fond of Nobin Adhikari's love-songs. Was not the one you were singing one of his compositions?"

If the little simple-hearted poet had been vain before, he now became half giddy with delight, and like an applauded schoolboy, he stammered, "I am Nobin Adhikari."

"Oh", she exclaimed, "are you that great man? Your name is known through the whole land. How fortunate I am to meet you here this evening, I have heard of you so much, but I hardly dared hope to meet you. Pray let me hear another song." And now the poet sang—

"Ah, does his soul still pine as mine for him?
And do his tears make the bright moonlight dim?"

Does his fond heart still ache? Do those twin stars,
 'That seem lost in each other, hear him breathe
 Of absent love, like bird 'mid prison bars?
 Has he it still, that fragrant floral wreath
 I gave him, faded now and old?
 Does he still fondle it with tear and sigh,
 And press it to his lips with joy untold,
 Like happy mem'ries of fond days gone by?
 These bitter pangs of parting, do they rend
 His heart with anguish as in days of yore?
 My heart responds, "Ah no, not so, my friend.
 All is forgetfulness upon that dreamy shore.
 There plays the flute in cadence ever new.
 The charms are gone, he thinks no more of you."

The Brahmin sang on prolonging the theme with many variations, Shokti listened with all her heart, for this was the song that touched her soul. Meanwhile the shades of evening had set. The winds had scattered the clouds and the atmosphere was clear. The moon had risen in the beautiful autumn sky and quivered through the forest leaves ere it reached the earth. The sweet soft strain rose high and higher in the still moonlight till the song ended, and the singer turned to her who listened so attentively.

"Here is a song I love so dearly, is that one of yours too?" Shokti said with a stifled sigh. "Oh, beauteous night, with moonlight sweetly shining, if only he were here." I heard it from a mendicant the other day."

"Yes, that too is mine. You seem so fond of music, do you not sing yourself?"

"We, who live by begging, have to sing a little now and then."

"Will you not let me hear you?" asked the Thakur. "You need not be shy before me, my child, I am old enough to be your father."

"That is very true," said Shokti laughingly, "but then you are a great musician, and I am but a beggar maiden. Would it not be rather presumptuous on my part to sing before you? However, since you ask me, let me comply."

Shokti began very softly, but gradually raised her voice higher as she sang.

"Oh, beauteous night with moonlight sweetly shining;

If only he were here.

With untold longing my poor heart is pining,

Ah, that his love were mine, who is so dear.

The spring is fair and mirth with beauty crowned,

The gay earth blooms and rings with merry sound,

My youth is fresh while all its charms abound,

Ah, that he might behold it!

Ye gods, ye are all false, the world is vain,

Why give this beauty which he may not see?

Since honeyed love is full of bitter pain,

Why all these sighs, this thirst that fetters me?"

Only a poet knows the rapture of hearing his own melodies poured forth by one who knows music. The minstrel's heart grew large, this soul was like a sea flooded with moonlight. He felt himself transported to celestial portals, where being lives in song divine. He surely owed some gratitude to her who brought this bliss upon him.

"Mother, what service can I render you?" he asked.

This was the question that the woodland fairy wished to hear. But she was wise and probed him ere she spoke. "I am a mendicant. I have no wants, oh Thakur. But I have one request. I wish to see the Raja or the Rani. I have some secret news to give them of the war." The musician reflected. The Maharani had given the strictest orders that no sannyasini was to see her son.

"Can you not trust me with the message?" he asked her.

"No," that she could not, she explained, or she should have done so in the beginning.

The Brahmin mused a while and then replied: "I shall speak to my wife, she may see her way to bring this about. Be not afraid, but follow me."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Shokti had no wish to see either Nirupama or the Raja's mother, but she feared if she asked for Ganesh Dev alone she might arouse suspicion in the Thakur's mind. Hence this precaution.

Ah, sorrow-stricken Shoktimoi, what did her bleeding heart behold when near the place where the young Raja was, the man who had lifted her in fond hopes to the gods and again crushed her soul? She stood near a tent, the curtain was half drawn, and she could look inside. On a cot an infant slept, a boy of about two years of age. Ganesh, the father, reclined on the same couch, his head leaning upon his hand, his fond eye resting tenderly upon the child. She saw him bend low and kiss his sleeping son. Beside him stood his wife, the gentle Nirupama, his slender fingers moved through her soft hair, while with looks of deep devotion she smiled upon his manly face. Oh, scene of fond endearment, oh, Love Divine that gives such happiness to human kind, and yet?—

Leaning against the canvas wall a beggar maiden stood, crushed, cold and senseless with despair. Each fond caress within dealt one more wound unto her lacerated heart, each smile she saw dripped poison in those wounds. Ah, great Creator, must it be ever so? Must one be storm-tossed while another smiles? It has been thus; meanwhile the worlds roll on and hearts must break.

Rangini had gone inside bidding Shokti to wait till she returned. And now the former came out again and asked her to enter, saying the Raja was ready to receive her, but she replied, "I must deliver my message to the Raja alone. Ask him to come here." Rangini entered the tent and presently the Raja came out.

"I hear you have some secret news about the war. You may speak safely here."

Shokti gave the matter an air of great importance. "I cannot speak here," she said with an assumed voice, "will you come to the lake?" Not waiting for his answer she moved on and the Raja followed her.

Arrived at the lake, she threw back her veil and the moon revealed her beautiful face to him. But if that moon had suddenly dropped at his feet, Ganesh Dev could not have been more astounded. He stood transfixed, then recovering himself, he stepped aside and spoke contemptuously, "Mussalmani, why are you here?"

These cruel words sent terror through the girl; she was dazed and she felt her degrading lot as never she had felt it before. Yes, she had lost all claim to be called a Hindu, how dared she then approach the proud Maharaja of Dinajpore? But long suffering had given her patience and courage, so she took his contempt with a strong heart and replied, "Rajkumar, I am still yours, heart, soul and body in faith and purity. But you spurn me anew, what other choice have I now left but a life of sin in the harem of a Mussalman?"

How strangely different this meeting from the last. Then in the quiet woods with her alone he had lost his whole nature in his love, but to-day he was calm and self-possessed, he stood before her as a judge, unbiassed by emotion. "You have dwelt in the harem of a Mussalman, you can never be my wife. Banish that thought for ever from your mind. I have not the power to

undo what you have done. I would have made you my wife, but you left me in scorn. I sought you in the early morning of the following day but to learn you had become the Begum of Gais-ud-din."

"Would you have made me your wife in defiance of your mother?"

"Yes."

Too late! Too late did Shokti see where she had failed. Ah, had she waited but a single day, all might have been well with her. At a time when all the fates had been against her and the very gods had called out, "He will never be yours," when her emotions had been stirred to their very depth, the girl had yielded to the inevitable, a force she could not have withstood if she had tried. Her heart throbbed with remorse and she grew faint, all she could do was to breathe forth a weak reply, "Is there no hope for me?"

"Go to him whom you have chosen, he is your lawful refuge."

If her poor heart had had room for another wound, these cold, relentless words might have stabbed deeper than all else that had lacerated her young life. As it was she stood in cold despair, there was no hope for her. Who could save her from the deep sea of affliction into which she had plunged herself by her own will? If the Raja attempted to do so, he would only sink with her. The very gods had not the power to intervene—to take away the curse of her own deeds. She realised this. She had lost everything save that pride, that self-esteem which through all her trials she had retained. But now she was like a mariner in a stormy night who has lost his way at sea with chart and compass gone. Pride, strength and will to stand forsook her of a sudden, and the strong girl wept tears of blood, each sob rent from her like a mad cry. "Ah, Prince, do not abandon me in disgrace. How can I dwell with one to whom I cannot give my heart? Heed not the world, but lift your soul aloof. Before the gods our union will not be a sin."

The man's heart was deeply touched, yet he was helpless and remained speechless before her grief. At last he said gently, "Listen, Shokti, did I wish a thousand times I could not give you a home. Even if I sacrificed my life, I could not do so. For it would be wrong, unjust and sinful.

You are now married and another man's wife—".

"No, Rajkumar, no, I am not married. Spurn me not. If you cannot marry me, at least give me your protection. Oh force me not into a life of shame."

Ganesh Dev's manly heart was stirred, he felt deeply for the girl in her sorrow, yet firmly he replied: "Try to be calm, Shokti, and let reason appeal to you. What you ask can never be. Our paths must now remain separated. Although you are not married to him as yet, still you belong to him. If I take you from him, both your honour and mine would be sullied. You went to him of your own will and legally as well as morally you are his. How can I steal a husband's lawful right? A tie that is not built on righteousness, cannot endure. The husband is the woman's natural protector, to him alone she owes her duty, and her very religion is centered in him. Devote yourself to him with all your heart, strive to do your duty, and you will get strength to bear your life, God will help you in your attempt."

But Shokti failed to see the purpose of this wise counsel. She felt rejected as a worthless one, and her soul trembled with despair at this terrible thought, but with it her lost pride returned and asserted itself. And when she spoke again her voice was grave and her eyes tearless.

"Shame on your name, Ganesh Dev, that you thought I stepped before you like an unworthy one. I came to you as my protector, to preserve my purity, my honour. But you fear the world more than you desire to save me from my fate. Then let me cast to the winds all that has moved my heart and do what you call right and what the world calls honour. But bear in mind if there is sin in this, it is not mine, but his who forced me into it."

The maiden turned and disappeared. But Ganesh Dev lingered long by the still waters of the moonlit lake.

Gais-ud-din returning victor from the field made ready to receive his bride and she awaited him, now no longer dressed as a devotee. Decked in her bridal robes, bejewelled like a queen, she greeted him. The Sultan laid his crown down at her feet and said, "Beloved, I lay a kingdom at your feet. Deign to wear this crown and receive

your slave." The woman's heart still bled, but yielded to the man's embrace, and pale lips faltered, "I am yours."

That very evening the rite was performed that made Shoktimoi the Sultan's wife.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The State of Dinajpore was at peace. With the death of Sultan Sekander Shah, the rebellion came to an end. The Raja of Dinajpore formed a friendly alliance with the new Sultan, and he was now at leisure to see to the well-being of his subjects. Whatever the war had destroyed was being restored. New forts, new buildings and new gardens came into existence. The Raja himself made good the losses sustained by the people during the war, and soon all was so far restored that there were only the dead to mourn. The year and a half of war seemed like a far off bad dream and the people enjoyed the new prosperity.

A new garden had been laid out near the palace by the river-side, and through it the people passed on their way to bathe in the river. It was a bright summer morning. The palace musicians were playing a Bhairabee* tune and a young gardener hummed it as he went on with his work. A young Fakir, dressed in red, plucked flowers from a tree near by. He seemed to be listening to the sound of a drum at a distance. One of the passers-by, noticed his saintly appearance and wished to consult him about his child which lay ill at home. Another who had likewise tried to speak to him; looked at the Fakir sharply and then shook his head meaningly.

The first man noticing this, said eagerly "You seem to know the Fakir, do take me to him, I beseech you. I have made offerings to five †pirs and offered a goat to Kali, but my child is not yet well."

A third broke in suddenly, "How the drums are beating! Is it new moon to-day, are we having ‡Kali Poojah? I never hear a drum beat without recalling that day when we were called to arms against the

* A tune played in the morning.

† Mahomedan Saint, to whom the lower classes of the Hindus in Bengal make offering as well as the Mahomedans.

‡ Annual festival in honour of Kali.

Badshah. Oh, how the drums beat that day," and the speaker sighed.

"But those were glorious times," replied the fourth, "how patriotism stirred the heart! One would have died a hundred deaths just to kill a single enemy. What a wild goose chase we lead those fellows."

"Yes," said another, "and if they had held out a few days longer things would have been reversed. It was lucky they left of their own accord, we had no rations and could never have held out. But how loudly the drums are beating."

Meanwhile the first speaker addressing the second said, "Why did you shake your head so mysteriously when you saw the Fakir? Tell me what you know about him."

"You won't repeat it, on your honour? Give me your word."

"I promise."

"That is no Fakir," replied the other in a low voice, "it is Prince Saheb-ud-din."

The listener became excited and the pledge of secrecy on his honour was temporarily forgotten. "Saheb-ud-din, our Sultan's nephew?" he called out loudly.

The secret was out. One said, "Has he not been killed by his uncle?"

"No", came the reply from one who knew, "the seven brothers have been slain, and now the new Sultan is seeking this lad in order that he may kill him also. But he escaped and is taking refuge with our Raja."

"How do you know all this?"

"My wife serves Adhikari Thakur's wife as a maid, and she heard it from her; so it must be true."

"Then it is up with us. Those drums mean nothing but a call to arms. Kanai Sardar, you wished for fight, well it has come, we'll see blood flow again."

"But", replied the man whose mind was on his sick child at home, "who will fight? I have lost one son, and his mother followed him broken-hearted. My other boy is dying. Who is left to fight?"

"You must be mad, can't the Raja fight without your wife and sons? Aren't there men enough left in the land without your two boys?"

"Well, you fight away, if you like. But we will go to the Maharaja and give him our advice. Thousands of men cannot be

sacrificed to save the life of one. Let him give up Saheb-ud-din to the Sultan."

"You think yourself too wise. Do you think the Raja will heed your advice?"

"If not, we will speak to the Rani mother. When she comes to the river to perform her poojah,* we will fall at her feet and say, 'Save us, mother, save us, or else put your foot on us and kill us now.'"

"This is certain, if the Badshah once gets hold of the lad, he will put him to death. He will have no mercy on the poor lad."

"And our Maharaja is mercy itself, a very †Yudhishtir."

Thus talking they arrived at the ghat.

CHAPTER XXX.

The people were right in their surmises. Ganesh Dev had given refuge to Prince Saheb-ud-din, and the matter had been kept as quiet as possible. Gais-ud-din had got wind of it, however, and had sent Kutab to Dinajpore to search for the fugitive. It was the drum of Kutab's troops, marching towards the capital of Dinajpore, that these men on their way to the river had heard. Now Ganesh Dev found himself between the horns of a dilemma. Either he must give up a friend who had sought his protection or involve himself in war which would mean ruin to his State. The Sannyasini advised him to take up arms if necessary. It was his duty to protect the persecuted even at the risk of losing all, she argued.

Ganesh Dev's mother on the other hand opposed the idea. She argued that his first duty was the interest of his State, and if one stood in the path of duty, that one should be removed. Saheb-ud-din must be given up at once.

Ganesh Dev did not share his mother's views, they were to him incompatible with justice and conscience. Prince Saheb-ud-din had saved him at the time Sekander Shah had imprisoned him, and did he not owe him protection for this service? The future is always uncertain, and he could not out of fear of possible defeat sacrifice a life which he had promised to protect, that

* Worship.

† A King of ancient India who was noted for truthfulness.

would be submitting conscience to brute force. He had pledged his word of honour and must keep it, be the consequences what they may. These were the principles on which Ganesh Dev's character was built up.

He had never yet forgotten Shokti's sad fate, and his heart told him that he was not entirely free from responsibility in the matter. There was a voice within him which said that he had let the world's opinion guide him when this forsaken woman pleaded for his protection. And if war came, as come it must, if he persisted in his course, was this perhaps the retribution heaven had brought upon him for having abandoned a lonely woman to a fate she loathed? He would not commit the same wrong twice. Saheb-ud-din had sought refuge at his hand, he would not abandon him. If he must perish in the attempt, then perhaps he might expiate the crime he had committed against Shoktimoi. But now he heard in his heart the cry of an innocent people, suffering for their ruler's sin. The man of keen conscience knew not which way to turn, he therefore assembled the leading men of his Raj and laid the case before them.

At the assembly he informed them of the impending danger. He rose to his feet, and as he did so the whole assembly rose and remained standing while he spoke. "My children," he said, "we have been delivered from our past calamities, but now another confronts us. The Sultan does not feel secure although he has slain his seven brothers. He now wants the life of his unhappy nephew. This lad sought refuge in my house, and I gave it. If I give him up, I shall outrage the law laid down in our Shastras, which enjoins us to shelter those who seek our protection; if I continue to protect him, war is imminent, and in that case my people will suffer. Advise me, I know not which course to choose."

From the assembly rose a unanimous cry, "We shall bow to the decision of our Maharaja, he is our father, our protector. Are we not his children and humble servants? Whatever he deems best and commands us to do, that will we do."

When these loud vows of loyalty had subsided, one of the nobles of the land arose and said in calm, clear accents, "Maharaja,

since you encourage us to speak freely, let me say on behalf of my brethren and myself what we think. Prince Saheb-ud-din, forsaken and destitute, sought refuge with your Highness, and it is your duty to protect him. But there is another duty and a higher one, the duty to protect your children. The land is suffering still from the effects of the last war. The question is, would it be right to overwhelm the land again with grief, kill thousands of your people for the sake of one foreigner?"

The whole assembly shouted, and one said, "Long live our Maharaja. May he protect his children. Let them not be sacrificed for the sake of one stranger."

With this view all assembled seemed to coincide. "May prosperity be yours, Maharaja, for you we would leave our lives a thousand times, but why should we die for a Mussalman?"

Another said, "May the Maharaja be victorious. I gave four sons in the last war and have but one left now to support me, and I am old and blind. However, if your Highness says so, he too shall go and fight, and I will gladly remain childless in my old age. But would you to protect one stranger bring death on thousands of your sons?"

When all who wished had spoken, the Raja spoke once more and said, "Listen, my sons. You are right, a father must think of the welfare of his children before aught else. But their material well-being is not his only care. To teach them duty, virtue and a noble life should be his highest aim. If I abandon a friend who once helped me when I needed help, your honour and my own will be stained. Not only shall we break the Shastric law of giving refuge to the helpless, but repay a great service rendered with ingratitude. You all know that when the late Sultan, Sekander Shah, sought an alliance with me and called me to his council, Prince Saheb-ud-din was left as hostage for my safety. But when the Sultan broke his faith and imprisoned me, General Azim Khan, by two of our soldiers, managed to send the news to our camp. It was Prince Saheb-ud-din who hastened to the Court and liberated us. If in the face of this we abandon him to his fate shall we be acting as men of honour should? Shall we not become guilty of the basest ingratitude? If my own blood sufficed to ensure your happiness,



DHYANI BUDDHA.
(From Borobudur, Java).

your honour and your virtue, how gladly would I not give it for you. My only sorrow is that I must sacrifice your lives with mine. Still it is not I for whom in reality you fight but a just cause. It is no question of a foreigner, a Mussalman, it is a question solely of honour. This war will be a holy war, for it will aid the weak and innocent, it will repay friendship with friendship, gratitude for service rendered. Death in this war will mean a noble precedence to prosperity and peace in the world to come. We all must die, that is the law, then why shrink from yielding up this transient life for a just cause?"

The Raja's noble precepts inflamed the hearts of those who heard.

"Jai* jai to our Maharaja, he is king Yudhishtir reincarnated."

"We will fight for him."

"We will die in this holy war."

"Long life to our Maharaja."

Such were the exclamations that rose from the agitated assembly. When the excitement subsided, the Raja spoke again. "My sons, not a hair of your heads shall be

* Victory.

hurt in vain. I will first speak to the Sultan to obtain Prince Saheb-ud-din's pardon. I will offer myself to the Sultan as security that the Prince will do no harm, and I shall ask for him a Governorship in a remote province. If the Sultan refuses to accede to these proposals, then only shall we fight, but not until then." The question next arose as to what would happen if the young Prince should break faith. To this Ganesh replied, "I know Prince Saheb-ud-din to be an honourable man, he fears to do wrong. I am certain he will not break faith, will not at any time rebel against the Badshah. But if after the Sultan's death, he should aspire to the throne, I should certainly help him, if I live."

The assembly were satisfied and signified assent. That very afternoon the Raja of Dinajpore laid his proposals before Kutab, who grew furious and called the conduct of the young Raja audacity. He threatened him with destruction, to which the latter calmly replied, "Be it so. But you will have to kill me before taking the Sultan's nephew. You will never get him as long as I am alive."

INDIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING*

WE have here for the first time a book about Indian art written by a European, which expresses, throughout its pages, a feeling of love and respect for India and her people. To Mr. Havell, Indian art is no mere toy of commerce, nor is it even the fruit of some rich bygone period irretrievably departed. He sees India past present and future, as one. The builders of fortresses and tombs, of palaces and temples are the same Indian people, who are alive to-day, and could do as much again, if need arose, or opportunity called. Seeing behind each historic achievement of our art, the social and psychological background that gave it birth, he finds, in our present continuity with that background, the rich promise of the future. Indian society is still unspoilt, in this author's eyes, for art

and industries. As long as the handicraft dominates the situation, India remains in that fertile mediaeval condition, out of which the cathedrals of Europe were built, and her great pictures painted, but which Europe for love of gain, has cast for ever behind her.

"India, unlike Europe", says our author, "has a still living, traditional, and national art, intimately bound up with the social and religious life of the people; and this art, if we knew it better, might help both Europeans and Indians to a closer mutual sympathy and understanding. But the secularised and denationalised art of Europe has no affinity with the living art of India, and we, aliens in race, thought, and religion, have never taken anything but a *dilettante* archaeological, or commercial interest in it. Its deeper meanings

* By E. B. Havell. London. John Murray, 1908. £3, 3s. net.

are hidden from us, and those spiritual longings and desires which come straight from the heart of a people, to find expression in their poetry, music, and their art, strike no chord of sympathy in ours."

But this passage must not be held by Indian readers to imply that we, because we still have a "living, traditional and national art," are to hold blindly by every chance thought and impulse that comes to us artistically, believing that we are divinely inspired in this matter and therefore unfailingly correct in every particular. Such a fallacy could not tempt us, in other subjects. India, almost alone amongst the nations, has still, in like fashion, "a living traditional and national" logic of her own. But this does not mean that every Indian tyro is logically infallible! A severe training would be necessary, for the most Indian of Indians, before he could venture to trust his own opinion against that of the pundits of Nuddea, for instance, and the training required to qualify the judgment in art is not less stern and difficult than that for logic. We have just been going through the least hopeful and most chaotic transition that has ever overtaken us as a people, in art. Under European Commercialism, our decorative faculty has been shaken to its very roots. Our architecture is undermined by the desire for cheapness, and the high fiscal value of materials. Our nobler ideals have been almost eclipsed by the love of cheap notoriety. If we are ever to emerge out of this confusion, we can only do so by patiently building up a great art on a basis of sincere admiration of the truly beautiful for true reasons. But in order to know how to begin directing this force of admiration, we want the help of a competent mind and this is what Mr. Havell's book gives us. It is an account of how a trained mind may look to relate itself to Indian art, primarily to the great works of the past, but secondarily also to the possibility of present and future. From this point of view the work is as useful to the European as to the Indian reader. But in its communication of courage and inspiration, it is of supreme value to us.

Our author rightly feels that Indian art is only to be understood through Indian ideals. He points out that the current idea, that

India derived her art from Greece, is of very little consequence so long as it is admitted that her *ideals* were not derived from Greece. "It is of course true that every nationality, when it seeks to work out its artistic ideals, makes use of any agents, native or foreign, which happen to be within reach. But the Greeks no more created Indian sculpture and painting than they created Indian philosophy and religion. Their aesthetic ideals were essentially different from those of India, and they never at any time imposed them upon Indian art, which, in its distinctive and essential character, is entirely the product of Indian thought and Indian artistic genius."

This is a fine argument, finely stated. Throughout his published writings, Mr. Havell always answers the charge of the derivative character of Indian works of art, by pointing to the calm and assured orientalism of their style. If the Taj could really have been the product of an Italian mind, the fact would have constituted the greatest miracle in history. If Hellas had really given birth to an art so unlike her own as the Indian, it would have been the supreme paradox. Hitherto, as he very aptly points out, the European criticism of Indian art has lacked the aid of minds with a thorough artistic training. Art cannot be studied as a side issue of archaeology or literature. It is an end and a mode, in and for itself. Only those who are capable of judging of the differences between Greek and Indian art, are competent to discuss what either may owe to the other.

The European pre-conception that India at all times borrows everything from the West, has been unspeakably discouraging to Indian originality and self-respect. The usual movement of ideas like races is from East to West, but, as in the present age so also in the past, there have been back-currents, and reflex trade-routes occasionally, and the development of the child does often, after maturity, influence that of the parent, so that the Hellenic contact is not inconceivable as a powerful factor in Indian evolution. That there was such a contact in the fourth century B.C., is a known historical fact, and its duration and energy, are points that yet remain to be determined, as elements affecting the truth about Indian sculpture.



E. B. HAVELL, ESQ.

Mr. Havell thus sums up the historic argument :

"At the beginning of the Christian Era, and for some centuries previously, when the classic art of Europe had already passed its zenith, India was drawing in towards herself a great flood of artistic culture from Western Asia, derived originally from the far-distant sources of Babylon and Assyria, but strongly tinged with the subsidiary stream which was then flowing back into it from Greece and Rome. Out of these eclectic influences joined with the old indigenous traditions, Indian religious thought quickly formulated a new synthesis of art, which in its turn became the source from which other great currents flowed North, South, East and West.

"In these early centuries of the Christian Era, and from this Indian source, came the inspiration of the great schools of Chinese painting which from the seventh to the

thirteenth centuries stood first in the whole world. Successive hordes of Asiatic invaders, beginning with those which flocked like vultures to gather the spoils of the decaying Roman Empire, kept open the high ways between East and West, and brought a reflex of the same traditions into Europe. The influence of India's artistic culture can be clearly traced, not only in Byzantine art, but in the Gothic cathedrals of the middle ages. Europe is very apt to dwell upon the influence of Western art and culture upon Asiatic civilisation, but the far greater influence of Asiatic thought, religion, and culture upon the art and civilisation of Europe is rarely appraised at its proper value

"From the seaports of her Western and Eastern coasts India at this time also sent streams of colonists, missionaries, and craftsmen all over Southern Asia, Ceylon, Siam, and far distant Kambodia. Through China and Korea Indian art entered Japan about the middle of the sixth century. About A. D. 603 Indian colonists from Gujerat brought Indian art into Java, and at Borobudur in the eighth and ninth centuries Indian sculpture achieved its greatest triumphs. Some day, when European art criticism has widened its present narrow horizon, and learnt the foolishness of using the art standards of Greece and Italy as a tape wherewith to measure and appraise the communings of Asia with the Universal and the Infinite, it will grant the nameless sculptors of Borobudur an honourable place amongst the greatest artists the world has ever known."

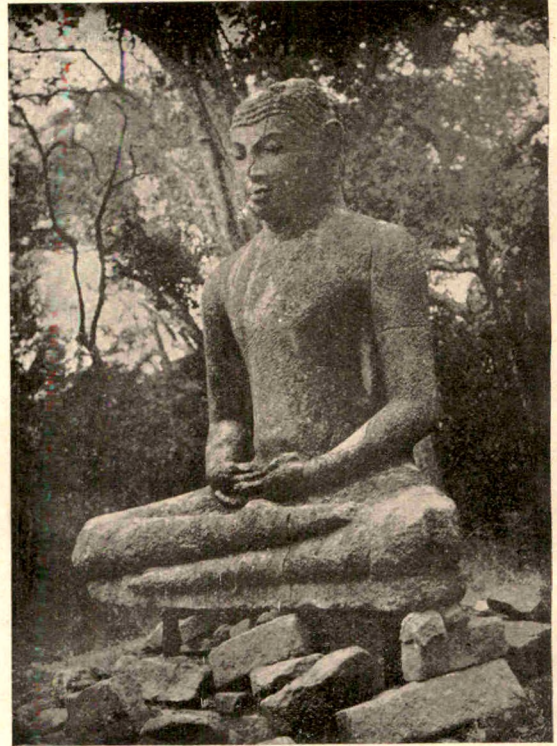
Full value is here given to any direct influence that Greek art may have had upon Indian. But it will be noticed that even accepting this at its highest estimate, the later art of India cannot be accounted for, unless, as here, we postulate those indigenous elements whose vigour and importance made it possible in the earlier period to assimilate foreign influences. This has to be understood, that without a genuine creative faculty of our own, all the art universities of the world would be powerless to make original creators of us. They could make nothing more than images or reflections of creation. The Bharhut sculptures in the Calcutta museum are witness sufficient, to any one who cares to

and see them, of an art which was Indian before the contact of India with classical Europe. Those sculptures themselves probably date from about 150 B.C. No one has ever suggested any Greek influence in them and it is clear that the hands that undertook to work on such a scale in stone had received their previous training in perishable materials like wood and clay. Whatever foreign influences may be brought to bear, the one question of importance, with regard to any art history, is whether or not there was enough native vigour and faculty to result in the eventual assimilation of those influences. Mr. Havell's whole book is a demonstration of the answer to this question, in the case of India.

Our author's next point is one of great delicacy and significance. Still combating the European idea that India's place in great art is to be marked as absent, he takes up the question of ideals. Sculpture is appraised, in Europe, according to its qualities of physical portraiture. Anatomical and physiological perfection are to it the starting-point of all beauty. "Imitation is the real and only end of all fine art." Really this last sentence does not do justice to the intention of European art. The Zeus of Olympus and the Moses of Michael Angelo were not imitations of anything in nature. But undoubtedly the notion that "imitation is the real and only end of all fine art" is the common conception of Europe to-day, and, is that element in European art which has been grasped by India, in the persons of Ravi Varma and his followers.

Mr. Havell boldly sets forth the theorem that Indian sculpture has from the beginning had a totally different ideal. According to him, the Indian artist believes that the highest type of beauty must be sought after, not in the imitation, or selection, of human or natural forms, but in the endeavour to suggest something finer and more subtle than ordinary physical beauty. "When the Indian artist models a representation of the Deity with an attenuated waist and abdomen, and suppresses all the smaller anatomical details, so as to obtain an extreme simplicity of contour, the European declares that he is sadly ignorant of anatomy and incapable of imitating the higher forms of nature. But

the Indian artist would create a higher and more subtle type, and suggest that spiritual beauty which, according to his philosophy, can only be reached by the surrender of worldly attachments and the suppression of worldly desires."



GAUTAMA, THE EARTHLY BUDDHA.
(From Anuradhapura, Ceylon, but the style
is that of Magadha)

Reproduced from Mr. Havell's book.

This argument, the author carries into considerable detail. The self-controlled man being the Indian spiritual ideal, it is clear that there must be a physical type corresponding to it. And this he finds admirably suggested in that one of the thirty-two principal *lakshanas* (or 'marks of Siva,' as they are called, in Modern Bengal) which demands that "the upper part of the body shall be like that of a lion."

As Mr. Havell points out, the most striking characteristic of the Indian lion is its broad, deep shoulders, and narrow contracted abdomen, making it wonderfully analogous to the new spiritualised body which the Indian sculptures aimed at giving Buddha after his enlightenment, "broad

shouldered, deep-chested, golden-coloured, smooth-skinned, supple and lithe as a young lion." In thus going back upon the sources of our greatest creations, and making clear to us our own master ideals, Mr. Havell has rendered an immense service to Indian criticism.

The illustrations of this wonderful volume are unexampled in their variety and interest. India is a country whose attainments can be measured still better by what she has done for others than by what she has kept for herself. It is in the circle of daughter civilisations that we find the surest records of what she has achieved. Our author has been well advised in drawing upon the art of Thibet, Nepal, Ceylon and Java for his examples. Most of those Indians who read his pages will learn, we fear, for the first time, of the Indian Colony, who wrought the great temple of Borobudur in Java. If we want to realise the immeasurable difference of spirit between the semi-Greek art of Gandhara, in the first or second century of the Christian Era, and genuine Indian sculpture, secure in conscious possession of its

own sources of inspiration, we cannot do better than compare the Lorian Tangai relief of Buddha Preaching with the same as treated at Borobudur. Well may Mr. Havell say that the Indian ideal was never realised in Gandharan art and any one who has visited the Gandharan sculptures in the Calcutta Museum and stood face to face with the smart military looking young men 'who pose uncomfortably there in the attitudes of Indian asceticism', their moustaches touched with all the hairdresser's latest art, will echo his words. There is nothing here of the lofty calm and simplicity of the Buddhas of Magadha, nor is there the spontaneous sweetness and gentleness of the Dhyan Buddha of Borobudur. How gradual is the building up through century after century of those great ideals that later generations are to inherit with their first breath! Well may the writer say, "European art has, as it were, its wings clipped: it knows only the beauty of earthly things. Indian art soaring into the highest empyrean, is ever trying to bring down to earth something of the beauty of the things above."

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

THE VALUE OF TRADITION IN ART

THE closing years of the last century have been marked with signs of change, (for better or worse who can tell?) in every department of human activity. In the realm of art this era of change has ushered into existence startlingly new conceptions: principles and ideals of aesthetics that had dominated for centuries have given place to "up-to-date" theories engineered by "the progressives" of the nineteenth century. While the age of new ideas has given birth to really sound and brilliant notions of truth in some cases, in others the heritage of the preceding ages have been overlooked, nay, despised and rejected by us in the fascination of the new and the bewildering. On the threshold of a renaissance India, to-day, is confronted with a series of new ideas which threaten to displace and sweep away the accumula-

ted traditions of her past years. It is premature to premise whether India stands to lose or gain by her barter of old lamps for new. In the problem of reshaping Indian art and industries it is important therefore to consider how much of the remnants of antiquity, it would be useful to retain and how much to demolish. The most radical of the art reformers of the nineteenth century have in building up the *art nouveau* of their time thought fit in many instances to adopt and perpetuate the methods and aims of the works of their predecessors and have not despised to make of the doings of the master craftsmen of old precedents for the coming generation. It may be interesting to trace and follow up what part traditions have played in the development of art and generally to assess the futility or otherwise of sticking to specific ideas and points of

views in reforming the art of a particular community and helping its development on lines peculiar to itself.

A French writer has somewhere said—"It is in the arts themselves as they exist, that we must find the elements to rejuvenate them". There is a tendency in the modern art movements to learn and teach something fresh—to make a break with the past. The effect sometimes is to check the natural and continuous development—the evolution of art. Strictly speaking all new comers of art do nothing but continue systematically a long evolution,—spinning out the thread at the end left by their predecessors. For in one sense art is neither ancient nor modern but perpetual. Painting, for instance, in its broadest aspects preserves from age to age a real continuity. Styles may change but the essentials remain. This continuity of ideas through the varying moods of time, very similar to the continuity and preservation of the human race, seems one of the important characteristics if not the essence of art understood as a form of human expression. In art as in reality, one is always somebody's son. One never invents anything, one only repeats—although one may marvellously improve. This improvement, this development, of the art of any particular community must be on lines consistent with its ancient history, with its known characteristics, its own traditions.

Nevertheless, it is commonly believed and constantly asserted that the present day art has been shown to be in advance of that of the past or rather that if not equal to it in some so-called or academical qualities, it is acquiring so many "new lights" from the general progress of art. The tendency of nineteenth century art, therefore, has been to assert its independence of the centuries that preceded it, to rely no longer on a tradition with which the times were out of touch; to look forward rather than look backward, to learn from nature rather than from the old masters. What then is the scope or value of tradition in the development of art?

Tradition is the accumulation of previous modes or manners of expression crystallized under certain wholesome principles and system of work found on trial to be useful by our predecessors. Can there be any

development without traditions? On the other hand does tradition in any way thwart or stunt the growth of art? Respect for old age otherwise called tradition is, in the field of art, vindicated by the popularity and the worship of the old masters. Now there are two classes of views with regard to the debt we owe to the old masters and their influence on the present day artists. Sir Joshua Reynolds in his "Lectures" says:—"Study the great works of the great masters for ever. Consider them as models *which you are to imitate...*" There is no phase of modern painting however startling in its novelty, however audacious and revolutionary in its originality, which can not be paralleled among the most universally respected of these "old masters." "It is mere ignorance" says John Ruskin—"which engenders the vanity of supposing that we can invent at a stroke a new style of architecture, a new method of looking at nature, a new manner of painting—there is nothing new under the sun". Strictly speaking there is no new discovery to be made in the field of art and that the only possible development is in the power of expression. The other class says:—"The mere imitation of the style of a past age can never produce a great work of art. The form and demands of art have changed and expanded with the advance of time. The artistic wants not less than the artistic capacities of succeeding ages are entirely different; how should the principles which produced an art for the one be capable of producing an art suitable to the other? It is too much to expect one to worship everything ancient and to despise everything modern. By too much inhaling of traditional forms one loses the power to assimilate new ideas. That would be stifling all originality. By too much thinking in one set of ideas, we get blunted. All originality must disappear when every attempt to break away from tradition is treated as almost a criminal offence. The true leaders of art education are the men who are ready to change their methods as circumstances demand. A hard and fast system can produce nothing but stereotyped effect. Rules are the fetters of genius. We must break the leading strings which tie us to the old system, we must discover fresh fields and pastures new. While new traditions are being created,

new cannons of taste are being established, new creeds are springing up, we must not go on bowing down to our old battered and absurd idols, worshipping them not because they are of any use to us but simply because they are old. Being asleep so long like Rip Van Winkle, we do not realize that a new generation has sprung up which regards us as out of date. Like the natives of the Fiji Islands they want to kill off their parents when they are old.

Yet there is another class of thinkers who take a middle path between the two extreme views. "Traditions" they say "should not be preferred to opportunities. You are so scrupulous about observing this rule or that formula that you forget that there is anything else to be taken into account. To make new experiments does not necessarily mean disloyalty to great traditions. Worthy traditions must be upheld in a worthy manner. Instead of plodding along in the actual footsteps of the old masters—what we want to see is a proper spirit of independence and a serious striving after originality. We laugh at artists who flourished generations ago because we see that they hedged themselves round with conventions and followed more or less ineffectively a rigid set of rules. In avoiding their conventions you are trotting one after another in just as narrow a round of conventions. You have substituted a new convention for an old one—a habit of eccentricity for a matter of custom—and you have not got appreciably further on the road to great and inspired art. If an artist of striking originality does chance to appear, most of you scout him and do your best to keep him from acquiring authority, and the few who do attach themselves to him discredit him by turning into a convention his mannerisms and personal tricks of style.—None of you take the trouble to think for yourselves." There is a good deal of force and soundness in this argument. Glancing through these ideas the questions suggest themselves: Does modern art sum up all that has gone before (in the manner of composite photographs) and add something of its own or has it in spite of its broader vision neglected or forgotten some of the fundamental principles of art? Were the old masters with their obvious limitations both of subject and treatment consciously reject-

ing what they conceived to be beyond the reach of art, or had they merely failed to realize then the full scope and possibilities of their crafts? Has everything possible been attempted or achieved or are there still new worlds to conquer?

In the first place every work of art must be in harmony not only with received ideas but also with independent artistic ones. Even when the genius of artists rests on pre-existing ideas or is inspired by ideas of another age or other countries, it must transform them by impressing upon them the seal of its individuality and by making them applicable to the manners and conventions of the time. To be faithful to the traditions of our ancestors is not necessarily to be slaves of the formulas of these elders. Yet the training must be wrong indeed if it is based on nothing but tradition. Whenever tradition and only tradition has been the watchword of painting, art has declined until the inevitable reaction sets in and experiment in search of fresh methods takes its place. In every period of art history it has been observed again and again, that immediately following the rise of new ideas in art a period of imitation and repetition sets in and it is this that is called decadence. Again in course of time men grow weary of imitation. They launch out once more in other directions and new movements begin. Unhappily for them and unfortunately for the works of their predecessors the new age does not necessarily work on the traditions of the old nor begin where the other left off. It does not, as it ought to, gather up the threads of all that has gone before. It will be admitted of course that by the process aforesaid each school of ideas, starting on its own account, necessarily wastes a good deal of time and thought—which would otherwise have been saved if it had only harked back to the deserted posts of their predecessors in the field and started the work at the point they left unfinished. The new comers in the field not only deprive themselves of the valuable materials stored up in the results attained by previous workers but stand in in the way of a systematic evolution and thus stifle the potentiality of any set of ideas by neglecting or refusing to carry them on to their ultimate consummation.

How far one new generation of artists suckled in the traditions of a previous age is guilty of imitation and prevents by their own actions the development of their power of invention and individual specialities, is a question that requires some elucidation.

In the first place any artist can be a follower, that is to say, be faithful to the traditions of his art without sacrificing one jot of his independence. To illustrate, Sir Edwin Landseer stands alone in his own sphere, yet as an animal painter he was a follower of Snyders, but in no sense an imitator. So Sir Frederick Leighton was inspired by and was greatly indebted to the ideal Greek sculpture, yet everything he has done is his and his alone. The same remarks apply to the works of George Frederick Watts and Sir Edward Burne-Jones. In the second place we can not exclude all imitation of others. If we were forbidden to make use of the advantages which our predecessors afford us, *art would always have to begin and consequently remain always in its infant state* and it is a matter of common observation that no art was ever invented and carried to perfection at the same time. An artist must not only be of necessity an imitator of the works of nature but also of other artists. Some writers admit that our study is to begin by imitation, but maintain that we should no longer use the thoughts of our predecessors. Invention is one of the marks of genius; but if we consult experience we shall find that it is by being conversant with the thoughts of others that we learn to think. A mind enriched by the assemblage of all the treasures of ancient and modern art will be more elevated and fruitful in resources, in proportion to the number of ideas which have been carefully collected and thoughtfully digested. *Those who have the most of materials have the greatest power of invention.* The true and liberal ground of imitation is an open field; where he who precedes, has had the advantage of starting before. You may always propose to overtake him, it is enough however to pursue his course; you need not tread in his footsteps; and you certainly have a right to outstrip him if you can. What is learned in this manner from the works of others becomes really our own, sinks deep and is

never forgotten, nay, it is by seizing on this clue that we proceed forward and get further and further enlarging the principles and improving the practice of our art.

Sir Joshua Reynolds has some very pertinent remarks in this connection. "We must not rest contented with the study of the moderns; we must trace back the art to its fountain heads; to that source from which they drew their principal excellences, the monuments of pure antiquity"... "All the inventions and the thoughts of the ancients whether conveyed to us in statues, *bas-reliefs*, intaglios, cameos or coins are to be sought after and carefully studied, the genius that hovers over these venerable relics may be called the father of modern art. From the remains of the works of the ancients the modern arts were revived and it is by their means that they must be restored a second time. However it may mortify our vanity, we must be forced to allow them our masters and we may venture to prophesy, that when they shall cease to be studied, arts will no longer flourish and we shall again relapse into barbarism. No man need be ashamed of copying the ancients: their works are considered as a magazine of common property always open to the public whence every man has a right to take what materials he pleases and if he has the art of using them they are supposed to become to all intents and purposes his own property. For, he who borrows an idea from an ancient or even from a modern artist not his contemporary, and so accommodates it to his own work that it makes a part of it, with no seam or joining appearing can, hardly be charged with plagiarism."

It will be interesting to quote the remarks of John Ruskin which are pertinent to the subject. "The originality which proves vital does not mean doing what no body has ever seen attempted before; it means spontaneity of genuine thought and unaffected feeling, working within traditional bounds with complete power and insight; it is parallel to the vexed conception of Free Will in Ethics, and as much misunderstood. In reviewing the history of art it becomes evident that the great achievements have been *in development of existing ideals and methods not in antagonism to them*; the more we know about the great schools the more we are forced to recognize

their continuity." In discussing the value of tradition we must distinguish the effect thereof from mere convention. To quote Dr. Coomaraswamy, "Convention may be defined as the manner of artistic presentation while traditions stand for a historic continuity in the use of such conventional methods of expression. Many have thought that convention and tradition are the foes of art and deem epithets "conventional and traditional" to be in themselves of the nature of destructive criticism. Convention is conceived solely as limitation, not as a language and a means of expression. But to one realizing what tradition really means, a quite contrary view presents itself; that of the terrible and almost hopeless disadvantage from which art suffers when each artist and each craftsman, or at the best each little group and school, *has first to create a language before ideas can be expressed in it.* For tradition is a wonder-

ful expressive language. It is the mother tongue, every phrase of it rich with the countless shades of meaning read into it by the simple and the great that have made and used it in the past."

"As long as art is living, tradition remains plastic, and is moulded imperceptibly by successive generations. The force of its appeal is strengthened by the association of ideas,—artistic, emotional and religious. Traditional forms have thus a significance not merely foreign to an imitative art, but dependent on the fact that they represent rather race conceptions than the ideas of one artist or a single period. They are vital expression of the race mind: to reject them, and expect great art to live on as before would be to sever the roots of a forest tree, and still look for flowers and fruit upon its branches."

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOPADHYAY.

A MESSAGE AMERICA GAVE ME FOR INDIA

IT was the night of the Bellingham riot. Labour bullies had gone to the various timber mills, and, at the point of revolvers, made Indian immigrants quit their work. The sad-faced, meek-looking Indians did not know what they had done during their sojourn in America, that should have merited their being hounded by "poor white trash", swayed by the base passions of the give and take of sordid commercialism, and lacking the finer sentiments of humanity and brotherhood. It was veritably a bolt from the blue that had been hurled upon the inoffensive, peace-loving, industrious, frugal "Hindus". Their virtues had excited the pique of the beer-drinking, beef-eating labour element of the Western city—this element being chiefly composed of the refuse of Europe. The "Hindus," though ignorant of the language and institutions of the country, could save more money than could the white labourers: and this constituted the sole grievance against the men from "India's coral strand". Ethics does not guide the lives of American labourers or capitalists. Might is the only

right in Christian countries; and our panic-stricken men fled to the police station to avert the possibility of their being done to death. Their faces, bearing the traces of poverty, famine, plague and malaria, became more ineffably saddened as they congregated in a long, narrow room, protected, for the time being, from the ruffians howling outside.

I was not in Bellingham when this unrighteous affair took place; but the wire flashed the news to me, three thousand miles distant. I was inexpressibly uneasy and agitated when I sought my bed. My imagination pictured the panic-stricken, pained expressions on the faces of my unfortunate countrymen, and they haunted my eyes, wherever I would cast them on the brightly electric-lit walls and ceilings of my bed room. Each succeeding moment heaped additional worry on my mind—conjured up before my brain new fears and misgivings. Finally, through sheer exhaustion, I fell into a troubled stupor.

"What's the use of worrying? Forget it," I heard someone saying to me.

I have a dim recollection of saying something about my "national pride" having been hurt by the Bellingham affair.

"Your *national* pride hurt? Eh? It is good that your NATIONAL pride is wounded. It is good that you have such a thing as NATIONAL PRIDE."

I wanted to say something. What, I do not remember at the time of this writing—but my visitor bade me be quiet. His gesture commanding me to be silent was peremptory. I was awed and held my peace.

"You from India—and you have *pride*—*national* pride? You have national pride? You from India, and yet swayed by a national pride?" said the voice, slowly, thoughtfully, almost automatically, as if the lips were not speaking—as if the brain itself was speaking, as it thought, slowly.

"The times must have changed," continued the voice. "Even slow India must be 'getting a move on itself'; for I had heard it said that you never could insult a Hindu—an Indian—so that you could raise his temperature, injure his pride. But are you sure that your pride—your *national* pride is hurt? Yes, your national pride is hurt—otherwise why should you tell me so—you can gain nothing by deceiving me—you *cannot* deceive me, even if you will to do so."

There was a short lull: then the voice said:

"This newly acquired spirit of national pride shall redeem India. The fault with Hindostan, so far, has been that its foolish people put a premium on the intelligence and sincerity of the foreigners and belittled the accomplishments of their own countrymen. The native of India has been much too eager to hang on the praise of the alien, and has shown no interest in appreciating the work of the members of his own race. He has looked down upon the products of his own land. While the artists and craftsmen of his motherland have starved, he has extended his patronage to the skilled workers of other nations. You can rob a child by giving him a piece of candy. Foreigners have despoiled Hindostan in much the same fashion. In England, and even in America, men and women have ground their own axes by pretending that they were advancing the cause of India. If national

pride surges in the veins of young India, these vagaries will be wiped off the slate of existence. When the national pride will smart and hurt because Indian immigrants are being maltreated in foreign lands, a nationhood, one and indivisible in its community of interest, will be born in Hindostan. When the pride of manhood runs riot in the country, the native Indian will look with disdain upon relying upon the good offices of foreigners for the salvation of his country. The Indian will strive for his own uplift, moral and material."

While I was listening to these words, it faintly dawned upon me that it was the spirit of the United States that was preaching to me this philosophy of manhood. I asked the spirit if our men on the Pacific Coast were not *real* men. They had crossed many seas and oceans, with bare passage money in their pockets, risking their very lives, with the pain of separation from wife and children tugging at their hearts. They had shown a spirit of adventure—of manhood.

"Yes," quoth the spirit, "your countrymen on the West Coast of the United States and Canada are men, in the best sense of the word: but remember, India wants its real men, and every one of them—to stay right at home and shoulder the brown man's burden—a burden that has meant, at best, as much to the world at large as, if not more than, the much talked-about 'white man's burden'. If the Indian wants to demonstrate to the world that a new spirit of manhood is at large in India, let him show a proof of it by manfully modernizing Hindostan. Let him pluck out the hindering old and cast it aside. Let him catch hold of the progressive new and plant it in the country. Above all, let the manly man of India feel that so long as his country has to rely, to any extent, on the initiative of the foreigner, his kinsmen abroad will not be respected by free nations."

As the spirit of America uttered these words, they became seared in my brain. I was struck by their logic—inspired by their rhetoric. My emotions must have been writ plainly on my countenance, or the spirit read my sentiments as they seethed

in my brain, which was in volcanic activity, for America said to me:

"It is good that you are agitated. Anything is better than stagnation: that is death. Tell your countrymen they *must* conquer the *inertia* of ages. There *must* be no lolling about for your people—not for many a century. A glorious future awaits India. But it will not be *given* to Indians—Indians must work for it. Let them deserve it first—then they will receive it."

But—

"I know what you want to say. You wish to tell me that Indians deserve better than they get at home or abroad. I have heard this said. But remember, this world is so fashioned that between you and your merit, nothing, not even God's will, can stand. So long as a goodly number of your people do not realize that there is a divinity in them and that they should not abase themselves before foreigners—so long as the major portion of your people do not make up their minds that they will not scrape and bow like inferiors to aliens, but demand reciprocity—no more, no less than reciprocity—India cannot claim to have reached the stage of adolescence: Therefore, India cannot get all that is coming to it."

As I heard the words, I could not help revolving in my mind that it was a sheer impossibility to attempt to breathe a spirit of "I-am-as-good-as-you" into the Indian masses, steeped in ignorance and haunted by poverty and plague. Reading my inward cogitations, the spirit of America encouragingly said:

"It is beneath manhood to be daunted by the stupendousness of the task. The work has got to be done—*got to be done*. Tell your countrymen *that*. The whole thing can not be brought to pass within an hour's time, neither man nor God expects that of your nation. But both God and humanity expect that India will take up the brown man's burden—take it up manfully, and shoulder it patiently and conscientiously."

"And pray, what is this 'brown man's burden' you speak of?" I interjected.

"Simply this: Let the Indian feel inspired with the conviction that there is no such thing to be expected as the world respecting a crying, whining nation; and let him work for national progress so that the white man

will feel ashamed of ever having mentioned to the brown man that he has to shoulder the 'white man's burden'."

"But who will shoulder the brown man's burden?" I enquired.

"Mostly the Indian youth," laconically replied America. Then the spirit sat beside the foot of my bed, in my rocking chair, radiantly smiling on me—and thinking.

"Mostly the Indian *youth*", said the spirit loudly, once again, after a long pause. "The youth shall redeem India. His enthusiasm shall infuse a new life into the veins of old Hindostan. His lack of respect for traditions, for past and precedent, shall save India from perdition. If Hindostan is to live, it must put a premium on its youth. Youth means life—*vim*. Youth signifies that there is yet hope of India's being lifted out of its age-worn rut. Hindostan must prize its youth, give him every facility for remodeling the old order prevailing in the land."

The spirit spoke fast and vehemently. Conscious that it had made the point, America suddenly stopped short.

As if by hypnotic suggestion, I began to say to myself that in the United States, the youth was really at a premium. In business and governmental offices, the young men and women occupied the positions of trust and responsibility. The young did not seem eager to grow old, so that grey hairs would bring them merited praise and promotion, as is the wont in India. On the contrary, the old sought to stay young. Persons who would consider themselves, in India, to have both feet in the grave were looked upon as young in America.

"What your thoughts are dwelling on is right", said America to me. "We do not consider age—we consider qualifications. The inevitable question of Napoleon, 'What has he done?'—not 'how old is he?'—is what we ask of a man. Why in the name of goodness should we hold down a man, and let the nation miss the benefit of his ability, simply because his head is not bald or his whiskers are not streaked with silver?"

"I will tell you," said the spirit, "how the youth is going to prove India's salvation. Just consider what the young Indian men abroad will do for Hindostan when they return to their native country. They are studying in foreign lands, subjects that are

most tasteful to them—subjects which they are best fitted to master. They are receiving instruction from accomplished teachers, gaining not only a theoretical knowledge of their favourite subject but also a practical training. On settling in the motherland these young men will introduce new vim into agriculture and industries—they will have considerable influence in shaping the material destiny of India. But their influence will transcend the limited sphere of the professional activity in which they may engage themselves. They will do a great deal, consciously and unconsciously, to redeem India from provincialism. They will broaden out the views and sympathies of those with whom they will come in contact, and make their associates realize the fallacy of feeling like the frog which considers its mud-puddle the largest ocean in the world."

As the spirit spoke thus, I thought of a conversation that I had with a young Indian student a few mornings past. This young man had travelled a little and was taught in a technical school in all the details of an important factory. This young student had outlined to me his programme:

"After I finish my educational trip around the world, I will get a few lectures from noted political economists, dealing especially with taxation, land tenure, etc. I go home in April or May. While on the one hand I will be working in a factory, on the other I will be devoting my spare time to two things: (1) in inducing people to establish schools, a net work of them, and diffusing knowledge throughout the country; (2) in diffusing economical knowledge throughout the country, without distinction to man or woman, old or young. Thus in 10 years (I laughed at his enthusiasm, but it is a good thing that he has the vision splendid of youth, for it is needed to combat the depressing effects of the difficulties and trials of propaganda work), I hope to have economic knowledge of how to live and live usefully reach everyone in the country. Then you will not see people throwing copper coins into rivers, hoarding wealth underground, using gold for jewelry and eating with cattle tied about them. I will tell my people how the nations live, and thereby will inspire them to lead happier and more useful lives."

Naturally, the cogency of the spirit's reasoning impressed me forcibly. Seeing that I was pondering over this subject, America paused for a short time, permitting my thoughts to run over the conversation of my youthful friend.

Resuming the thread of conversation, the spirit said:—

"Let me tell you this: we of the United States have not only realized that age is not as important a factor as qualification, as thought the ancients, but we are fast coming into the understanding that our sex alone is not the custodian of absolute verity. We are beginning to feel that ability, not the sex of the applicant, should determine who shall be given a certain post. If a woman has the necessary capability and training to perform certain duties, and if she can work better than a man can, we say, let the girl have the job. All we ask is: 'Can she fill the bill?—an Americanism by which we mean, can she acquit herself creditably. If she can, we give her the opportunity to demonstrate it to us. Do you do as much in your land?'"

Not knowing how to make answer to this query, I held my peace.

"Well, if you have not hitherto given a 'show' to your womanhood, the new spirit of manhood which I want to see developed in India will compel you to give woman a chance in the future. No man ever repressed a woman. Nothing is more contemptible than that."

I was taught to dissociate passion from the spirit world, but the spirit of America spoke quite feelingly and vehemently. Nothing but a face was visible before my eyes, and, as the spirit uttered the last few words, his countenance reddened with wrath. When his passion had somewhat subsided, he commenced afresh:

"This is not a man's world. Thank God that it is not. There would not be much of refinement, of civilization, if it was. Nor is this a mere woman's world. It takes both man and woman to make this world. Why, then, repress man or woman? Let them both develop their talents to their uttermost—let both of them strive to enrich the world. Do not permit your women to become mannish—we must guard against this in America, otherwise our robust civilization will not have enough of refine-

ment and mellowness in it. Do not let your men become effeminate. Let man and woman supplement each other—we need both in this world, to make it a pleasant habitat and a congenial working place."

There was another pause—a pause for my benefit, so that my mind would be able to grasp the full significance of the words the spirit had uttered. With my head drooping on my chest, I cogitated for a long while. Finally I looked up and met the gaze of the spirit, who was benignly smiling over me. Feeling that I had grasped the meaning of his message, America began once more:

"This world is neither man's nor woman's—but it belongs to both, it needs both. This world is not the white man's either. The arrogant Anglo-Saxon may think so. He may in the height of his folly, say that he is destined to lord it over the 'coloured' nations, on the principle of the survival of the fittest. But this is all blatant talk. One of the white nations has been taught, in the first decade of the twentieth century, that the coloured people have progressed enough so that they perhaps the idea of being inferior to the Caucasian. Other Occidental nations are destined to be taught the same essential truth. This is a world of the white and coloured nations. All are needed for the evolution of the human race—all are fundamentally equal. But the white man is supercilious. He does not grasp the truth of

this postulate. He will, though someday—he will know better. But in order that he should know better, your people must shoulder the brown man's burden. They must do everything in their power to evolve themselves. There is no use of butchering whites with picric acid—such a course is positively heinous. The brown man, on the contrary, must advance himself by eliminating hindering features from his polity and by incorporating progressive features in the social fabric. This 'brown man's burden' means the moral and material uplift of India by peaceful and patient methods. Every intelligent Indian must not be contented until he has discovered what the 'brown man's burden' really is, and learned how he can shoulder it."

The last words were uttered in a dreamy drawling manner. They were barely audible. I could follow them only with difficulty. I may have made mistakes in transcribing them here from my mental notes. I understand them, however, understand them meaningfully. And I know others will understand them, for when the echoes of the spirit's words had died out, and I looked up, on the ceiling were congregated the figures and faces of my countrymen on the West Coast of the United States. They had lost their panic-stricken, sad expression. On their countenances was writ large the consciousness of "the brown man's burden."

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

A UNIVERSITY TRAINING IN JOURNALISM

"Edmund Burke said—there were three Estates in the Parliament, but in the Reporter's Gallery yonder there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all."—*Thomas Carlyle*.

"Let me make the newspaper and I care not who makes the religion or the laws."—*Wendell Phillips*,

"Before the century closes schools of journalism will be generally accepted as a feature of specialized higher education, like schools of law or medicine."—*Joseph Pulitzer, Editor of New York World*.

JOURNALISM is one of the best professions of this age. The man who wishes to go into journalism and make the most of it, should be trained for his life

work as a doctor or a lawyer is for his. The 'man behind the pen' in every civilized country is as powerful as the 'man behind the gun'. And as the soldier is marshalled and trained and disciplined for his career so should the journalist be.

The argument often heard that a journalist must 'be born' and not 'made' is absurd. True, some of the great journalists of the past, including those of our own country, were not educated in any school; but they certainly did not attain to the best level of their efficiency without education. These

men substituted self-education for college education. That is, however, at best a crude and antiquated method of getting into journalism. It is an invitation to failure for an average man.

We are now living in a different age from that of the ancients. Both newspapers and newspaper methods have now undergone a radical change. Not only has the number of newspapers increased and the consequent competition, but also their size, their range of topics and the promptness of their service. Specialization in journalism, as in other learned professions, has been carried to its limit. The man who writes the athletics will not meddle with political news. In the same way, the man who does the markets will not be expected to dabble in social affairs. Every man in his special field is working at top-speed; he has no time to help break in a 'cub reporter.' Hence an untrained young man seeking admission to newspaperdom has simply to drift into it whenever he can. He spends perhaps three years in picking up the elements of journalism that might be learnt in three months at a professional school. He grinds at the reporter's job years and years, often without any chance of promotion; if however, he succeeds after a long and hard tussle with his reportorial work in getting admission to the coveted editorial sanctum, presto he discovers that his editorials are not of much value. He has given the best formative period of his life to mechanical routine work. He has followed the news of the day and written it up to 'make it leap to the eye', as the popular phrase goes. He has had no time to school himself to original ideals. He has no knowledge of history, political economy or literature. Consequently, he cannot make any contributory comment of his own to the world's events; he simply borrows and reflects what others have said. The time, therefore, that he has spent in newspaper drudgery is a loss, his effort mostly misdirected and misguided.

It is now admitted by America's educators, no less than by her editors, that a school which fits a man to enter the profession of journalism has a distinct value in the system of modern education. The University of Illinois, in recognition of this demand, has opened a school of journalism

for the better training of future journalists. The courses in this school cover four years leading to a degree, the Bachelor of Arts.

Roughly speaking there are two courses: the general and the technical. The general course comprises English literature, foreign languages, economics, government, sociology and philosophy. For obvious reasons I shall skip over the detailed descriptions of these subjects at present and confine myself to the technical course.

On the technical side the school offers four courses. The first one is called "Newspaper Writing." It is elementary. It takes up the simple problems of reportorial work. The student who is treated as a newspaperman working on a regular newspaper, is sent out with assignments on actual cases. The object of the assignment is to teach him by actual practice what news is, how to 'cover' that news and how to 'unfold' it in 'catchy' newspaper style.

The next course is the "Extended Assignments." It is in general much the same as the preceding one, only it gives special attention to all the larger problems of reportorial work. Topics such as, New Park for the City, Visit of the State Solons, University Water Survey, Conference of High School Teachers, Art Exhibition, Governor's Message to the Legislature and hundreds of others furnish abundant material for longer newspaper "Stories."* The student, however, is not always furnished with a subject by his instructor; he is often required to hunt up his own. The teacher says, what story have you in sight? what happened last night? what is going to happen to-day or to-morrow? Know anything at all? This system of making the student get items of news on his own hock, keeps him on the jump. He is constantly on the scent for news and is necessarily trained to an extent to be alert, wide-awake.

The assigned work is done within a given time. The material thus gathered by the prospective reporter is then subjected to the process of "Copy-reading"; that is, his stories are criticised, discussed and revised before the class. The teacher asks: what

* in American newspaper language, anything printed in a newspaper, except editorials, is a story.

is lacking in this story? Is the information complete? Did the reporter ask the man he interviewed enough questions? Is the opening paragraph strong? Is the last sentence convincing? Is the style of writing as a whole direct, forcible, lively or is it ponderous, dragging? Will you print this story in your own paper? When a man's copy is marked as 'green' he has to take it back and re-write it, until it is satisfactory.

After a student has learnt to write fairly well, he is drilled in writing suitable headings for stories. Practice is also given in correcting galley-proof, enabling the student to read the proof rapidly and correctly and to familiarise himself with the various points of the type.

The third course is "Editing and Editorial Writing." It is in some respects the hardest of all newspaper courses. It presupposes that the student is already well-grounded in the general course and is able to apply his knowledge of history, political science and sociology to subjects that come in for his daily consideration. The editorial writer is trained to pay special attention to force and clearness of style, which alone can make his points stick. Emphasis is also laid in this course on the development of sound and tactful presentation of opinion. But shall the editorial writer be eternally serious? Does it pay a man always to fire up and thunder at the people when his opinion is challenged? Is not human nature at times more easily moved by a dose of humour or a bit of laughter than by miles of logic? It is our common experience that when Xenophon with his trained rhetoric fails to gain our hearts, Aristophanes or Moliere easily wins our sympathies with his comic spirit. The amateur editor is therefore urged to be judiciously witty when there is any use for it. His wit, as some one characterised Matthew Arnold's, should contain plenty of salt and not much pepper. A few of the editorials written in this class last year were the Colonial Policy of Japan, the Future of China, Self-Government in India, Turn-over in Turkey, Tariff Bill in Congress, Need of Reform in Modern Education. They will suggest the vast range of topics covered and the immense amount of information necessary to handle them properly.

The teacher in judging an editorial article

weighs it carefully paragraph by paragraph. He points out the vagaries of style, inaccuracies of statements and unsoundness of principles.

It is an accepted truth that no one can see far into the future unless he can see the past. A man to be thoroughly master of his profession must know the history of that profession, the causes of its success and the reasons of its failure. Studies in the "History of Journalism" come therefore as a matter of course to the student of journalism. At the school of journalism in the University of Illinois, the student is greatly assisted in these studies by copies of old newspapers and facs miles of the earliest journals. Imagine the sensation of a young newspaper man when he handles the facsimile of Leipzig Relation (1609), the earliest known printed newspaper in the world; the old copies of News Letters; Weekly Diurnal; Mercurius Aulicus; Mercurius Politicus; London Gazette (first number); Boston News Letters; New York Tribune. An examination of these papers, besides adding vividness to historical description, gives one some ideas as to the development of illustration, typography and general make-up.

The last course is the "Editorial management". It concerns the direction of editorial policy, the development of public opinion, the organization of editorial and reportorial forces, and the management of a paper as a whole.

The work in all these courses is supplemented by assigned readings in the standard works on journalism, by visits to newspaper plants and by lectures on journalistic subjects by prominent newspaper men.

Each student in order to keep close track of the current events of the day is expected to subscribe to one newspaper for the college year. The school of journalism, however, gives him the exclusive use of twenty of the best newspapers of the country for his study and reading. In addition to this, the University Library with its 130,000 volumes, with its old newspapers and magazines and manuscripts affords unusual opportunities for original investigation along special journalistic lines. It also keeps on file 1100 current periodicals on popular and technical subjects, which are available to the student at all times.

The school of journalism has found by

experience that one of the strong inducements to urge the student to constant practice in writing is to give him an opportunity to see himself in print. To this end the school maintains a University News Bureau. The Bureau serves at present ten leading newspapers. It accepts from the students all articles that are well written and have news value, and sends them to its members for publication. Besides the News Bureau, the local city papers, the university daily, fortnightly and monthly publications have always their hospitable columns open for "good stuff" from the budding journalists.

A few weeks before the close of the college year, the mettle of the embryo journalists is put to a severe test. They are called upon to undertake the publication of the University daily. This newspaper, called the Daily Illini, is a eight-page sheet with forty columns to fill every morning. For a whole week the Illini becomes the laboratory, the clinic, the practice school of the department of journalism. The highest class organises as an editorial board and runs the paper with the co-operation of the less advanced classes as a reportorial force. By general agreement, no one writes a word for the paper until 8 o'clock in the morning before the day of publication. As all copies are to be turned in to the Managing Editor's desk by 4 o'clock, an intense excitement ensues in the Illini Office by half-past three. At that time some reporters are seen rushing into the office in a wild hurry with their stories yet to be written, others are dashing off their copies at the long table scarcely stopping to see what they write and still a few are vainly struggling to catch some news from off the telephones amid the busy murmur that fills the hall. Look yonder at the small exchange editor buried among heaps of papers! He is still glancing hurriedly over the exchanges with his eagle eyes. In that musty corner is the athletic man. He is a 'star' reporter. See how feverishly he is pounding away at the type-writer, putting in the latest base-ball news. In the midst of this apparent hurry and confusion, now the Editor-in-chief, now the Managing Editor, sharply raises his voice and warns: "Fifteen minutes more." "Only ten minutes." "Hustle fellows, hustle." The hustlers are intoxi-

cated with alluring excitement and seem to have lost all sense of time and place. So the editor growls again, "Just five minutes," "Hurry, men, hurry." A few seconds more and all stories are in on time. And just as soon as the editor with the blue pencil glances them over, he rushes the copies off to the printing office, and away starts the lino-type machine. Then at last the Illini sleuths stop to breathe. Sometimes a story develops late in the evening, then the men who are kept on the "dog-watch" see that they get the news in and do not make the whole staff suffer the humiliation of a scoop by rival city papers.

The students in the advanced classes present theses at the end of their courses. Such subjects as the "Place of Personality in Journalism"; "Decline of Editorials"; "Life and labour of Godkin"; Newspaper as a political factor"; "Means of working up a circulation"; "Relation of news column and advertisement column in a country daily"; "Place of weekly paper in American life", form excellent bases for long dissertations. They cannot be written off-hand like breezy newspaper articles; they are serious subjects and require months of careful thought and original research.

The following questions are a sample of those that are usually asked in semester examinations in the "Newspaper writing" class:

1. Give the theoretical plan of a news story, telling what material should be in each part.
2. Write a paragraph on the "introductory paragraph". Write an introductory paragraph.
3. Correct in detail: (a few paragraphs from a proof-sheet)
4. Give briefly in detail what you believe to be the most important qualities in an editorial.
5. Interview the Dean of the Graduate school for a fivehundred-word story on the proposed scheme of a new chair in English.

The last question takes the student out of his examination room and sends him scurrying over the campus to get an audience with the secretive, calm-visaged and not-altogether-easily-accessible Dean. However formidable the task may be, the aspirant to journalism attacks his "subject," for all he is worth, pumps out all he can

and then returns his answer paper to the examiner within the narrow limit of a stated time.

It must be apparent by this time that a school of journalism in order to make its work most effective and practical should have a corps of professors who are themselves successful journalists. They should not only be among the best college graduates, but they should have actually worked on the staff of some great newspapers and have years of journalistic experience behind them. The School of Journalism at the University of Illinois is under the charge of Mr. Frank W. Scott. He is not only a scholar, but a practical journalist. He gained his experience as a newspaper man by working for the Chicago Daily Tribune, "the largest four-page paper in the world," and for country dailies. He is also editor of several of the University publications. Then there are other professors associated with him, some of whom are still actively engaged in journalism. One is an editor of "American Political Science Review," another of "Journal of Political Economy" and the third is no less a man than a former editor of "New York Evening Post," the best written and the most sanely edited paper that there is in the country. All these are real live men.

just as every journalist ought to be. To get in touch with these men is to be in electrical communication with dynamos of inexhaustible energy.

Newspaper work is not a picnic, a summer holiday; it is strenuously hard work. The student in journalism must have at least bull-dog tenacity, plain horse-sense to start with. If he has no brains, no aptitude for journalistic work, no amount of training—not the very best of it for the matter of that!—will make him a journalist. If he has, however, some slight timber for it, a thorough, persistent and scientific training, such as I have here attempted to out-line, will help to make him much above the common run of journalists. His success, as Mr. Grover Cleveland, the late ex-president of the United States, used to say, will be "clean and wholesome." He may not find it possible to follow the advice of Emerson and 'hitch his wagon to a star'; but as a trained man of robust common sense and high ideals, he is sure to serve his fellows better, and exert great power and influence in the community where he lives and works.

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SHIPS AND SHIP-BUILDING IN ANCIENT INDIA

ONE of the most insuperable obstacles in the path of India's industrial progress arises undoubtedly from the almost complete extinction of her shipping and ship-building. And yet India certainly is one of the countries which stands most in need of an indigenous shipping. The sea-borne trade of India is continually expanding with the result of increasing our dependence on foreign shipping for which we have on a rough estimate to pay the price of about 25 crores of rupees a year. We have trade relations with every quarter of the globe, with not only the Asiatic mainland but also with Europe and Africa on one side and Australasia and America

on the other. The total value of this trade is about 344·2 crores of rupees, that of imports being 161·8 crores and exports 182·3 crores and the entire trade lies at the mercy of foreign shippers who are at liberty to impose on us whatever freights they wish to charge for the use of their ships. Even in the matter of our coastal or inter-portal trade, which is also expanding, aggregating in value about 46·37 crores of rupees, a policy of free trade is pursued, throwing it open to the shipping of all the world instead of reserving it, as almost all other countries do, for the national shipping, so that about 85 per cent. is appropriated by foreign shipping leaving

only a seventh to the native. Similarly our entire passenger traffic is in the hands of foreign shippers: our Mahomedan pilgrims to Mecca and other places, our emigrants and immigrants numbering on an average more than 25,000 per year, our passengers that voyage within Indian limits numbering over 15 lacs every year and lastly the out-going and relieving British soldiers of the Indian army numbering more than 25,000 every year, their transport costing also annually about 55½ lacs of rupees—all these have to voyage in foreign ships, while even in the matter of the conveyance of Mails there is no Indian Steamship Company that can take up the work and appropriate the yearly postal subsidy of 7·8 lacs of rupees that now goes to a foreign company. The extent of our dependence will be evident from the fact that in the oceanic trade of which the total tonnage is 11,800,000 tons, our indigenous shipping represents only 95,000 tons or only about 8 per cent., while of the aggregate tonnage of 20·61 million tons in the interportal trade only 3·24 million tons is our own and over 89 per cent. foreign. Our national shipping at the present day means only 130 vessels of under 80 tons each used in the oceanic trade and 7,280 in the interportal trade of the country of under 20 tons each making up in all the insignificant number of 7,410 vessels large and small for a country or rather a continent whose sea-board extends over a length of 4,000 miles and upwards! Our ship-building now is so contracted as to give employment only to 14,321 men who build only about 125 galbats a year in ship-yards of which the number is now reduced only to 48, while the aggregate capital yearly invested in ship-building may be estimated at between 5 and 6 lacs of rupees! This is the position to which a country that was once verily the Queen of the Eastern Waters has been reduced under the Government of the modern Mistress of the Seas—the greatest sea-power in the world at the present day!

All this points no doubt to a most unnatural, nay, a most dangerous state of things, for our national commerce cannot be revived and maintained unless supported by a national shipping. And yet, be it remembered and known, this condition of

things is entirely a modern creation, the result of the operation of the complex forces, political and commercial, which her British connection has brought to bear upon India. Only a century ago ship-building in India was quite a flourishing industry. Ships could be and were built which sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships and under the convoy of British frigates. For this we can adduce the testimony of no less an authority than Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, who was able to say in 1800: "From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress and supported by abundant and increasing supply of timbers) it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal." Again: "The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England." Bombay was possessed even of greater natural facilities for the construction of ships than Bengal. For "situated as she is between the forests of Malabar and Gujarat she receives supplies of timber with every wind that blows."* Besides the teak-wood vessels of Bombay were greatly superior to the oaken walls of old England. Lieutenant-Colonel A. Walker wrote in 1811: "It is calculated that every ship in the navy of Great Britain is renewed every twelve years. It is well-known that teak-wood built ships last fifty years and upwards.†. Many ships Bombay-built after running fourteen or fifteen years have been bought into the navy and were considered as strong as ever. The *Sir Edward Hughes* performed, "I believe, eight voyages as an Indiaman before she was purchased

*"Considerations on the Affairs of India written in the year 1811" by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Walker H. L. 1813 (445-VI, p. 316.

† Sister Nivedita has informed me of the interesting and significant but hardly known fact that such of our old wooden ships as still survive—for the seasoned wood of which our ships are built has a definite length of life—have passed it second and third hand into the coast trade of North-western Europe and are still to be met with in Norway, Scotland, Holland and other little countries on the seaboard. And so the good old sail-shipping which steam shipping has weeded out everywhere in the world still lingers on in India and to her is given the chance of reviving it and giving it back to the world, which cannot outgrow its need.

for the navy. No Europe-built Indian ship is capable of going more than six voyages with safety." But Bombay-built ships were superior to those built elsewhere not only in point of durability but also in that of cheapness. "Ships built at Bombay," observes the same writer, "also are executed by one-fourth cheaper than in the docks of England," so that "the English-built ships requiring to be renewed every twelve years, the expense is quadruple." As the century wore on however there was a steady decline in Indian shipping, till it is now as we have seen, all but extinct. The rate of decline will be evident from the following facts gathered from Statistical Abstracts :—

	1857	Vessels	Tonnage
Indian (entered and cleared)		34,286	1,219,953
British and British Indian, "		59,441	2,475,477
1898-99			
Indian (entered and cleared)		2,302	133,031
British and British Indian, "		6,219	7,685,000
Foreign		1,165	1,297,601

Thus while in 1857 the Indian tonnage was half that of the British and foreign, in 1898-99 it is only one-seventieth.

It is therefore quite clear that the continuous decline of Indian shipping is quite a modern process, being initiated and furthered by the same economic forces or rather policies which have almost lost to India her ever-famous handloom industry and brought about what a sympathetic writer in the *Times* has justly called 'the greatest industrial tragedy of modern times.' But the same remark fitly applies to the case of our indigenous shipping. For scarcely less brilliant or inspiring than the history of the Indian cotton industry is that of her shipbuilding which once helped to make India the commercial centre of the whole civilised world. The ample page of that history requires to be fully unrolled to our eyes in the present day in order to kindle that enthusiasm, inspire that faith which alone can have the patience and the hardihood to revive an almost extinguished industry and thereby help to raise India once more to the glorious position she attained and long maintained among the nations of the world.

Since the dawn of history and the beginning of recorded time India has been famous for her maritime activities and sea-borne trade, to which there are conclusive references in the native literature of India. As Buhler*

has remarked, "passages in ancient Indian works prove the early existence of a navigation of the Indian ocean and the somewhat later occurrences of trading voyages undertaken by Hindu merchants to the shores of the Persian Gulf and its rivers." These passages from both the Brahminical and Buddhistic texts I have found out† but do not propose to give here. What I desire to bring out here is that the existence and continuance of this maritime trade to which these literary and other kinds of evidence unmistakably point imply also the existence and development of a national shipping without which no commerce can spring up and thrive specially in early times. Unfortunately though Sanskrit and Pali literatures abound with references to the trading voyages of Indians they furnish but few references having a direct bearing on the ships and shipbuilding of India which enabled her to keep up her international connections. I have, however, been able to find out one Sanskrit work‡ which is something like a treatise on the art of shipbuilding in ancient India setting forth many interesting details about the various sizes and kinds of ships, the materials out of which they were built and the like and sums up in a condensed form all the available information and knowledge about that truly ancient industry of India. The book requires a full notice and its contents have to be explained.

The ancient ship-builders had a good knowledge of the materials as well as the varieties and properties of wood which went to the making of ships. According to the *Vriksha-Ayurveda*, or the Science of Plant Life (Botany), four different kinds of wood|| are to be distinguished: the first or the Brahman class comprises wood that is light and soft and can be easily joined to to any other kind of wood; the second or the Kshatriya class of wood is light and hard but cannot be joined on to other classes; the wood that is soft and heavy

† Vide my articles in the *Dawn* for March and April, 1909.

‡ It is not a printed book but a M.S. to be found in the Sanskrit College Library, called the *Vrikshakalpataru*.

|| लघु यत् कोमलं काष्ठं सुघटं ब्रह्मजातिः तत् ।

दृढाङ्गं लघु यत् काष्ठं अघटं क्षत्रजातिः तत् ॥

कोमलं गुरु यत् काष्ठं वैश्यजातिः तदुच्यते ।

दृढाङ्गं गुरु यत् काष्ठं यद्वज्रजातिः तदुच्यते ॥

लज्जनाह्वयं योगेन विजातिः काष्ठं मङ्गलः ॥

* Origin of the Indian Brahman Alphabet, p. 84.

belongs to the third or Vaisya class; while the fourth or the Sudra class of wood is characterised by both hardness and heaviness. There may also be distinguished wood of the mixed, *Dwijati*, class in which are blended properties of two separate classes.

According to Bhoja, an earlier authority on ship-building, a ship built of the Kshatriya class of wood brings wealth and happiness.* It is these ships that are to be used as means of communication where it is difficult owing to vast masses of water.† Ships, on the other hand, which are made of timbers of different classes possessing contrary properties are of no good and not at all comfortable. They do not last for a long time, they soon get rotten in water and they are liable to split at the slightest shock and to sink down.‡

Besides pointing out the class of wood which is best for ships Bhoja also lays down a very important direction for ship-builders in the nature of a warning which is well-worth carefully noting.¶ He says that care should be taken that no iron is used in holding or joining together the planks of bottoms intended to be sea-going vessels, for the iron will inevitably expose them to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea or bring them within a magnetic field and so bring them to risks. Hence the planks of bottoms are to be fitted together or mortised by means of substances other than iron. This direction was no doubt necessary in an age when Indian ships plied in deep waters on the main.

Besides Bhoja's classification of the kinds of wood used in making ships and boats, the *Yuktikalpataru* gives an elaborate classification of the ships themselves based on their size. The primary division¶ is into two classes:—(A) *Ordinary* (Samanya); ships that are used in ordinary river-traffic

or waterways fall under this class; (B) *Special* (*Vishesa*), comprising only sea-going vessels. There are again enumerated ten different kinds of vessels under the *Ordinary* class which all differ in their lengths, breadths and depths or heights. Below are given their names, and the measurements of the three dimensions: §

A. Ordinary (सामान्य):

	Names.	Length. cubits.	Breadth. cubits.	Height. cubits.
(i)	Kshudra (क्षुद्रा)	21	5½	5½
(ii)	Madhyama (मध्यमा)	31½	15½	7
(iii)	Bhima (भीमा)	21	10½	10½
(iv)	Chapala (चपला)	42	21	21
(v)	Patala (पटला)	73½	36½	36½
(vi)	Bhaya (भया)	105	52½	52½
(vii)	Dirgha (दीर्घा)	126	63	63
(viii)	Patraputa (पत्रपुटा)	147	73½	73½
(ix)	Garbhara (गर्भरा)	178½	89½	89½
(x)	Manthara (मन्थरा)	210	105	105

Of the above ten different kinds of *Ordinary* ships, the Bhima (भीमा), Bhaya (भया) and Garbhara (गर्भरा) are liable to bring ill-luck***, perhaps because their dimensions do not make them steady and well-balanced on the water.

Ships that fall under the class *Special* are all *sea-going vessels*.†† They are in the first instance divided into two sub-classes:‡‡ (I) *Dirgha* (दीर्घा) including ships which are probably noted for their length and (II) *Unnata* (उन्नता) comprising ships noted more for their height than their length or breadth. There are again distinguished

§ राजहस्तमितायामा तत्पाद परिणाहिनी ।

तावदेवोन्नता नौका क्षुद्रेति गदिता बुधैः ॥

अतः सार्द्धमितायामा तदर्हपरिणाहिनी ।

विभागेषोत्थिता नौका मध्यमेति प्रचक्षते ॥

क्षुद्राय मध्यमा भीमा चपला पटला भया ।

दीर्घा पत्रपुटा चैव गर्भरा मन्थरा तथा ॥

नौकादशकमित्युक्तं राजहस्तैरनुक्रमम् ।

एकैकहस्तैः सार्द्धं विज्ञानीयाद् इयं इयम् ।

उन्नतिश्च प्रवीणा च हस्तादर्होऽंशलिता ॥

*** अत्र भीमा भया चैव गर्भरा चाशुभप्रदा ।

†† मन्थरा परतो यास्तु तासामेवाशुधौ गतिः ।

‡‡ दीर्घा चैवोन्नता चेति विशेषे द्विविधा भिदा ।

* कवियकाष्टैर्घटिता भोजमते मुखसम्पदं नौका ।

† अन्ये लघुभिः सुदृढैर्विदधति जलदृष्टं नौकाम् ।

‡ विभिन्नजातिव्यकाष्ठजाता न येयसे नापि सुखाय नौका ।

नैषा चिरं तिष्ठति पच्यते च विभिद्यते सरिणि मज्जते च ॥

¶ न सिन्धुगादार्हति लौहवन्धं ।

तल्लोहकान्तैर्क्रियते हि लौहम् ।

विपद्यते तेन जलषु नौका

गुणेन वन्धं निजगाद भोजः ॥

¶ सामान्यं विशेषश्च नौकाया लक्षणद्वयम् ।

ten varieties of ships of the Dirgha (दीर्घा) class and five of the Unnata (उन्नता) class. Below are given their names and the measurements of their respective lengths breadths and heights :

B. Special (विशेष)

I. Dirgha (दीर्घा)* 42 (length) $5\frac{1}{2}$ (breadth) $4\frac{1}{2}$ (height).

Names.	Lengths.	Breadth.	Height.
(i) Dirghika (दीर्घिका)	63	$7\frac{7}{8}$	$6\frac{3}{10}$
(ii) Tarani (तरणी)	63	$7\frac{7}{8}$	$6\frac{3}{10}$
(iii) Lola (लोला)	105	$13\frac{1}{8}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$
(iv) Gatwara (गल्वरा)	126	$15\frac{3}{4}$	$12\frac{3}{4}$
(v) Gamini (गामिनी)	147	$18\frac{3}{8}$	$14\frac{7}{10}$
(vi) Tari (तरिः)	168	21	$16\frac{4}{5}$
(vii) Janghala (जङ्गला)	189	$23\frac{5}{8}$	$18\frac{6}{10}$
(viii) Plabini (प्राविनी)	210	$26\frac{1}{4}$	21
(ix) Dharini (धारिणी)	231	$28\frac{7}{8}$	$23\frac{1}{10}$
(x) Begini (वेगिनी)	252	$31\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{1}{5}$

Of these ten varieties of Dirgha (दीर्घा) ships, those that bring about ill-luck† are Lola (लोला) Gamini (गामिनी) and Plabini (प्राविनी) and also all ships that fall between these three classes and their next respective classes.

II. Unnata (उन्नता)‡

Name.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.
(i) Urddhva (ऊर्ध्वा)	42	42	42
(ii) Anurddhva (अनूर्ध्वा)	63	42	42

* राजहस्तद्वयायामा अष्टांशपरिणाहिनी ।

नौकेयं दीर्घिका नाम दशाङ्गेनोन्नतापि च ।

दीर्घिका तरणिलोला गल्वरा गामिनी तरिः ।

जङ्गला प्राविनी चैव धारिणी वेगिनी तथा ।

राजहस्तकैकवद्वा—नौकानामानि वै दश ।

उन्नतिः परिणाहश्च दशाष्टांशमिति एतत् ।

† अत्र लोला गामिनी च प्राविनी दुःखदा भवेत्

लोलाया मानमारम्य यावद्भवति गल्वरा ।

लोलायाः फलमाधत्ते एव सर्व्वसु निर्णयः ॥

‡ राजहस्तद्वयमिता तावत्प्रसरणोन्नता ।

द्वयसूत्राभिधां नौका चेमाय पृथिवीमुज्जाम् ।

ऊर्ध्वानूर्ध्वस्वर्णमुखी गर्भिणी मन्यरा तथा ।

राजहस्तकैकवद्वा नाम पञ्चएयं भवेत् ॥

अतानूर्ध्वी गर्भिणी च निन्दितं नामयुग्मकम् ।

मन्यराया परा यास्त ताः शुभाय यथोद्भवम् ॥

Name.	Length.	Breath.	Height.
(iii) Svarnamukhi (स्वर्णमुखी)	84	42	42
(iv) Garbhini (गर्भिणी)	105	42	42
(v) Manthara (मन्यरा)	126	42	42

Of these five varieties Anurddhva (अनूर्ध्वा) Garbhini (गर्भिणी) and Manthara (मन्यरा) bring on misfortune, and Urddhva (ऊर्ध्वा) much gain or profit to kings.

According to Bhoja, boats of lengths between 35-45, 40-50, 90-100, 60-70 and 948-958 also are characterised by the ill-luck they bring. ||

The Yuktikalpataru also gives elaborate directions for decorating and furnishing ships so as to make them quite comfortable to passengers. Four kinds of metal are recommended for decorative purposes, viz, gold, silver, copper and the compound of all three. Four kinds of colours are recommended respectively for four kinds of vessels ; a vessel with four masts is to be painted white, that with three masts to be painted red, that with two masts is to be a yellow ship and the one-masted ship must be painted blue. The prows of ships admit of a great variety of fanciful shapes or forms : these comprise the heads of lion, buffalo, serpent, elephant, tiger, bird such as duck, peahen or parrot, frog, and man, thus arguing a great development of the art of the carpenter or the sculptor. Other elements of decoration are pearls and garlands of gold to be attached to and hung from the beautifully shaped prows. ||

|| नौकादीर्घं यथेच्छं स्यात् तवैतानि विवर्जयेत् ।

हस्तसंख्या परित्यज्या वसुवेदयहोत्तरे ॥

षट्पुत्ररमिता नौका कुलं हन्ति वलं धनम् ।

नवनेरुत्तरे यापि या चत्वारिंशतेः परा ॥

* * * * *

वाष्पाद्युत्तर तो मानं नौकानां अशुभं वहेत् ।

पञ्चाशद्दृष्टादृष्टासत् धननाश एयोर्धतः ॥

|| धात्वादीनामतो वच्चे निर्णयं तरिसंश्रयम् ।

कनकं रजतं ताम्रं वितयं वा यथाक्रमम् ॥

ब्रम्हादिभिः गरिष्ठस्व नौका चित्रणकर्म्मणि ।

चतुःशृङ्गा त्रिशृङ्गाश्च द्विशृङ्गा चैकशृङ्गिणी ॥

सितरक्ता पीत नीलवर्णाश्च दद्याद् यथाक्रमम् ॥

वैशरी मङ्गिषो नागो हिरदो व्याघ्र एव च ।

पक्षी नेको मनुष्यश्च एतेषां वदनाष्टकम् ॥

नावां मुखे परित्यज्या आदित्यादिदशसुवाम् ॥

* * * * *

नौकासु मणिविद्यासो विज्ञेयो नवदन्तवत् ।

संक्रान्तवर्क्येता नौका स्यात् सर्व्वतो भद्रा ॥

There are also given interesting details about the cabins of ships. Three classes* of ships are distinguished according to the length and position of their cabins. There are firstly the *Sarbamandira* (सर्वमन्दिरा), vessels which have the biggest cabins extending from one end of the ship to another.† These ships are used for the transport of royal treasure, horses and women.‡ Secondly, there are the *Madhya-mandira* (मध्यमन्दिरा) vessels || which have their cabins just in the middle part. These vessels are used in pleasure-trips by kings and they also are suited for the rainy season.¶ Thirdly, ships may have their cabins towards their prows in which case they will be called *Agramandira* § (अग्रमन्दिरा). These ships are used in the dry seasons after the rains have ceased. They are eminently suited for long voyages and also to be used in naval warfare.** It was probably in these vessels that the first naval fight recorded in Indian literature was fought, the vessel in which Tugra the Rishi-King sent his son Bhujyu against some of his enemies in the distant islands, who being afterwards ship-wrecked with all his followers on the ocean 'when there is nothing to give support, nothing to rest upon or cling to' was rescued from a watery grave by the two Asvins in their *hundred-oared galley*.†† It was in a similar ship that the righteous Pandava brothers escaped from the destruction planned for them, following the friendly advice of kindhearted Bidura who kept a ship ready and constructed for

the purpose, provided with all necessary machinery and weapons of war, able to defy hurricanes.‡‡ Of the same description were also the five hundred ships mentioned in the *Ramayana*||| in which hundreds of Kaivarta young men are asked to lie in wait and obstruct the enemy's passage. And it was further in these ships that the Bengalis once made a stand against the invincible prowess of Raghu as described in Kalidasa's *Raghuvansa*, who retired after planting the pillars of his victory on the isles of the holy Ganges.¶¶

The conclusions as to ancient Indian ships and shipping suggested by these evidences from Sanskrit literature directly bearing on them are also confirmed by similar evidences culled from the Pali Literature. The Pali literature like the Sanskrit also abounds with allusions to sea-voyages and sea-borne trade and it would appear that the ships employed for these purposes were of quite a large size. Though indeed the Pali texts do not usually give the actual measurements of the different dimensions of ships as the Sanskrit texts furnish still they make definite mention of the number of passengers which the ships carried and thus enable us in another very conclusive way to have a precise idea of their size. Thus according to the *Rajavalliya* the ship in which Prince Vijaya and his followers were sent away by King Simhaba (Simhabahu) of Bengal for the oppressions they practised upon his subjects was so large as to accommodate full seven hundred passengers, all Vijaya's followers. §§ Their wives

* सगृह्णा विविधा प्रोक्ता सर्वमध्यायमन्दिरा ।

† सर्वतो मन्दिरं यत् सा ज्ञेया सर्वमन्दिरा ।

‡ राज्ञां कोशाश्वनारीणां यानमवप्रशस्यते ।

|| मध्यतो मन्दिरं यत् सा ज्ञेया मध्यमन्दिरा ।

¶ राज्ञां विलासयावादि वर्षासु च प्रशस्यते ।

§ अग्रतो मन्दिरं यत् सा ज्ञेया अग्रमन्दिरा ।

** चिरप्रवासयावायां रणे काले घन्यात्यये ।

†† तुयोहं मुज्युनश्चिनोदमेघे रविं न कश्चिन्मृशवाँ अवाहाः ।

तमूहथु सीभिरात्मन्वतौभिरंतरिच प्रङ्गिरपोदकाभिः ॥

तिस्रः चपस्त्रिरहातिव्रजजिर्नासत्या मुनुसूहयुः पतंगैः ।

समुद्रस्य घन्वन्नाद्रस्य पारि विभि रथैः शतपङ्क्तिः षलश्वैः ॥

अनारंभणे तदवीरयेयामनास्थाने अग्रभणे समुद्रे ।

यदस्विना ऊहयुर्मुज्युमस्तं शतारिवां नावमातस्थि वांसं ॥

‡‡ ततः प्रवासितो विद्वान् विदुरेण नरस्तदा ।

पार्थानां दर्शयामान मनोमारुतगामिनीं ॥

सर्व्ववातसङ्घां नाव' यन्तुयुक्तां पताकिनीं ।

शिवे भागीरथीतीरे नरेविश्वभिभिः कृतां ॥

* * * *

इयं वारिपथे युक्ता सौरसु सुखगामिनी

भोजयिष्यति वः सर्व्वान् अस्माद्देशान् संशयः ॥

Mahabharata, आदि पर्व्व ।

|| नावां शतानां पञ्चानां कैवर्त्तानां शतं शतम् ।

सन्नञ्जानां तथा युनान्तिष्ठन्त्वित्यभ्यचोदयत् ॥

Ayodhya Kandam.

¶¶ वङ्गानुत्खाय तवसा नेता नौसाधनोयतान् ।

निचखान जयसम्भं गङ्गा सीतोऽन्तरेषु च ॥

§§ Upham's *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, ii., 28, 168. Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, 46, 47.

and children making up more than seven hundred were also cast adrift in similar ships.*

The ship in which the lion-prince Simhala sailed from some unknown part of Jambudvīpa to Ceylon, contained five hundred other merchants besides himself.† The ship in which Vijaya's Pandyan bride was brought over to Ceylon was also of a very large size, for it had the capacity to accommodate eighteen officers of State, seventy-five menial servants and a number of slaves besides the princess herself and seven hundred other virgins who accompanied her.‡ The *Janaka-Jataka* mentions a ship that was wrecked with all its crew and passengers of the favourite number of seven hundred in addition to Buddha himself in an earlier incarnation.¶ So also the ship in which Buddha in the Supparaka-Bodhisat incarnation made his mercantile voyages from Bharukaccha (Broach) to 'the sea of the seven gems' carried seven hundred other merchants besides himself.¶ The wrecked ship of the *Valahassa-Jataka* carried five hundred merchants.§ The ship which is mentioned in the *Samudda-Vaniya-Jataka* was so large as to accommodate also a whole village of absconding carpenters numbering a thousand who failed to deliver the goods (furniture, etc.) for which they had been paid in advance.** The ship in which the Punna brothers, merchants of Supparaka, sailed to the region of the red-sanders was so big that besides accommodating three hundred merchants there was room left for the large cargo of that timber which they carried home.†† The two Burmese merchants-brothers, Tapoosa and Palekat, crossed the Bay of Bengal in a ship that conveyed full five-hundred cart-loads of their own goods, whatever other cargo there may have been in it.‡‡ The ship in which was rescued from a watery grave the

philanthropic Brahman of the *Sankha-Jataka* was 800 cubits in length, 600 cubits in width and 20 fathoms in depth and had three masts. The ship in which the prince of the *Mahajanaka-Jataka* sailed with other traders from Champa (modern Bhagalpur) for Suvarnabhumi (probably either Burma or the 'Golden Chersonese' or the whole further Indian coast) had on board seven caravans with their beasts.

The conclusions pointed to by literary evidences seem further to be supported by other kinds of evidence, sculptural and numismatic, which are still extant. One of the sculptures on the eastern Gateway of No. 1 Stupa at Sanchi represents a canoe made up of rough planks rudely sewn together by hemp or string. "It represents a river, or a street of (fresh) water; with a canoe crossing it; and carrying three men, in the ascetic priestly costume, two propelling and steering the boat; and the central figure, with hands resting on the gunwale, facing towards four ascetics, who are standing, in reverential attitudes, at the water's edge, below."||| According to Sir A. Cunningham,¶¶ the figures in the boat represent Sakya Buddha and his two principal followers and Buddha himself has been compared in many Buddhist writings to "a boat and oar, in the vast ocean of life and death."§§ But General F. C. Maisley is inclined to view this sculpture "as representing merely the departure, or some expedition or mission of an ascetic, or priest, of rank amid the reverential farewells of his followers."*** His main reasons for supporting this view are, firstly, that no representations of Buddha in human shape were resorted to until several centuries later than the date of these sculptures; and, secondly because the representation is that of a common thong-bound canoe and not of a sacred barge suiting the Great Buddha. The only other important and interesting representation of a ship in Indian sculpture is that to be found on the Western Gateway of No. 1 Stupa at Sanchi again. It "represents a piece of water, with a barge floating on it; whose prow is formed by a winged gryphon, and stern by a fish's tail.

* Turnour's *Mahawanso*, 46.

† Si-Yu-Ki, II. 241.

‡ Turnour's *Mahawanso*, 51.

¶ Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 415.

¶¶ Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, 13.

§ Now it happened that five hundred ship-wrecked traders were cast ashore near the city of these sea-goblins.

** "There stood near Benares a great town of carpenters containing a thousand families." (Cambridge translation of the *Jatakas*).

†† Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 57, 260.

‡‡ Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 101.

||| General F. C. Maisley, *Sanchi and its remains*, p. 42.

¶¶ *The Bhikṣu Codes*, 27.

§§ Foe-koue-ki, Ch. XXIV, note 11.

*** *Sanchi and its remains*, p. 42.

The barge contains a pavilion overshadowing a vacant throne; over which a male attendant holds a chatta; while another man has a chaori. A third man is steering or propelling the vessel, with a large paddle. In the water are fresh-water flowers and buds and a large shell; and there are five men floating about, holding on by spars and inflated skins; while a sixth appears to be asking the occupant of the stern of the vessel, for help out of the water."** This sculpture appears simply to represent the royal State barge which quite anticipates its modern successors used by Indian nobles at the present day, and the scene is that of the king and some of his courtiers disporting themselves in an artificial piece of water. But it is also capable of a symbolical meaning, especially when we consider that the shape of the barge here shown is that of the sacred "*Makara*" the fish avatara or Jaraka of the Buddhist, just as the Hindu Scriptures make the "*Matsya*" or fish, the first of the avatars of Vishnu, whose latest incarnation was Buddha.

In passing it may be noted that the grotesque and fanciful shapes given to the prow herein represented are not the invention or innovation of an ingenious sculptor trying his wit in original design: they are strictly traditional and conform to established standards and are therefore identical with one or other of those possible forms of the prow of a ship which we have got preserved for us in the slokas of the Sanskrit work *Yuktikalpataru* quoted and referred to above.†

The next representation of a ship that I would refer to is that which occurs not in India but far away from her; among the magnificent sculptures of Borobudur in Java, where Indian art reached its highest expression amid the Indian environment and civilisation transplanted there. One of the sculptures shows in splendid relief a ship in full sail and a scene recalling the history of the colonisation of Java by Indians during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. "The ship, magnificent in design and movement is a masterpiece in itself. It tells more plainly than words the perils

which the Prince of Gujarat‡ and his companions encountered on the long and difficult voyage from the west coast of India. But these are over now. The sailors are hastening to furl the sails and bring the ship to anchor"|| This sculptured type¶ of a sixth or seventh century Indian ship—and it is the characteristic of Indian art to represent conventional forms or types rather than individual things—carries our mind back to the beginning of the fifth century A.D., when a similar vessel also touched the shores of Java after a more than three months' continuous sail from Ceylon with 200 passengers on board including the famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien. It is noteworthy that "astern of the great ship was a smaller one as a provision in case of the larger vessel being injured or wrecked during the voyage."§

As regards the numismatic testimony directly bearing on Indian shipping we may instance the find of many Andhra coins in the east coast belonging to the second and third century A.D. on which is to be detected the device of a two-masted ship, "evidently of large size." With regard to the meaning of this device Mr. Vincent Smith has thus remarked: "Some pieces bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that Yajna Sri's (184-213 A.D.) power was not confined to the land.** This inference is, of course, amply supported by what we know of the history of the Andhras in whose time, according to R. Sewell, "there was trade both by sea and overland with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt as well as with China and the East.††"

We have now briefly dealt with all the available direct evidence connected with our ancient shipping and ship-building. The evidence, though meagre, is conclusive, specially when it is amply supported by the vast array of facts regarding the sea-

‡ The Javanese chronicles relate that about A. D. 603 a ruler of Gujarat forewarned of the coming destruction of his kingdom started his son with 5000 followers among whom were cultivators, artisans, warrior, physicians and writers in 6 large and 100 small vessels for Java where they laid the foundation of a civilisation that has given to the world the Sculptures of Borobudur.

|| E. B. Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 124.

¶ Reproduced to illustrate Sister Nivedita's review of Mr. Havell's "*Indian Sculpture and Painting*" in the current number.

§ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 269.

** Early History of India, p. 202.

†† *Imperial Gazetteer*, new edition, Vol. II, p. 825.

* *Sanchi and its remains*, p. 59.

† The identity of the form of the prow of the Sanchi barge with that given in the *Yuktikalpataru* may incline one to hazard the conjecture that the work may be compiled from works at least as old as the Sanchi monument, or at any rate the portions treating of prows.

borne trade of India which I shall adduce afterwards. Suffice it to note in conclusion here that even as early as the third century B.C. ship-building in India was such a progressive industry as to be able to supply Alexander with a flotilla of boats by which he effected his passage of the Indus and bridged the difficult river of the Hydaspes, and also his General Nearchus with the fleet which performed the famous voyage to the Persian Gulf. On the occasion of this voyage all available country boats were impressed for the service and a stupendous fleet was formed, numbering, according to Arrian, about 800 vessels, according to Curtius and Diodorus about 1000 vessels but according to the more reliable estimate of Ptolemy nearly 2,000 vessels, which between them accommodated 8,000 troops, several thousand horses and vast quantities of supplies.* It was indeed an extraordinarily huge fleet built entirely of Indian wood by the hands of Indian craftsmen. And if we could give credit to the account of the invasion of India by Semiramis no fewer than 4,000 ships

were assembled in the Indus to oppose her fleet.† Quite the same number of ships was also collected to form a fleet on another more historic occasion when it was necessary to obstruct on the Indus the passage of a yet more formidable foreign invader of India, Mahmud of Ghazni. And we are quite prepared to accept as historical truth, the still more astounding statement of the *Ayeen Akbari*‡ that in the days of that great Emperor the ship-yards of the Circar of Tatta (in Sindh) alone contained no less than 40,000 vessels of various constructions ready-made, while all the ship-yards of the whole of India together cannot turn out more than 125 galbats a year at the present day.

"Men are we and must grieve when even the shade of that which once was great has passed away!"

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI,
*Lecturer in Economics, Bengal
National College, Calcutta.*

† Diod. Sicul. lib. 22. C. 74.

‡ "The means of locomotion is by boats of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000."—Janet's Translation, Vol. I. p. 338.

* See Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 87.

MOURBHANJ

MOURBHANJ is a feudatory State in Orissa, having an area of 4,243 square miles, and has, according to the Census of 1901, a population of 6,10,286 souls. Baripada is the capital of the Mourbhanj State, and is 166 miles distant from Howrah. The Mourbhanj State Railway is connected with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at Rupsa, which is 133 miles distant from Howrah.

Mourbhanj is believed to teem with mineral resources. The greater part of the country is still covered with hills and jungles and is practically unexplored. It was in 1905 that Messrs. Perin and Weld, the American experts, visited a part of the State and found an inexhaustible store of iron-ores of excellent quality, second perhaps to none in the Asiatic continent. It has been arranged to connect the place

with Kalimati Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway by a broad-gauge railway for the transit of the iron-ores, where furnaces are being set up, and it has been calculated that the annual out-turn in pig iron alone will be 1,200,000 tons besides rails, girders, pipes, &c.

Mourbhanj is inhabited by rude tribes such as Sonthals, Bhuiyas, &c. and they are by nature very simple and law-abiding. They do not know what luxury is and they are always content with what they get in their fields with the least labour. About 90 per cent. of the people are illiterate, and whenever a bad harvest is reaped, most of the people have to live on roots and fruits of the jungle or emigrate to British Districts to work as coolies. The wages of labour are very low, not exceeding 2 annas per diem for a male and 1 anna, 6 pies for a female.

With the opening of the State Railway and improved means of communication, the country has attracted the attention of the outside public, and has been gradually becoming a centre of trade. The export trade of Mourbhanj is very promising and has a wide range. The chief exports are as follows:—

- (a) Timber.
- (b) Fire-wood.
- (c) Oil-seeds.
- (d) Rice and paddy.
- (e) Pulses.
- (f) Charcoal.

(g) Jungle produce, such as Myrobalans, Mahua-flowers, Nux-vomica, &c.

(h) Tanning bark.

(a) As the Chief has agreed to lease out the whole forest area to Messrs. B. Barooah & Co., it is of no use for anybody else to try to secure timber leases.

(b) Fire-wood may find a good market at Calcutta, if the railway rate per maund, is reduced a little. It was originally $\frac{1}{3}$ pie per maund per mile and through my exertions, it came down to $\frac{1}{5}$ pie per maund per mile. To compete with the traffic sent from Jhargram and other stations, a further reduction is indispensably necessary, and the object can be achieved with a little exertion.

(c) Of oil-seeds, *Kachra* and *Kusum* may be had in large quantities and they generally find a favourable market in Calcutta. The former is required by the Soap-Factories and the latter by the oil-mills.

Castor-seeds and *Goonja* are obtained in small quantities and they can be sold to advantage locally.

(d) Rice and paddy are available throughout the year, but the profit they fetch is generally small on a heavy outlay. In times of scarcity or famine in the neighbouring districts, they can be exported to advantage.

(e) *Biri* is the principal pulse available in large quantities, and I think it does not find a good market at Calcutta. It is very extensively used in Bengal Jails and the rate offered by the authorities is generally favourable.

(f) Charcoal is lucrative, but the demand, I think, is limited. Railway facilities

for the transport of charcoal are not favourable.

(g) Myrobalans of lowest class are generally available, as the villagers generally pluck the fruits before they are ripe. Even with the disadvantage of a bad quality, they find a good market at Calcutta.

Mahua-flower is obtained in large quantities, and if arrangements be made with Messrs Lyall Marshal & Co. (Managing Agents of Messrs Carew & Co. of Asansole), it may bring in a handsome profit.

Nux-vomica can be got in small quantities only, and the railway freight is very high.

Lac and Tassar are also available in the interior, but the market is so fluctuating that an attempt in this direction can only be made by an expert with due precautions.

(h) Of late, a gentleman of the Madras Presidency has arranged to export tanning bark or bark for tanning purposes to Vizianagram—a place 409 miles distant from Baripada. Calcutta is only 166 miles from Baripada, and I think it desirable for Calcutta men to trade in it, for it is likely to prove lucrative.

I have already said what the exports are, and I should finish this note with what the exports may be in the near future. They are as follows:—

- (a) Building stones.
- (b) Red and yellow ochres.
- (c) Pottery clay.
- (d) Lime-stone.

(a) Building stones can be had near Kuliana—a place about 12 miles distant from Baripada. The contemplated extension of the Mourbhanj State Railway is likely to tap the place in no distant future. The granite rock was leased to Mr. Heynemoun of Calcutta, but it had to be cancelled on his inability to pay due royalty to the State. He had failed to work, owing to difficulties of carting, but all these can be overcome with the extension of the Light Railway.

So far as I am aware of, the nearest place where such stones can be had, is Chunar, which is 439 miles from Howrah. The distance to Kuliana is about 180 miles. With a favourable mileage and the advantage of cheap labour, I think this business worthy of a trial.

(b) and (c) may be attempted if the demand be great and the rate favourable. A few years ago the State Geologist remarked—"There are but few people in India outside the established European potteries who are conversant with the art of pottery on modern methods. This dearth of properly trained men stands in the way of starting not a few profitable industries."

(d) Lime-stone can be had near Goormahisani hill which is shortly to be connected by a broad gauge railway joining the B. N. R. system at Kalimati. The State had the lime-stone analysed by Dr. Schulten with the following result:—

	per cent.
Lime, equivalent to carbonate of lime 89.64	50.20
Magnesia, equivalent to carbonate of magnesia 3.96	1.89
Oxide of iron and alumina	1.53
Sulphuric acid	0.09

Carbonic acid	41.51
Moisture	0.45
Silicic matter	3.52
Organic matter, alkalies and loss	0.81

100.00

I do not know the quality of the lime exported from Kutni, Sutna, Bisra, Ondal or Sylhet and enquiries should be made in the matter.

To conclude, I should say that I spent the greater part of my life in Mourbhanj and I know the place well. For the last 4 years I was the traffic canvasser of the Mourbhanj State Railway, and as such, had much to do with the export and import trade. If any person or firm be really anxious to carry on trade in Mourbhanj, I may arrange for the same.

ABINASH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

Bankura.

MR. GANDHI'S JAIL EXPERIENCES

THREE little booklets written in Gujarati were sent to our office for review, and on perusal we found them worthy of a more important treatment than a mere review; we also thought they deserved a wider reading public than that furnished by the limited number of our Gujarati-knowing readers. Taking advantage of Mr. Polak's presence in India, we spoke to him, and he agreed with us, and also kindly placed at our disposal several files of "Indian Opinion," in which these "experiences" had appeared both in English and Gujarati, for comparison. We found the Gujarati narrative fuller, and more detailed. We hope that after perusal our readers would be of the same mind as ourselves, and support our opinion that the experiences of such an exemplary life of a son of India, passing through all troubles and trepidations, not in the spirit of a Greek stoic but of a true student of the Bhagavad Gita, calm, unembarrassed, never shunning calamity or distress, rather welcoming them and facing imprisonment as it has never been faced before, in an

all India country, were too much of the nature of a land-mark in the history of India, to remain embedded in the pages of a journal published in South Africa, which few of us get an opportunity to read. We give below a translation of the booklets.

MR. GANDHI'S FIRST EXPERIENCE.

Although I and several of my Indian companions have seen the inside of a gaol for only a few days, in our fight for Passive Resistance, I have thought it proper to jot down some of my experiences in deference to the demands of many, and with a view also that they might prove of use to others. It is the general belief that the Indian community will have to secure many of its rights and privileges by going to jail, and therefore it is advisable to learn its good and bad sides. Many times it happens that where there is no real unhappiness, our mind only creates it, and hence it is much better to know the truth in such cases.

On the 10th of January, after two efforts

had been made, in the afternoon, to throw us into jail, we were at last taken there. Before I and my companions were sentenced, a wire had already been received from Pretoria, that the Indians who were arrested there for disobeying the New Law, had been sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine, or in default of paying the same, to a further imprisonment, for three months. This had made me very impatient and I solicited the Magistrate to give me the maximum punishment but he did not yield to my request, and we were sentenced only to two months' simple imprisonment. My companions were Messrs P. K. Naidu, C. M. Pillay, Kadva, Eston and Foretoon (the last two being Chinese.) I was kept in the lock up in the rear of the Court-house for about four minutes after the sentence had been pronounced, and from there removed secretly in a carriage. At that time I became a prey to many thoughts,—whether they would treat me as a political offender or keep me separate from the others, or remove me from Johannesburg to some other place? The detective who accompanied me was apologising, but I told him, he had no need to do so; as it was his duty to take me to prison.

THE JAIL.

I soon found out that all my inferences were wrong, as I was taken to the place where others were ordinarily taken. In a short time my other companions were brought there, and we all met. We were first weighed, then our finger marks were taken, thereafter we were stripped entirely naked, and then given jail clothes, consisting of black trousers, a shirt, a shirt cover, called "jumper," a cap and a pair of socks. Each one of us was given a bag in which to pack up our old clothes. We were then given a piece of bread 8 oz. in weight, and taken to our cells, in the Kaffir jail.

KAFFIRS AND INDIANS IN ONE PLACE.

The letter "N" was then stamped on our clothes, and we were thus officially placed in the ranks of the Natives. We were prepared to suffer many indignities, but had never thought that we should be degraded to this pitch. We can very well understand

that we could not be treated as the "Whites" but that we should be placed on the same level with the Kaffirs appeared an insufferable insult to us. This led us to conclude that our fight for Justice, our Passive Resistance was neither unreasonable nor untimely, and we got further proof of the fact that the Law was intended to make the Indians entirely "harmless." Still being kept with the Kaffirs was a ground for satisfaction in a way, as we thus got a good opportunity to learn their condition, the way in which they were treated, and their nature. My own mind would not tolerate the idea of there being any indignity in being placed in the same level with them, but still, looking at the fact in a general way, I should think that the Indians should undoubtedly be kept separate. The cells of the Kaffirs adjoined ours, and the cells and the area outside were full of their roars and noises. It was only because our terms were of simple imprisonment that our cells were separate from theirs, otherwise we should have been interned with them: Indians with a term of rigorous imprisonment are kept with them. Even if the fact of such treatment being insulting be kept apart, still it is sufficient to say that it is very risky. These Kaffirs are mostly savages, and those who come to prison are if possible, more so. They are wild, dirty, and very nearly in the condition of animals. In one cell from 50 to 60 prisoners are kept and at times they kick up a row in the cell and fight amongst themselves. The reader can very easily picture the state of the poor Indian in such circumstances.

OTHER INDIAN PRISONERS.

There were hardly three or four other Indian prisoners, besides us. They were in a worse plight than ours, in this respect, that they were kept with the Kaffirs. Still I could see that they lived pleasantly, and had improved in health. They were in the good graces of the prison authorities, and as they were more experienced and intelligent in doing the (jail) work than their fellow prisoners, they were given good work inside the premises. They had either to supervise the working of the machines in the stores, or do some such other work, which was neither heavy, nor dirty. They proved of great use to us also.

OUR LODGINGS.

We were given a cell, which could contain thirteen persons. It was super-scribed "For Black Debtors," which meant that it was mostly used for the black civil prisoners. It had two small strongly barred windows, for light and air, but in my opinion the same could not be called sufficient ventilation. Its walls were of corrugated iron sheets, and they contained in three places half-inch holes with glass panes, through which the jailors could see secretly the movements of the prisoners. The cell next to ours was occupied by Kaffirs, and near it were kept, in a room, Kaffir, Chinese, and Capeboy witnesses, as prisoners, to prevent their making themselves scarce.

A small walled area was set apart for our exercise during day time. It was so small that with difficulty we could move about in it. The rule was that the prisoners could not leave the area without permission. Arrangements for bath and lavatory were also included in this compound. For our bath, there were two stone cisterns, and two shower bath pipes. For natural purposes was kept a bucket, and as a urinal, two more buckets provided. There was no arrangement by which we could preserve our privacy and take a bath or answer a call of nature. The jail regulations also provided, that there should be no arrangement for lavatory, &c., by which the inmates would have to be separated even for that purpose, so that it often happened that two or three inmates had to sit down together in a row to answer a call. The same inconvenience attended our bath. The urinal bucket was also in the open space. All this might at the first blush, look unpleasant to us, and even to some it might appear distressful; but looking into the matter a little more considerately, it would appear, that in a jail, it is not possible to have privacy of this nature, and also that there is nothing to be ashamed of in doing these things publicly. I think we must patiently cultivate this state of mind, and should not mind or be annoyed at their publicity.

We were given plank beds with feet three inches in height for sleeping on, in the cell, two blankets and a small pillow

per head, with a coir mat. At times it was possible to have three blankets, but that was a matter of grace. Some of my companions were annoyed at these hard beds, and it was natural in the case of those who were accustomed to soft beds. But according to Medical Science a hard bed is more advisable, and so if at home we accustom ourselves to the use of hard beds, such beds in a jail would not annoy us. At night it was usual to place in our cell, one bucket of water and one bucket in a large tray to be used as a urinal, as no prisoner was allowed to go out at night. Each one was also given, if he wanted it, some soap, a thick towel, and a wooden spoon.

CLEANLINESS.

The jail was kept very clean. Every day the cell-floors were washed with disinfectants, and their sides lime-washed, so that they always appeared new. The baths and lavatories also were kept clean, by means of soap and disinfectants. I believe I have a love for cleanliness, so that when later on, many more of our Indian brethren joined us, I took it upon myself to clean the lavatories every day with insect killing fluids. At nine o'clock regularly several Chinese prisoners used to come to take away the night-soil buckets, but if after that, we wanted to keep the place clean, we had to do so ourselves. The bed planks were always cleaned with sand and water. The only objectionable thing was that one's pillow and blankets always stood the chance of being changed with those of hundreds of other inmates. The rule that blankets should always be aired and sun-dried was hardly observed. The area was always swept twice.

SOME RULES.

Some of the jail rules are worth knowing by all. The prisoners were interned at half-past five in the evening. It was possible after that hour either to read or talk till eight, but after eight, it was the duty of every one to go to sleep. Even if one did not get sleep, one had to lie down idle and silent, as any talk after eight was considered a breach of the rules. Kaffir prisoners do not obey this rule properly. So that the night watchmen, have always

to stamp their sticks on the walls and cry out "Thoola, Thoola" to keep them silent. Smoking was strictly prohibited, and the rule strictly enforced; but still I saw that prisoners addicted to the habit secretly broke the rule. A bell is struck at half past five in the morning to rouse the prisoners. They have then to get up, wash their faces and hands, and make up their beds. At six the cell door is opened, when each one is expected to stand civilly by his made up bed. The warder counts the number. At the time of closing in also the same procedure is followed. No other article excepting those belonging to the jail should be found in possession of the inmate excepting with the permission of the governor of the jail. To one of the buttons of the prisoner's "jumper" is sewed on a bag, wherein his prisoner's ticket is kept, containing his name, number, term of imprisonment, &c. Generally, during the daytime no one is allowed to live in the cell. Prisoners with hard labor, being on the works outside, can not be expected to occupy them, but even those without any such labor are not allowed to use it. They have to pass their time in the open area. The Governor had kindly allowed us, for our convenience, a table and two benches in our cell, and they proved of great use.

A prisoner sentenced to two months is called upon to have the hair of his head and moustache cut but this is not rigidly enforced against Indians. If any one be unwilling his moustaches are left untouched. I had a humorous experience of this. I knew that the hair of prisoners was generally cut, and I knew also that the hair and moustache were cut in the interests of the prisoners themselves and not with a view to give them any offence. I believe it is a very wholesome rule, because in the jail, there are no combs, &c., to clean the hair, and

if the hair be not kept clean, there is a danger of boils, &c., appearing. Again, during hot days, heavy hair is inconvenient. The prisoners get no mirrors, and there is the chance of the moustaches remaining dirty, no serviettes or napkins being provided at meals; the wooden spoon is more of an inconvenience than convenience while eating, and if the moustaches are long food sticks to them. As I had a mind to see every phase of prison life I asked the chief warder's permission to cut my hair and moustache. He said, the Governor had prohibited it. I said, I knew that he did not want to force me to do it but I wanted to cut them voluntarily. He asked me to apply to the Governor, and I got his permission the next day, but he said that as two days out of my two months' sentence had already expired he had no power to cut my hair. I replied that I knew it but I wanted to do so voluntarily and for my own good. But he still laughed and hesitated. I afterwards learnt that he viewed the request with some suspicion. He thought I might after going out, charge him with having compelled me to do so, forcibly. I persisted in my request, and said that I was ready to give it to him in writing that I cut the hair of my own accord. At last his suspicion was removed, and he ordered a pair of (horse) clippers to be given to me. My companion Mr. P. K. Naidu knew perfectly the barber's art, and I knew a little also. Learning the reason of my doing so, others followed, some of them cut their hair only. I and Mr. Naidu every day spent two hours in cutting the hair of our Indian companions. I believe this led to an increase of health and convenience; the prisoners appeared tidy. The use of the razor was strictly prohibited; only scissors were used.

(To be continued.)

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Messages of Uplift—A Defence

I really feel flattered to think that the few words that I had to say by way of comment on Prof. Sarkar's review of Mr. Singh's *Messages of Uplift* have drawn out rejoinders from no less than three gentlemen, one of them being Prof. Sarkar himself. I have no desire

to prolong the controversy, but in justice to me the Editor of the *Modern Review* will, I trust, allow me a little space in his magazine to defend my position. I promise that these lines will be my last on the subject under discussion.

I know neither Mr. Sarkar nor Mr. Singh, and am

no competitor of either for literary fame. Only a short while ago, I had occasion to praise Mr. Sarkar in print, though he may not know it. Under the circumstances, I trust it will be allowed that my criticism was not likely to be biased by personal considerations. In fact, in entering the lists against Mr. Sarkar, I was prompted by a sense of fair play and nothing else.

I see Mr. Chatterji admits that Prof. Sarkar had very nearly dipped his quill into vitriol and says that the reference to Mr. Singh as 'a penniless half-educated youth &c.' was 'unfortunate' and 'distinctly objectionable'. Mr. Mukerji also says: 'It would have been better however if Prof. Sarkar had been somewhat less pointed [mark the euphemism] in his remarks. When so much is admitted, I do not see that I was wanting in justification for taking exception to Prof. Sarkar's remarks.

I am vigorously attacked for suggesting that Prof. Sarkar's virulence might be due to envy. Mr. Chatterji, who has such a horror of slang and vulgarity of tone, elegantly remarks that this is 'drivelling fudge'. I am glad to be assured that I was mistaken and hasten to withdraw the offending allegation. But opposed as I am by a galaxy of learned writers I may be permitted to refer to the genesis of my suggestion. When the July number of the *Modern Review* reached my hands, I was in the company of three M. A.'s of the Calcutta University, one of whom was the most brilliant scholar of his time. It struck all of us that the attack on Mr. Singh, so unexpectedly acrimonious, could be explained only by supposing that the green-eyed monster had something to do with it. When three gentlemen well qualified to judge thought so, I had some justification for believing that perhaps this explanation was true.

Prof. Sarkar's acerbity of tone has not abated by being subjected to criticism. He calls me a scribe who does not understand the plain meaning of English words, insinuates that I have reasons for 'despising university education, and makes much of my anonymity. No one could regret more than I do the circumstances which compel me to remain anonymous, but I take the liberty to say that neither in social and worldly position—on which he seems to set so high a value—nor, apart from his historical researches in literary equipment, am I a foeman—if such unfortunately is to be my position—altogether unworthy of his steel.

I characterised Prof. Sarkar's criticism of Mr. Singh as displaying an 'overweening conceit.' I am confirmed in that opinion by what he says now. Such conceit the world tolerates only in master-minds like Bhababhuti and Milton. Prof. Sarkar's remarks are dominated throughout by a lively consciousness of the immense superiority of the first person singular. And his admirers have seen to it that the feeling does not die out for want of fuel. Prof. Chatterji, for instance, says that Prof. Sarkar's historical papers are written in a finer style than the works of either Ranade or Mr. Dutt. In a handbook on Indian Economics compiled by Prof. Sarkar, I notice that Dutt's *Economic History* is referred to as 'a work which suffers from the inclusion of much extraneous matter, diffuseness, needless piling up of statistics, and some rambling of thought.' Not a word is said about its merits. After this, no one will be so bold as to say that the learned

professor suffers from an excess of modesty. Every Johnson has his Boswell, and I am ready to make due allowance for hero-worshippers but to run down men like Mr. Dutt and the late Justice Ranade in order to elevate Professor Sarkar to the vacant pedestal is a procedure to which all students of history will not, I fear, be willing to subscribe.

Prof. Sarkar quotes himself incorrectly when he says that he described Mr. Singh as 'a penniless Indian youth, &c.' He said 'a penniless half-educated Indian youth &c.' I hope he is more careful in translating the letters of Aurangzebe, else his services to the cause of history will suffer in value. Prof. Sarkar's contention, as explained in the September number of the *Modern Review*, is that Mr. Singh is not the teacher of something absolutely new and highly valuable, and that his messages are not the highest lessons that India can get from America (the italics are mine). My contention is that Mr. Singh's teachings may be, and in point of fact are, new and valuable without being absolutely new and highly valuable. Prof. Sarkar takes his stand on the dizzy heights of perfection while criticising Mr. Singh who has the temerity to call his articles 'Messages of Uplift'. I maintain that Prof. Sarkar has no right or title to assume that high role, and before he can put me out of court, he must fortify himself with better credentials than he possesses. I freely give my 'meed of praise' to Professor Sarkar's historical studies of the period of Aurangzib, but though I recognise that fame is the last infirmity of noble minds, I must hesitate to place the wreath of immortality, which the learned professor so liberally bestows on all worshippers of the Historic Muse, on him. The heights of Parnassus are not scaled so easily, and, *pace* Prof. Sarkar, the Historic Muse is not very coy to those who can toil with a view to win her favours. Of all the branches of *Belles-lettres*, history is the one most cultivated in Europe next to fiction; even oriental Mahomedans excelled in this branch of learning. Success in it presupposes that kind of genius which has been defined by Carlyle as an infinite capacity for taking pains. There is a higher type of genius which divides men in kind and not in degree merely, and to which talent of a high order is allied. In Bengal, Rabindra Nath Tagore can alone lay claim to that genius, not only in his poems but also in his prose writings; he has taught us something absolutely new, so far as that quality can be attributed to human compositions. In saying this, however, it is not my intention to introduce a classification of literary men by dividing them into watertight compartments, nor do I ignore the value of scoring delights and living laborious days. Attempts to throw daylight into obscure corners of history are laudable, but permanency is the fit guerdon only of those who, like Comte, have a thorough grasp of the different factors and aspects of social and historical evolution over broad cycles of time, and can co-ordinate isolated incidents and shortlived tendencies into a mighty synthesis. In our country there is a tendency to overestimate the achievements of our historical scholars, owing to the fact that the reapers are so few, and the harvest waiting for the sickle is so vast. Commenting on this tendency to extol the performance on account of the promise it conveys as to the future of Indian historical research, should I also say, in the words of Prof. Sarkar, that "it is a waste of national energy and a misdirection of the national

mind to cry up a 'twinkling' star like a 'blazing sun'?"

For the rest, I leave it to the reading public to decide whether I was wrong in entering a protest against Prof. Sarkar's criticism of Mr. Singh's book. There may not be many eminent men in India, but the general level of culture and intelligence among the educated middle classes, of whom the reading public is composed, is high. In Prof. Sarkar, I recognise one of our foremost workers in the field of historical research, but much spade-work of this kind by many hands will be necessary before the true foundation of Indian history can be laid. And Prof. Sarkar will make a grievous mistake if he thinks that the plenary inspiration of history will endow his denunciations with papal infallibility. Sobriety of judgment is of the essence of a good historian, and I regret to note that the historian of Aurangzib should be found wanting in this respect.

POI. (M. A. CAL)

It does not seem desirable to prolong this controversy. ED., M. R.

The Relics of Buddha

SIR,

Every one must be deeply grateful to you for your eloquent advocacy in the cause of these holy relics. Many representatives of those social and religious institutions which have broken away from doctrinal Hinduism have taken their cue from you and have come forward with feasible suggestions. But it is only for the charred relics that they seem to show so much solicitude—they say nothing about the re-

vival of the Buddhistic faith which in olden days was the chief glory of India. It is curious that though all sects, Hindus, Arya Samajists, Brahmos, Theosophists, Parsees, clearly recognise the sublime teachings of the Lord Buddha—yet he is to them a colourless saint in the calendar, now and then to be referred to in international religious discussions, nothing more. There is no attempt to spread those great truths which they so much admire in the abstract—there is no regular and sustained endeavour to kindle the fire which in ages far back, glowed with such a hallowed flame in the hearts of millions upon millions of people. Under the English government with its articulate creed of neutrality many sharp corners have been smoothed off—in fact all jarring notes of bitter sect-jealousy have to an appreciable extent subsided into a psalm of peace: sympathy, right understanding, intelligent recognition of other modes of belief, different schemes of salvation, alien processes of thought due to Western education have "leavened" our outlook and imparted, if I may say so, a world-touch to our attitude towards all things that appertain to spiritual welfare. No time, therefore, could be more propitious than now when the idea is in the air, to bring back Buddhism to the masses, and for that matter, to the upper classes, who are, mostly, still sunk in bestial stupor and are in the unblest bondage of certain practices which are almost unnamable in human language. Some of us are certainly in need not only of more light but of more love and charity.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Sri Gopal Basu Mallik Fellowship Lectures 1907-1908. Vedantism by Sahityacharya Pandeya Ramavatara Sarma, M.A., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College, Pp. 88, paper, Price Re 1.

By Vedantism the lecturer means 'the philosophical teachings of the early Upanishads as systematised by Badarayan.' "The gravest defect of the great Badarayan," says our author "was that he did not clearly distinguish the historical, the mythological and the positive portions of the Upanishads and this lamentable confusion led to his squeezing every Upanishadic Text into the self-same Brahmic Mould. But in spite of this defect he succeeded in achieving his grand task." "The Vedantic Brahman is another name for reality and has nothing to do with a personal God in the original non-dualistic form of the doctrine." According to Professor Ramavatar Vedantism "is not transcendentalism; it is a philosophy of immanency but not in the spinozistic sense. The world is in the *Sakshin* but not *vice versa*. Everything is identical with the Divine reality. But that reality is not altogether identical with any one thing or even with the series of these things unless

the series is carried to infinity." "Just as waves rise out of and disappear into the ocean, so experiences of the moment rise and disappear in it. The empirical ego or *jiva* and the objective world are both mere phenomena of this noumenon." If this is not spinozism, we do not know what spinozism is.

The author says that Brahman is not an abstract generalization as Sankar has explained it to be. "The *Sakshin* is a self-witnessed infinite series of moments. The *Sakshin* unfolds itself by and by (*sic*). It has two definite faculties. By its epistemological faculty (*jnan*) it can see its whole reality. Its scientific faculty is called Maya or Cosmic delusion. (The) Supremacy of the epistemological faculty is *Mukti* which is the real life of the *Sakshin*, while the ascendancy of the scientific faculty means bondage or delusion." According to the author this 'Maya' (*i.e.* the limitation of the unlimited) is 'self-imposed.' It is not mistaking one thing for another as Sankar thinks. "It is either mistaking part for the whole or *vice versa*." "We mistake our corporeal self which is a group of phenomena rising in our Real Divine Self for our whole being and as long as we do it we are deluded." This theory of Maya has been called "The Delimitation Theory."

Our author is of opinion that a consistent Vedantist cannot accept the popular theory of transmigration. He writes—"Under this view, the soul cannot be thought either to be travelling from one body to another or—leading a life of eternal bliss or condemnation after leaving this body, while preserving its personality. The religious consolation that we shall live with our lost relatives is a delusory hope and can never be fulfilled. Our personality is lost with the body. Consistent Vedantism, of course, having nothing to do with the Upanishadic mythology, does not recognise an after-life in any of the above senses. According to it, *Abhiman* is the cause of bondage. The *Sakshin* which is really the Universal Spirit, has falsely limited itself to this or that particular body and is, thus, living in bondage." "Bodies or special combinations of matter are appearing now and then. There is no scarcity of them and the *Sakshin* will attach itself to this or that of these as long as he has—'*Abhiman*.'" "A life here and hereafter assigned to the individual, is a mere Poetic fancy. The Vedantin wants '*Mukti*' not for the individual soul, which is chimerical, but for the *Sakshin* with whom he considers himself to be identical. Thus scientifically every life has a beginning and an end on earth and can have no projection of it hereafter." "So says Yajnavalkya in the '*Maitreyi Brahman*' '*Na pretya sajna asti*.' The Rishi has plainly said that there is no consciousness after death. Consciousness and life are co-extensive, nay identical, and hence the one disappearing, the other cannot remain. Philosophically there is only one life of the *Sakshin*, all-embracing and eternal, in which there is no question of a here and a hereafter." According to the author the Upanishadic mythology of a here and a hereafter "is either to be rejected as an idle fancy or to be interpreted allegorically."

Professor Ramavatar is a very liberal Vedantist. He says "Vedantic thought and Vedantic life are not for this class or that class of persons. Vedantism is an impartial and universal religion..... A recluse and (a) businessman, a Brahman and a Sudra are equally entitled to lead a Vedantic life, if they have a desire for it."

The author says that Badarayan was the originator of the theory of 'Maya.' But can a single *sutra* be cited in support of this assertion? We have found no trace of it in the whole of the Vedanta Sutras.

Empedocles was not the author of the 'Atomic Theory' as Pandit Ramavatar thinks. According to Aristotle, Theophrastos, Erdmann, Ueberweg, Windelband, Burnet, Campbell and other authorities Leucippus was the founder of Atomism. The very word "Atomoi" was coined by him.

The book is suggestive and will repay perusal.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

James Thomson: Englishmen of Letter New Series.

The present writer has worked fairly through the whole list of books of the Old and the New Series, but he has not quite been able to understand the motives which have led the publishing firm to arrange the monographs on Crabbe, Thomson and Moore. It is so much ink purely thrown away—it is so much printed matter unprofitably brought forth. A short biographical notice of each in ordinary handbooks of literature is enough to satiate the reader's curiosity:

it is supererogatory to plan laborious niches for them in the temple of Fame. These poets never careered on fleet-footed Pegasus along sunswept uplands—their works indicate downright pedestrianism. It is undeniable that they once enjoyed a great measure of popularity and their names were on the lips of many fashionable men. But no serious student would now bestow much thought on them, for other dreams have filled our lives—other passions have enriched our blood—other hopes have kindled our hearts—other voices have called unto us, giving fresh interpretation to old questions, propounding riddles which Thebes never knew, pulling down the narrow walls of hum-drum fate and beckoning us into enchanted paths leading on and on!

Besides this there is another fact which distinctly discounts the worth of the books under reference. Canon Ainger, Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. Stephen Gwinn have all entered upon their duties with the dominant conviction that they are going to manipulate very inferior materials and that they have been commissioned to celebrate poets who are full of common-places not of an exalted kind, whose laurels have been subdued by wintry days, whose works, in short, do not possess the aonian touch. This emphatic frigidity of attitude will not make us rapturously eager to dip into Crabbe or Thomson or Moore. Infatuated hero-worship for men of a dwarfed stature induces nausea—but lack of proper fervour and genial sympathy and full-hearted admiration is simply fatal to a biographer. Thus, in the present volume Mr. Macaulay after giving an analysis of the chief poems much in the manner of lecture-notes to collegians in a class-room, goes on to observe as follows:—

"An attempt has been made in the present chapter (V) to indicate the most important features of Thomson's poetical style as it is shown in *The Seasons*, his most characteristic work. With regard to many of the points to which attention has been called, it is certain that the verdict of sound taste must be given against the poet, and that the first and the last word on the subject must be that he wrote in a vicious style."

"The characteristics of style which we have noted as belonging to *The Seasons* are present here (LIBERTY) in a much less marked degree; but this is only a part of the general tameness... In fact the number of passages which have any real poetical merit is remarkably small."

"He has given us, therefore, a poem (*The Castle of Indolence*, which in particular passages is altogether charming; but there is very great inequality, and the effect of the whole is marred by the faults of the general plan, by the absurd management of the catastrophe, and by the extent to which the moral aim is allowed to predominate over the artistic."

"Indeed, so far as construction is concerned, Thomson's play (*Sophonisba*) deserves praise; the fault is that it does not sufficiently interest us in the characters."

"*Agamemnon* is not a good play as it stands at present; and apparently it was much worse when it was first produced."

"Apart from politics the play (*Edward and Eleonora*) is rather wanting in interest. There is no dramatic development."

"The play (*Coriolanus*) on the whole must be regarded as a weak one, and such success as it had,

was due to the attendant circumstances, rather than to its merit."

* * * *

And so on and so on. In the light of such remarks one asks in vain "what are critics and bookmen coming to?"

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

Hinduism and India: A retrospect and a prospect.—By Govinda Das. (London and Benares Theosophical Publishing Society). Pp. 363.

We welcome the above publication as being a rational exposition of the religion of Hinduism. The writer's views are, in the main, sound and he has thrown out one or two helpful suggestions in connection with the growing solidarity of the Indian people. One thing, however, has not failed to surprise us a bit. It is this: that men who possess correctness of views in several respects cannot help countenancing some queer tenets when they are bent upon bolstering up the religion they profess at all costs and think it sacrilegious to winnow out the chaff thereof. By way of example let us take one doctrine the author expounds in his book. The author thinks that people are differently circumstanced in life in accordance with the good or bad actions done by them in their previous existence, that is to say, the different stations of life wherein we are born are retributive. This view is widely held by men of our country but we are of opinion that it is only a fantasy and not a truth. Men have generally a wrong conception of happiness and they believe that happiness consists in wealth, power, fame and all the various other equipages of civil life. Judged by this standard, some of the greatest benefactors of the world have been sinners in their previous existence; for the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests but they had not where to lay their heads. And this is not all; for not a few of them were without even the boon of health. Nevertheless, they were men who changed the face of human affairs and made the world richer by their stainless lives. The question at issue, then, is, "How could men paying the penalty of their sins in previous births have been born with such a large endowment of spiritual power?" The riddle defies solution until we come to view the seeming anomalies of life in an altogether different spirit of mind. We are not called upon to discuss the merits of the law of *Karma* as popularly understood but we are at liberty to observe that it is a curious malady of mind to look upon poverty, disease, famine and nakedness as evils of life and to regard wealth, honour, health as the reward of virtue. Affluence and want are not in themselves beneficial or harmful—it is the way in which they are used which makes them either honey or gall. The reward of virtue is no material gain nor the punishment of sin any material loss. It is the man conscious of the meaning of life who is able to look beneath the puzzles of existence and to whom every walk or condition of life is fraught with ample blessings and lit-up with the smile of God. The book under review enters a strong protest against some of the existing wrongs of society. It merits a candid reception from the public. We are glad to say that it does not want an index, as books written by Indians often do.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. Vol. I. Upanishads part 2—Prasna, Isavasya and Kena translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu and published by Babu Sudhindranath Basu at the Panini office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Annual Subscription: Inland Rs 12, Foreign £1. Single copy Re 1-8.

The first part of the Upanishads was reviewed in the *Modern Review* of August. The second part is now out and we welcome it as a scholarly contribution to the theological literature of the country.

The book contains (i) the Sanskrit Text of the Prasna, Isavasya and Kena Upanishads in Devanagar character, (ii) the English meaning of every word in the text, (iii) the English translation of the text, (iv) the English translation of Madhva-bhashya and (vi) copious notes in English.

Mr. Vasu's exposition is so clear that anyone who has but an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit will be able to understand these Upanishads without any help from any one. But it should be borne in mind that all the classical Upanishads are monistic, whereas Madhva was a dualist and wrote his commentaries on these Upanishads from the dualistic standpoint. So Mr. Vasu's book should be read not as an authoritative interpretation of the Upanishads but as an exposition of the dualistic philosophy of the Vaishnava theologian. We give below Madhva's interpretation of some of the texts:—

(i) Text:—"Yad vacha nabhyuditam yena vagabhyudyate; tadeva Brahma tvam viddhi nedam—yadidamupasate." Kena, 4.

Madhva's interpretation is—"What cannot be fully expressed by speech but impelled by which the speech is uttered by men, Him only know thou as Brahman, for this (*Jiva*) is not Brahman, but He who is near to thee (as thy inner Guide and Ruler)".

The portion italicized is the meaning of the sentence "nedam yadidamupasate". The *padapatha* that spontaneously suggests itself to the reader is—"na + idam + yat + idam + upasate". Its meaning then would be "Brahman is not this which people here worship". But according to Madhva the *padapatha* is—"na + idam + yat + idam + upasa + te". He says that "na + idam" = "this Jiva is not Brahman" and "yat + idam + upasa + te" = "He is Brahma who is near thee". This *padapatha* as well as the meaning is highly artificial. The next four verses also are explained exactly in the same way.

(ii) *Padapatha* is "Pusan Ekarshe Yama Surya Prajapatya Vyuha rasmin samuha tejah yat te rupam katyantamam tat te pasyami; Yah asau asau purushah sah aham asmi" = O All-full; O Sole-wise; O All-Judge; O Goal of the wise! O the Lord of Prajapati! expand my knowledge of the self, and increase my knowledge of the non-self, so that through Thy grace, I may see that form of Thine which is most auspicious. That yonder person who dwells in Asu (Life) is known by the name of Aham (i.e., the supreme) and Asmi (i.e., the only standard of existence).

The attention of the reader is drawn to the portion italicized. In a note also we find the following sentence:

"The 'rasmin' and 'tejas' have no reference to the rays of the sun and his heat and light rays.... Therefore 'rasmin' is translated as 'knowledge of the self' :—

While the expansion of 'tejas' means 'controlling the non-self.'

We cannot accept this meaning, because—

(1) Every Vedic scholar knows that Pusan, Surya and even Yama are but the different names of the same deity, namely, the sun. And when Surya is invoked to disperse (Vyuha) the 'rasmin' and contract (Samuha) the 'tejah', the words 'rasmin' and 'tejah' cannot but mean the rays and the light of the sun.

(2) The word 'asau' occurs twice in the last sentence. According to Madhva one 'asau' is a pronoun nominative singular of 'adas' and means 'that': the other 'asau' is the locative singular of the noun 'asu' (life) and means "in the life." According to him 'aham' is derived from the root 'ha' (to abandon) with negative affix 'a', so that 'aham' means 'not discardable, that is 'the Supreme.'

'Asmi' is derived from 'as' (to be) + 'ma' etc measure). He is called 'asmi' because he is in all things and is the measure (ma) of their existence (as).

I don't think any Sanskrit scholar will accept this meaning.

Mr. Vasu seems to have made here a serious mistake. According to Madhva, the meaning of the sentence is "He is 'Aham' (the Supreme) and 'Asmi' (the measurer of existence). From this Mr. Vasu concludes that Madhva has propounded the doctrine that "*The name of the Lord is 'I am that I am'*" which is also the sacred name of the Lord according to the Avesta and the Old Testament. Here a confusion has been made. This 'Aham' which is formed from the root 'ha' with the negative particle 'a' is not the same 'aham' as is formed from 'asmad' i.e., the 'aham' here does not mean 'I'. Again this 'asmi' which is formed from the root as + root mā is not the same 'asmi' as is formed from root as with the suffix 'mi'. Therefore the 'asmi' as explained by Madhva cannot mean 'I am'. When analysed Mr. Vasu's argument would stand thus:—

→ Aham (from 'a' + root ha)=the Supreme.

Aham (from 'asmad')=I.

Therefore the Supreme=I.

Which means:—

Aham (from 'a' + root ha)=aham (from 'asmad').

Similarly with reference to the use of the word 'asmi.'

The Vaishnava commentator has artificially explained the sentence and Mr. Vasu has given a wrong colouring to that interpretation.

The true meaning of the sentence is;—

"I am he, the Purusha in the sun."

Here the Rishi identifies himself with the Purusha in the sun. It is monism pure and simple and cannot be explained dualistically.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

HINDI.

"Phulon Ka Har" and "Priyatam." (Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad, price 4 as. each).

The above are the titles of two small books containing an excellent Hindi rendering of selected stories from the well-known 'Shodasi' (sixteen stories in Bengali) by Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya, Barrister-at-law. The books are the first two issues of a popular educative series called *Sadharan Siksha Nibandhavali* which the *Abhyudaya* Press has undertaken to publish with a view to supply the

deficiency in the Hindi literature of good popular educators in the shape of entertaining and instructive books which will attract and benefit men, women and children. The short and interesting stories of Mr. Mukhopadhyaya which have been offered to Hindi readers in a very readable form are eminently suited to create a taste for reading. Some of the masterpieces of Mr. Mukerji such as 'Khalas' and 'Okiler Buddhi' were specially translated for the *Abhyudaya* newspaper and they have been included in the books under notice. 'Khalas' appears under the title 'Vimochan' and 'Okiler Buddhi' is entitled 'Vakil Ki Ustadi'. These and other stories will not fail to be a source of delight to all readers. The books have been printed and done up nicely and the second volume, 'Priyatam', has for its frontispiece a half-tone portrait of Mr. Mukhopadhyaya.

GUJARATI.

(1) *Sarvodaya*, (2) *Nitidharma or Dharma Niti*, (3) *Ek Satya Vir ni Katha, or the defence of Socrates* (4) (5), (6), *Fail Experiences of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, all published by the International Printing Press, Phoenix, Natal, (1908).*

We have received this batch of excellent little books from South Africa for review, and we do it with the utmost pleasure. They all show that inspite of the misfortunes our countrymen are undergoing at the hands of the white settlers, they are very much alive and kicking, so far as literature is concerned. Before going into the merits of these publications, we would wish to note their fine mechanical execution; their get up and finish are excellent, and it would be difficult to find them matched in India. We were agreeably surprised to learn that this fine printing and binding work was to be put down to the credit of our Indian brethren. The predominant feature of the first three, viz., philosophy and ethics, shews that even on the Veldts of South Africa, the Gujarati Indian has taken with him his innate love of discussing the serious problems of life. These are all reprints from the now well known South African Anglo-Gujarati paper, *Indian Opinion*, started by the late Mr. Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar, a native of Surat. *The Defence of Socrates* is the translation of his famous discourse on the immortality of the soul, which he delivered before drinking the fatal cup. It is well translated, and all the important points are lucidly brought out. The moral drawn is patriotic; it says that the Indians in South Africa have to do many things and they must learn, therefore, to live and die like Socrates. It was he who ennobled the Greek nation, and hence every Indian has to take a leaf out of this book, if he really wants to benefit his country. *Sarvodaya* gives a summary of the principles of Ruskin, that the law divine consists not in the search of material happiness or of wealth, but in a complete adherence to and following of the principles of morality and ethics. Various fallacies based on the rules of political economy are exposed in the three chapters of which the book consists, the sources of truth, the real seat of wealth, and real justice. The writer winding up the small essay is taken up with the aspirations of the people for *Swarajya* and their fitness for it. *Niti Dharma* embodies the canons of ethical religion, and the opinions of Salter and Darwin on the real strength of humanity lying in its right appreciation of morals which are

expounded in a very homely and simple way. Each Chapter ends with a quotation taken from well known Gujarati poems, *e.g.*, those of Mr. Malabari and those collected in the *Kavyadohan*, to better illustrate the point discussed. These excellent reprints are priced very low, half anna and three quarters of an anna. Need we say we shall watch with the greatest pleasure and sympathy the efforts of our fellow countrymen in this direction in the distant and inhospitable land of South Africa? The other three little books narrating Mr. Gandhi's jail experiences have formed the subject of substantive contributions.

K. M. J.

↳ An Announcement.

Our readers will be glad to learn that Sister Nivedita's "My master as I saw him," which has been hitherto appearing in the *Prabudha Bharata*, will shortly be published in the form of a book and will be kept for sale at the *Udbodhan* office, Bagbazar, Calcutta. Swami Vivekananda was one of the most remarkable men of our time. An account of his personality from the pen of his gifted disciple cannot fail to be instructive and inspiring. >

NOTES

Alleged Anarchism among Indian Students at home and abroad.

We do not propose in this note to discuss to what extent, if any, Indian students have imbibed anarchistic principles. Supposing some of them have, what we want to decide is, who is responsible for their doing so? Anglo-Indian and British opinion preponderates to the view that it is the "seditious" Indian journalists and agitators who have poisoned the minds of the students. But let us hear what a great conservative English journal, *The Saturday Review*, says on the subject. We take the extract from *The Living Age* of New York, where the article is given in full.

POLITICAL ASSASSINATION.

When a murder such as that of Sir Curzon Wylie is committed, we shed tears or hold up our hands or curse, according to the way we are made; and with some such emotional vent we are content. It is indispensable, no doubt, this outburst; it is right; but is it ever enough? Is it enough now? Here is a young man born and bred in a land under English rule, educated according to English methods, a student finally in the capital of the Empire. English thought must necessarily have exercised a tremendous influence upon his mental and moral development; and as a result he kills a distinguished servant of the State to whom he had never spoken and of whose work he knew but little. Whereupon we, who can by no means be free from responsibility, are horrified that such things should be.

Is there anything wrong with English thought as to political assassination? On principle the average Englishman will maintain that murder is always murder, and therefore abominable. Unhappily however principle is seldom allowed to appear. The English have a dislike for generalizations; they prefer

to consider every case on its merits. And when a political assassination is considered on its merits, extenuating circumstances emerge which gradually come to dominate the situation. It was an evil deed, but—and the "but" is emphasized—it was done in a good cause. A blow has been struck for liberty, as the phrase goes. Let us forget the means in the end; let us even glorify the deed in the light of the result. Or, maybe, apart from all question of political beliefs, the victim himself was some infamous wretch, crime-stained, vice-stained, loathsome and deservedly loathed. We thank God that the world is rid of a monster and write the name of his murderer on the roll of the heroes of history. Condonation of this sort is common enough. With a vague idea of the facts, most chime in with the praise of Harmodius and Aristogiton and Brutus and Cassius. All the casuistry of sentiment has been brought into play in favour of Charlotte Corday, and a political murderess is held up as one of the noblest types of womankind. To come to our own day, our way of thinking is admirably illustrated by the tolerance bordering on approval which has been extended to the perpetrators of anarchist outrages in Russia. The victim was assumed either to have been justly punished for his own crimes or to have paid the penalty for the oppressive system of government of which he was the representative. The murderer, should he succeed in making good his escape, could be sure of a comfortable home in London. Such condemnation as was expressed was equally casuistical. It was said that the Russian bureaucracy had obtained too firm a hold to be shaken by sporadic outrages; that the method was clumsy and calculated to defeat its own ends. It was never boldly said, This is murder and an accursed thing. In fact, as a people we are practically prepared to tolerate political assassination in the concrete. We make exceptions to the rule so numerous that they can be classified, and so important that in effect they outweigh the rule itself altogether. The result is seen in the writing of Mr. Krishnavarma. In defending assassination as a political weapon that person is able to urge with some justice that he is only generalizing from the verdicts of some of our historians or carrying

to their logical conclusion the doctrines of our philosophers.

It is curious, this English tolerance of murder, curious not because it is immoral but because it is unnatural. For it runs contrary to the whole trend of European thought. Western philosophy has always been characterized by the stress which it has laid upon the sanctity of human life. Guided by this principle Europe has worked out its political evolution, and we ourselves, who in this matter have been the most Western of the Westerns, have banished efficient autocracy in favor of a free life in a free state. The Oriental, on the other hand, being more tolerant of that power of life and death which marks all despotisms, lives under them to this day. And yet in our attitude towards political assassination we are approximating to the Oriental point of view and denying the very principle which more than anything else has brought the British Constitution into existence. The inconsistency is too great to be explained by the fact that we were always an illogical people. The real cause lies deeper. Our tolerant attitude towards the murder of tyrants and villains is symptomatic of the general tone of nineteenth-century thought. Tom Paine, Bentham, Mill, Spencer, and indeed all the representatives of the thought of their day, have glorified the value of the individual judgment. Great were the achievements and unbounded the capacities of the untrammelled mind. The bold free intellect of the investigator could pry into all things on the earth or in the waters beneath it, could comprehend the mysteries of the universe and criticise God Himself. There was a crusade against authority whether in Church or State. The traditions of centuries were broken and cast aside. Nothing was to be allowed to impose shackles on man's freedom of thought or of action. Hence it was that principles were banished. Every case was to be considered on its merits, and one man's view was as good as another's. In practice this worked very well at first. Traditions continue to exercise their influence, though nominally disregarded, and tradition save to it that the private judgments of individual Englishmen coincided on all important matters. But observe the effect of bringing an alien into this intellectual atmosphere. He is in very truth a free being, uncontrolled by the influence of a past in which he has had no share. He strikes out a line for himself, and when called upon to defend his conduct claims that it is justified at the tribunal of his own conscience. What reply can the individualist make to such a plea as this? He is answered out of his own mouth.

There is indeed but one reply possible. It takes the form of an assertion of authority, an enunciation of a principle. We say that murder is wrong under every form, wrong because it is utterly subversive of the social instinct which cannot find scope where there is no security and a man's hand may at any moment be raised against his fellow. It is of course possible to deny the existence of this social instinct. It is equally possible to deny the existence of the law of gravitation; but the man who does so will assuredly get hurt. And in just the same way the man who commits an outrage against the law of social fellowship will get hurt. He will find society crumbling to pieces about him. All history endorses this view. It is not an accident that Aristotle, living amongst those who worshipped the memory of tyrannicides, found

himself compelled to devote a whole book to the study of revolutions; nor that Augustus, given a free hand to save the world from the anarchy into which the murder of Cæsar had plunged it, erected a system which turned out to be far more autocratic than anything which his uncle had planned; nor that Napoleon, called upon to put an end to a state of things in which murder had become the rule, established a cast-iron administrative despotism which no subsequent revolutionary has had either the power or the courage to overthrow. Such penalties must be paid. A sin against society recoils, if not on the sinner, at any rate on the people who have tolerated his sin. That lesson is one we ourselves have need to take to heart. We have trifled with the law. Our casuists have elaborated exceptions and qualifications; our philosophers have subordinated principles to the individual judgments; our poets have exalted murder as the handmaid of freedom. And now our self-satisfaction has received this tremendous shock. In the very building which Empire has called into existence a deed has been perpetrated which deals defiance not merely at British imperial rule, but at any form of rule whatever. And the most terrifying reflection of all is that the blame for what has been done lies largely on our own heads.—*The Saturday Review*.

An Advisory Board for Anglo-Indian Youths.

An Advisory Committee with its branches in India has been formed with the ostensible object of befriending the Indian sojourners in England who are for the most part students. It was alleged that Indian students did not mix in the company of gentlemen and ladies in England and hence they did not learn the good manners and etiquette of English society. In order to give them a polish and prevent them from mixing with English men and women of questionable character, it was considered expedient to establish the Advisory Committee and have all its expenses defrayed out of the revenues wrung from the famished and poverty-stricken people of India.

But should not a counterpart of this Committee be established in India with its branches in Great Britain and the colonies to befriend the Anglo-Indian and Colonial youths who come out to this country, to teach them the good manners and etiquette of Indian society, so that they should learn to behave better than they do at present? The Secretary of this Advisory Committee should be an Indian gentleman whose annual salary of 500£s. should be paid out of the revenues of Great Britain and the Colonies. Surely there is a need for such an institution to teach good man-

ners to those who come out to India to shake the pagoda tree and grow rich at the expense of the children of the Indian soil, whom many of them call "Niggers."

Is the Boycott of foreign goods justifiable?

The word "boycott" stinks in the nostrils of the English people. The reason will be evident when we remember the origin of the word. About 30 years ago, the Irish people to bring their absentee landlords who mostly resided in England and were therefore to all intents and purposes natives of England, although there might have been a large mixture of the Irish element in the blood flowing in their veins, to their senses, adopted the measure which had been advocated by one man named Boycott. The measure consisted in refusing to pay rent to the absentee landlords. It is not difficult therefore to understand the repugnance which the English people feel towards "boycott," because they or at least the Irish landlords dwelling in their midst suffered terribly by its practice.

Whether the Irish boycott was justifiable or not does not concern us. But it is proper to state that the Indian boycott is quite a different thing from the Irish one. The author of the Indian Criminal Procedure Code, Sir James Fitz Stephen was a great worshipper of "Force" and was therefore opposed to "boycott." In an article "On the Suppression of Boycotting" which he contributed to the Nineteenth Century for December 1886, he wrote:—

"Nothing but the most hasty superficial glance at the subject can really fail to distinguish between the legitimacy of a strike for wages and that of a so-called strike against rent. The essence of the first is that the persons on strike keep what is their own—namely, their labour—and refuse to part with it except on terms which suit them. The essence of the second is that the persons who are absurdly described as being on strike against rent keep what belongs to somebody else—namely, land or houses—and refuse to pay for the use which they have already had of it. The word 'strike', however, conceals this glaring contrast, * *."

Judged by the above distinction, it is clear that the Indian boycott is legitimate—for they who practise it keep what is their own—namely money—and refuse to part with it in patronizing foreign goods. The foreign manufacturers can not claim that the Indian market belongs to them and therefore

their manufactures alone should find a place there. There is no resemblance—rather there is a contrast or difference—between the Irish landlords and foreign manufacturers. The same writer who has been quoted above defined boycotting as follows;—

"The word boycotting is, of course, as vague as it is convenient. Its essence is that the process brings the force of numbers to bear upon individuals. It consists of the repetition of a number of what may be called disobliging acts, so concerted and repeated as to make life wretched, though individually they are of no importance, and are for the most part well within the rights of those by whom they are done."

Strictly speaking the word "boycott" cannot be applied to the "boycotting" of foreign goods. The Indian boycott is of that nature regarding which Sir James Stephen wrote in the article from which extracts have been already given above,

"that human nature is so constituted that nearly all our conduct, immensely the greater part of it, is and ought to be regulated much more by a regard to ourselves and to our own interests than by a regard to other people and their interests; that this is the basis on which all law reposes, and in particular that important part of it which assumes the existence of property—that is to say, the power of men to be, for purposes not forbidden by law, absolute masters of such things as they acquire by lawful means—and which protects liberty, which means for one thing the protection of the owners of property from being coerced in the exercise of their rights over their property, by any means whatever not authorised by law."

In India those who practise the so-called "boycott" do so more by a regard to themselves and their own interests than by a regard to other people and their interests; they try to be absolute masters of their money which they have acquired by lawful means and what they simply ask for is that as the owners of money they be protected from being coerced in the exercise of their right over their property, *i.e.* money and be not coerced in parting with it in the purchase of foreign goods. Where does the illegality come in in those who practise the so-called "boycott"?

Sir James Stephen who would, if he could, put down *real* "boycott" by legislation, because according to him, it was of the nature of conspiracy, was obliged to say—

"There is no doubt a difficulty in legislating against boycotting, on account of the apparent harmlessness of the individual acts of which the process consists; * *"

If that was true of the Irish boycott, how then, can there be any legislation against the

so-called Indian boycott, which is quite different from the Irish one in its nature and its process? Those who are asking for legislation to put down the Indian boycott are not actuated by any philanthropic or noble motives. No, the campaign against the use of foreign goods is quite legitimate and justifiable and Indians if they are true to themselves and have any regard for their own interests will vigorously carry on this campaign against foreign goods by all the legitimate means within their power till the Indian market is full of Swadeshi articles.

The Indian Services Examinations and the Bengalees.

The Bengalee Baboo was never an object of love to the Anglo-Indian—whether bureaucrat or not. As Sir H. Cotton tersely put it in his "New India—"

"It is a common thing to hear an English Civilian now say, 'No one can have a more kindly feeling towards the natives of the country than I have; I like the people; I like the masses; I like the up-court y natives; but I cannot endure the Baboos.'"

For the last half a century or more the Bengalee Baboo has been the butt of ridicule, contempt and abuse of the Christian Anglo-Indians. Whenever any measure of political reform was proposed, the Bengalee Baboo was dragged into the controversy more irrelevantly than otherwise for his lion's share of abuse. Why, when the Ilbert Bill was on the legislative anvil, it was the Bengalee Baboo who was the most abused without rhyme or reason, by the charitably disposed members of Anglo-India of all professions. When the Indian National Congress came into existence, it was again the Bengalee Baboo who was abused to their heart's content by Anglo-Indian politicians. When the Legislative Councils were going to be extended and the shadow of Representative Government was proposed to be given to the people of this country, it was Anglo-Indians of the type of the late Mr. Maclean and others who led the campaign of vilification against the Bengalees.

Mr. Herbert Paul succeeded in inducing the House of Commons in 1893 to pass a resolution for holding simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Service. The Anglo-Indians did not let the grass grow under their feet in violently opposing this resolution and also

abusing and vilifying the Bengalee Baboo. The Anglo-Indians triumphed and the resolution of the Parliament was totally ignored. The principal ground of Anglo-Indian opposition was that the Bengalee Baboo, who was in their opinion a coward physically, was an adept at the art of "cramming" and passing examination. And if simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service were held in India, they would monopolize all the posts of that Heaven-born Service to the great detriment of the Administration of the country! By means of statistics, it was tried to be proved that since the time of Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore, the first Indian gentleman who succeeded in entering the ranks of the Indian Civil Service by the front door of open competition, it was the Bengalee Baboos who had in almost nine cases out of ten passed the Competitive Examination with credit. So it was argued that there was no chance for the candidates of other Indian races to enter the Service if simultaneous examinations were held in India. And of course, it was not desirable that Bengalees should be administrators in other provinces except their own!

If the prognostications of the Anglo-Indians were correct, how is it that in recent years we do not see Bengalees succeed in the Competitive Examinations for the Indian Civil and Medical Services? Four Indian candidates succeeded in entering the Indian Medical Service by the portal of the Competitive Examination held in London in August last and not one of these was a Bengalee. It may be that the subtle and quick-witted Bengalees are losing their intelligence under the British rule and therefore they do not succeed in passing the examinations which they used to do with credit not very many years ago, or there may be a more mysterious cause. But be the examination what it may, the chief reason of the Anglo-Indian Baboo-phobists for not holding it simultaneously in England and India is no longer applicable in the present century. And therefore it behoves the Government to hold simultaneous examinations for all the Imperial Services in India and England.

"Longing for the Beloved".

The name given to the picture which forms our frontispiece this month, is *Ut-*

kantha or "Longing for the Beloved". In Sanskrit the heroines of poetical compositions are divided into eight classes, of which *Utkanthita*, "Anxious or Longing for the Beloved" is one.

Mr. Mukandi Lall, who has kindly obtained the permission of the owner of this picture to reproduce it in the *Modern Review*, gives the following account of the artist and his family:—

The author (artist) of the picture "*Utkanthā*" one of the group of "*astanayikas*" (8 heroines) was the fourth in descent of a family of artists that came to Srinagar (Garhwal) from Delhi with Prince Salem. Prince Salem was the nephew of Aurangzib, who ran with his life to take shelter with the then ruling chief of Garhwal District named Fateh Shah or Fateh Singh. Raja Fateh Shah of Garhwal was asked by Aurangzib under threat of war to send back the prince Salem. The Raja treacherously and dishonorably surrendered him to Aurangzib. At the time of his arrest the prince Salem cursed the Raja Fateh Singh in the following words:—

"Remember my words, your kingdom of Garhwal will topple down."

The ancestors of the artist Mola Ram, Shamdas and Kehardas were detained by the Raja Fateh Singh and made Dewan with a Jagir (free-hold) of 60 villages and Rs. 500 a day. These people flourished in the Court of the Raja of Garhwal and continued painting. In their fourth generation was born our artist Mola Ram in Sambat 1817 (1766 A.D.) who died in Sambat 1890 at the age of 73. He was a genius, highly gifted. He was not only an artist but also a poet and historian in Hindi and Persian. He has left some manuscripts which, if time permits, I shall make use of and thus shall be able to throw some more light on Aurangzib's life and times. The artist Mola Ram has left a good number of very good old pictures, chief among which are the scenes from Krishna's life, ten incarnations, 10 goddesses (*Mahavidya*) and *Astanayikas*, etc. These pictures are the property of his great-grandson Balak Ram Sah of Srinagar, Garhwal. I hope to place before the readers of the *M. R.* a number of them in succession by the kind permission of Balak Ram Sah. Mola Ram was succeeded by his son Jwala Ram, who was again followed by Atma Ram. These

two men also continued the artistic traditions and painted some pictures. But Atma Ram was the last artist worth the name, of this family—who died in Sambat 1833. Now the descendants of these people, having no encouragement or patronage, have given up the profession. The Jagir which was granted to them by the Raja of Garhwal was continued and added to by the Gurkha rulers of Garhwal too. But the villages of the Jagir were taken away by the British Government, which in place of the Jagir offered a post in some Government office which they refused to accept. In this way many artistic families have ceased to exist.

MUKANDI LALL.

The next Congress.

The nomination of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to the presidential chair of the Lahore Congress has been quite in accordance with the rules drawn up by the Convention formed at Surat. Those who have accepted the constitution drawn up by the Convention as perfectly regular, will also accept this nomination cheerfully,—at least they ought to.

It is true Sir Pherozeshah's notorious letter to Babu Bhupendranath Basu gave offence to the Bengalis. But those who attended the last Madras Congress in spite of that letter cannot now refuse to attend the next Congress, except by a process of hair-splitting. For though Sir Pherozeshah was not the President of the Madras Congress, he was its ruling spirit.

The Editor of the *Indian World* wrote in his review that if Sir Pherozeshah were nominated President, Bengal might have to abstain from attending the next Congress. This has been taken by journalists and politicians in other provinces as a threat to coerce them into nominating some other man than Sir Pherozeshah. We are sure the Editor of the *Indian World* does not believe that his review represents Bengal any more than any other Bengal periodical or newspaper does. No journalist in Bengal has any right to speak in the name of the whole province. We take the *Indian World's* remark to be nothing more than a statement of what may happen. It is not a threat. It is a foolish minority that would seek to coerce a majority; and though we are

Bengalis we humbly venture to think that we are not fools.

It is morally certain that the leading Moderates of Bengal will attend the Lahore Congress; they are habitués of that annual gathering, and cannot give it up. The feeling against Sir Pherozeshah was, if anything, much stronger on the eve of the Madras Congress than now. Yet Bengal Moderates attended the last Congress. Nothing has happened in the interval to stiffen their backs. Every one knows that Government is in favour of a sectional Congress,—that is the principal cause of the success that is said to be attending the efforts of Lahore Congressmen in beating up the recruits. There was a time when some Bengal Moderates boycotted some kinds of direct and indirect association with Government. But since the insistent preaching of the principle of boycotting the Government, by some Extremists, the Moderates have been trying to be above suspicion of this Extremist taint. So we do not think any leading Bengal Moderate would care to become a marked man by boycotting the Government—favoured sectional Congress which is to meet at Lahore.

But supposing the Bengal delegates were to hold aloof from the Lahore Congress, why should they be denounced, as they have been in Moderate journals outside Bengal? We suppose even Bengalis have the right to act according to their principles, and take the consequences. Bengal stands for a United Congress. Bengalis have seen and shown that United Provincial Conferences are practicable. The Pabna, Hooghly, and Soorma Valley Conferences are examples. Then why should a United Congress be impossible? It is the height of political unwisdom to cut off all connection with one's brethren to please strangers whose interests can never be the same as ours. In Bengal Moderates and Extremists have been smitten together with the iron rod of the Executive. We feel that if we cannot rejoice together, we must suffer together. We are, therefore, one. We pray to God that non-Bengal Moderates may also receive some hard blows in furtherance of the welding process, which must precede nation-building.

The Deportations.

In Lord Morley's Oxford speech in June last occurred the following passage:—

"The last observation I have to make is that all those cases will come up for a periodic reconsideration. They will come up very shortly and their consideration will be conducted with a great regard naturally for justice, for firmness, for steadfastness and for resolution. There will be no attempt at all to look at this transaction of these nine deported men otherwise than as a disagreeable measure."

This was understood to mean reconsideration with a view to release or otherwise. But now we are told by the Master of Elibank that this periodical reporting process has reference only to the health, conduct, &c. of the deportees. So political truthfulness certainly means something entirely different from ordinary veracity.

The Discovery of the North Pole.

Whether Dr. Cook or Commander Peary has discovered the North Pole does not concern us much. The gain to science from the observations taken there must be valuable, but cannot be appreciated by us all. But what we can all appreciate and admire are the patriotism, the pluck, the love of adventure, the power of endurance, the perseverance and the capacity for organisation, which the Western races have displayed in the many Polar Expeditions which have been hitherto sent northwards. Even if the discovery of the North Pole be useless from the economical and scientific points of view, even if it be considered as simply a hobby, it does not cease to be of great value. For the greatness of races and their stamina are measured by their hobbies as well as by their great achievements. Nothing can be practically gained by swimming across the English Channel. Yet how many have attempted it! Where are our hobbies? Alas for the repression of all display of superabundant energy, even if we possess any, from childhood upwards, to which we fall victims, we cannot have any great hobbies!

Pictures of Kol Tribes.

We reproduce in this number a good many photographs of Kol Tribes. They do not, strictly speaking, illustrate the article which treats of them. But they are of value as a record. For, though these tribes possess too much vitality to be

civilized off the face of the earth, they may cease to be what they are now in their dress, manners and customs, ways of life and surroundings. In spite of growing scarcity of food, they are still, after ages of depression, fine specimens of humanity, and will, in wise and skilful hands, form good material for the Indian National Edifice. Where are the builders, to give them proper shape?

Madan Lal Dhingra's Dead Body.

Madan Lal Dhingra has been legally executed. Of him there is nothing more to be said. But the conduct of his relatives requires some explanation. Many have wondered at the singular conduct which the family members of the assassin exhibited in engaging a counsel not to defend Madan Lal but to protest their loyalty in the open court. The fact is that the kith and kin of Madan Lal were, to quote a vulgarism, in a "funk." The conduct which they exhibited was what they considered to be prudent on their part. The Anglo-Indian coffee-planter Mr. Robert H. Elliot writing in Fraser's Magazine for April 1872 (p. 407) on the assassination of Lord Mayo said:—

"It should be proclaimed from one end of India to the other, that anyone convicted of treason will be hanged, the whole of his kith and kin banished, and the possessions of the family forfeited to the State. A barbarous remedy truly, it will be said, but we must in any case be content for many a year to come, and for ever if we continue our present system of government, to say with Macbeth:

'All causes shall give way; I am in blood for mine own good,
Stepp'd in so far, that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious, as go o'er.'

We are aware that the course recommended will be in the last degree unpalatable to the tender-hearted British people; but if we do not choose to govern the country, at least to some extent, on Asiatic principles, the sooner we leave it the better."

In a footnote the writer added:—

"We believe that the French stamped out the vendetta in Corsica by the simple process of putting a murderer's kith and kin in gaol till he gave himself up."

The Home Secretary did not accede to the last prayer of Madan Lal that after his death his body be cremated and not buried. In this he followed the practice adopted in the case of the perpetrators of Ghazi outrages in India.

The bodies of Ghazis are burnt and not buried—because the fanatic Muhammadans believe that they would be debarred from entering Heaven if they were burned. Wrote Mr. Elliot in the paper from which the above extract has been made:—

In conclusion, we must protest, as strongly as possible, against the adoption for the future of the course pursued as regards Chief Justice Norman's murderer. He was, the reader will recollect, not only subjected to every possible personal indignity, but the Government, by burning the body, showed in the eyes of the people a ferocious desire to injure the prospects of the deceased in a future state. This action of the Government, as has been amply seen from the murder that followed, is not sufficient to act as a deterrent, while it exasperated the Mahommedans to the highest degree, and is supposed by some to have had no small effect in aiding to bring about the assassination of Lord Mayo, who approved of the indignities practised on the murderer and his remains."

The Rammohan Ray Anniversary.

We are glad to notice that the Anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohan Ray on the 27th September was this year, as in previous years, celebrated all over India, ladies and gentlemen of widely different religious persuasions taking part in the celebrations. The best and only way to do him honour is like him to seek the truth and do right.

The late Mr. Lalmohan Ghose.

The late Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose whose death is widely mourned in all provinces, was noted for his oratorical powers, his linguistic attainments and his forensic ability. He will be remembered as the first Indian to try to enter the British Parliament, and as having started the proposal to boycott British goods as a part of the Anti-Partition movement in Bengal. Two fragments—one being an incomplete English metrical translation of the Bengali poem, *Meghnad Badh*, and the other an unfinished life of Napoleon Buonaparte,—alone remain to testify to his literary powers.

Our next number.

Our November number will be published and despatched by post on or before the 18th October. Subscribers please note.



Mundas Dancing.

It is a graceful dance, but the posing has been unfortunate.



Munda Youth.

Photo by Mr. A. T. Dutt.

Mark the manly bearing and intelligent look.



A Ho (Singbhum).

Photo by the late Mr. Peppe.

By the permission of the British Museum.

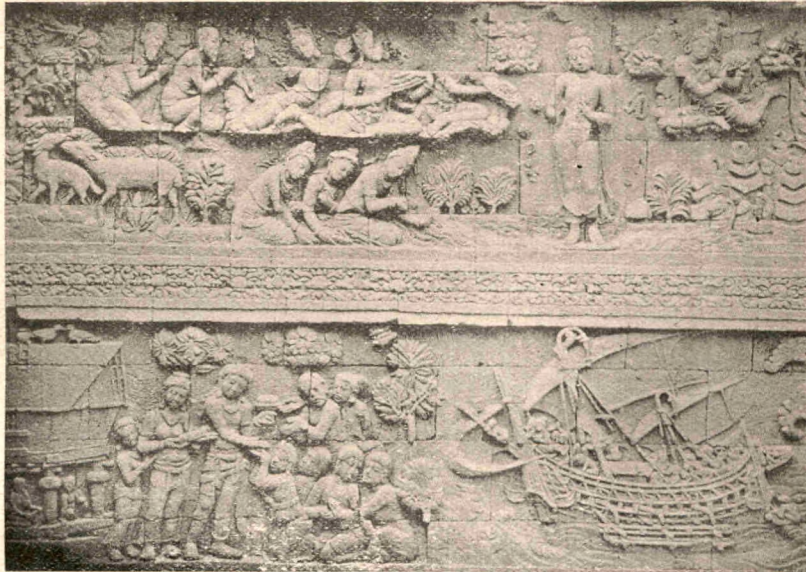


Asurs or Aguria Mundas smelting iron.

Photo by the late Mr. Peppe. By the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley of Ranchi.
The wicker baskets contain char-coal.



Munda women transplanting paddy seedlings.



Relief at Borobudur (representing a ship and its crew).



Buddha Preaching.

(Gandharan Sculpture from Loriyan Tangai.)

Reproduced from Mr. Havell's Indian Sculpture and Painting".



Munda women drawing water from a *dari*.
[From a photo by Mr. A. T. Dutt.]





Juang girls (Keonjhar).

[From photo by the late Mr. Peppe, with the kind permission of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.]



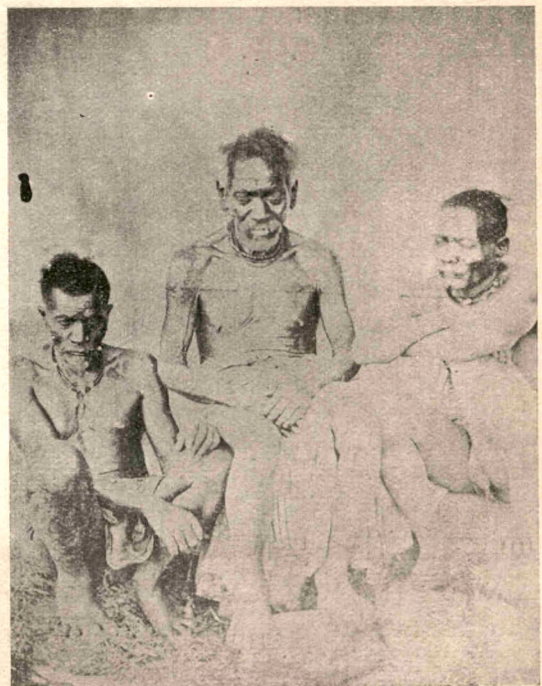
Korowah.

[From photo by the late Mr. Peppe, with the kind permission of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.]



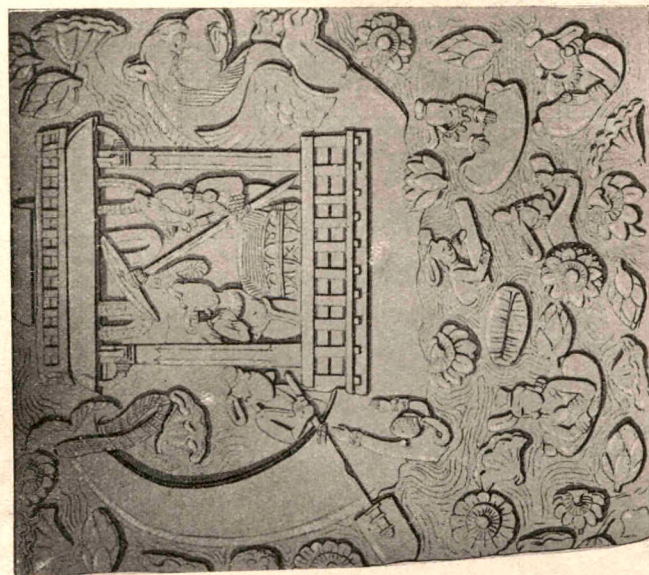
Bhumij Mundas (Singbhum).

[From photo by the late Mr. Peppe, with the kind



Juangs (Keonjhar).

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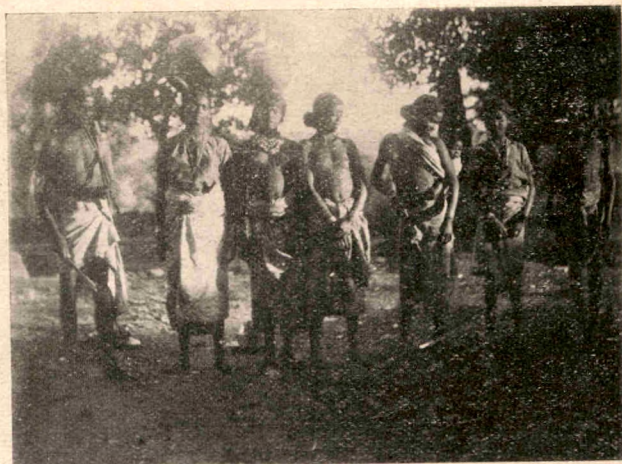


Sculptures from the Sanchi Stupas.

(To illustrate "Shipping and ship-building in Ancient India").



Santal woman and boy.
Photo by Rev. Fr. Vandendrusche of Ranchi.



A Munda Group.
Photo by Mr. A. T. Dutt.



Ho girl (Singbhum).
Photo by the late Mr. Peppe.
By the courtesy of Rev Mr. Whitley.

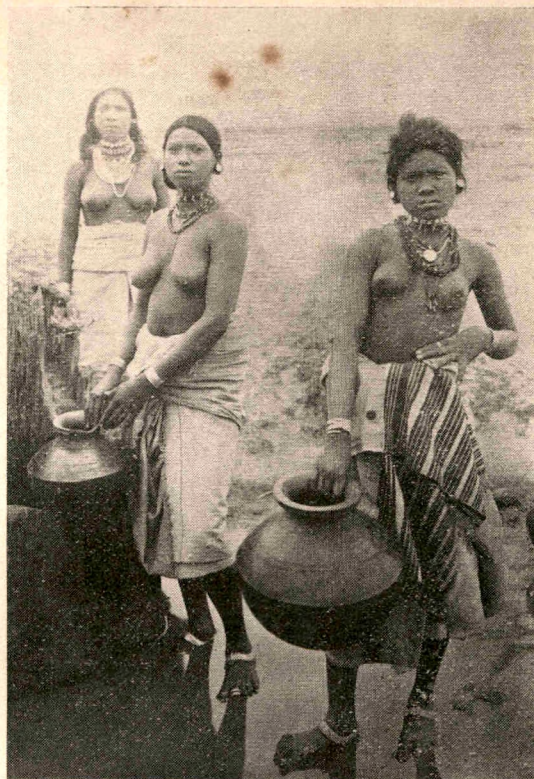


Korowas (Jashpur).
Photo by the late Mr. Peppe.
By the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.



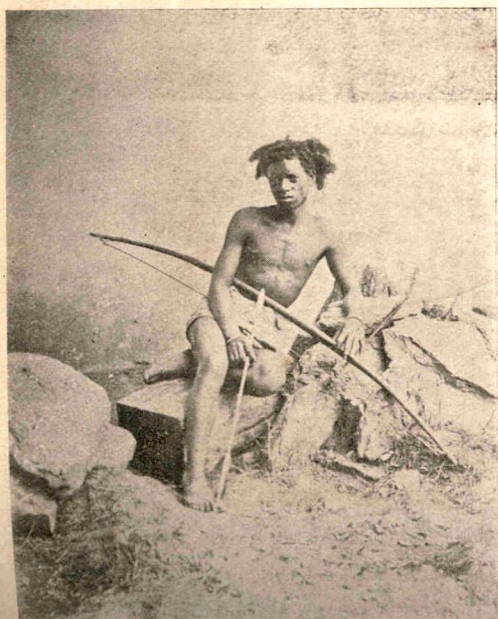
A Bhuiya (Keonjhar).

Photo by the late Mr. Peppe.
By the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.

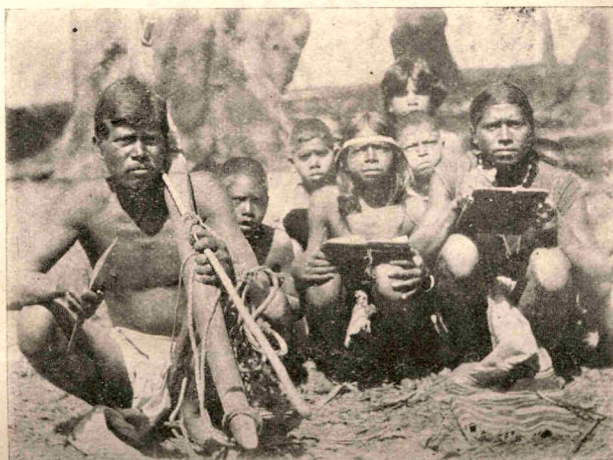


Munda women drawing water from a spring (*dari*).

Photo by Mr. A. T. Dutt.
Mark the dignified bearing of the woman in the background.



A Kisan or Nagesar (A Kol tribe of Jashpur).



Munda boys at school.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VI
No. 5

NOVEMBER, 1909

WHOLE
No. 35

PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIALISM AND AGRICULTURE

I. DIVISION vs. INTEGRATION OF LABOUR.

UNDER the title of '*Fields, factories and workshops*' (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1907) Prince Kropotkin has written a book which like his other books throws a good deal of new light on certain economic problems of the first importance. In his book on *Mutual Aid* he has shown that co-operation is a much more important factor in social evolution than Darwin's theory of the brutal fight of each against all and the survival of the fittest. In the present volume he tries to dethrone two other popular gods—Adam Smith and Malthus—from the high position hitherto occupied by them in the esteem of western economists.

Division of Labour was the watchword of Adam Smith and is an article of faith with his disciples, who regard specialisation as the main factor in industrial efficiency, though it has the effect of reducing the workman to a mere appenage of a machine, to "the eighteenth part of a pin." Opposed to this theory Kropotkin places his theory of the Integration of Labour. He maintains that in order to make society really efficient, manufacture and agriculture must go hand in hand, manual work and intellectual work must be combined, and this integration will in increasing degrees be brought about by the necessity of each nation being its own producer and the consumer of its own produce, both manufacturing and agricultural.

The immense wealth derived from the conquest of India gave England a start in

manufacturing enterprise. Forty years ago, France was the tributary of England for manufactured produce; to-day her exports of manufactured goods are valued at one-half of those of Great Britain, and for her own consumption she shows a decided tendency towards becoming an entirely self-supporting country. Thirty years ago, Germany was a customer of England; now she is a formidable rival. Austria, Hungary, Italy, follow the same lines of industrial emancipation; even Brazil and Mexico now manufacture their own cotton fabrics, in first-class factories, and Spain and Servia are going to join the manufacturing nations. Russia now manufactures most of the commodities she requires. 'Thanks to English and French engineers to begin with, and afterwards to technical progress within the country itself, Russia needs no longer to import any part of her railway plants.' The United States and Japan are now among the foremost manufacturing countries. Even India now produces cotton fabrics, jute, coal (India gets two-thirds of her coal supply from her mines), and iron, and the swadeshi spirit is the same as that described by a French economist in connection with the Turin exhibition of 1884: "You see everywhere a considerable industrial and commercial effort made. Italy aspires to go on without foreign produce. The patriotic watchword is Italy all by herself! It inspires the whole mass of producers. There is not a single manufacturer or tradesman, who, even in the most trifling circumstances, does not do his best to emancipate himself from foreign guardian-

ship." At first it was conveniently supposed that some countries were by nature adapted to be producers of raw materials only, and others to be manufacturers of finished products. But this illusion has been broken. The monopoly of the first comers in the industrial field has ceased to exist. Lyons silk is now made in Germany, Italy, Japan and elsewhere, Britain and Belgium have no longer the monopoly of the woollen trade. The watch trade is no longer a specialty of Switzerland—watches are now made everywhere. 'Each nation becomes in turn a manufacturing nation; and the time is not far off when each nation of Europe, as well as the United States, and even the most backward nations of Asia and America, will themselves manufacture nearly everything they are in need of.'

There was a time when England alone manufactured cotton fabrics. But about 1880 she possessed only 55 per cent. of all the spindles at work. In 1893 the proportion was still further reduced to 41 p.c. She was thus losing ground which other nations were winning. 'The appearance of the cotton industry in a country, or in fact, of any textile industry, unavoidably becomes the starting-point for the growth of a series of other industries; chemical and mechanical works, metallurgy and mining, feel at once the impetus given by a new want. The whole of the home industries, as well as technical education altogether, must improve in order to satisfy that want as soon as it has been felt.' 'For each new comer [in the field of industrial competition] the first steps only are difficult. But as soon as any industry has taken firm root, it calls into existence hundreds of other trades, and as soon as the first steps have been made, and the first obstacles have been overcome, the industrial growth goes on at an accelerated rate'.

The perception of the fact that industrial hegemony cannot now be the monopoly of any one nation has involved the western nations in a mad race for colonies and markets. But Kropotkin says: 'There is not a second India in the world, and the old conditions will be repeated no more'. Where half a century was formerly required to develop an industry a few years now suffice. Even as regards our helpless motherland Kropotkin is sanguine that she

will soon manufacture all that she needs. He gives facts and figures to justify this hope, and adds, 'As to the superiority of workmanship, nobody who knows the Hindu worker will doubt about his capacities.' 'As for the quality of the mills, the blue books praise them; the German Chambers of Commerce state that the best spinning mills in Bombay do not now stand far behind the best German ones; and two great authorities in the cotton industry, Mr. James Platt and Mr. Henry Lee, agree in saying that "in no other country of the earth except in Lancashire do the operatives possess such a natural leaning to the textile industry as in India".'

'Those who dream of monopolising technical genius are therefore fifty years behind the times. . . The fine British workmanship in mechanical arts, the American boldness for gigantic enterprise, the French systematic mind, and the German pedagogy, are becoming international capacities. Sir William Armstrong in his Italian and Japanese workshops communicates to Italians and Japanese those capacities for managing huge iron masses which have been nurtured on the Tyne.' Thus, as the manufacturing nations are meeting with steadily-growing difficulties in selling their manufactured goods abroad, and getting food in exchange, they will be compelled to manufacture only for home customers, and to grow their own agricultural produce. This will bring about integration in the place of the prevailing division of labour, which is the aim of Prince Kropotkin.

II. AGRICULTURE

Malthus's celebrated Law of Population teaches that the supply of the means of existence is insufficient to meet the requirements of the rapidly multiplying population of the world. Kropotkin maintains that this is not true. England, for instance, at present produces food which cannot maintain more than a third of its population. But Kropotkin shows, by elaborate exposition of what has been done in the field of agriculture, that the land which can be devoted in England to the production of foodgrains is quite sufficient to maintain a much larger population than the country at present possesses. The secret of produc-

tivity lies in intensive agriculture, which aims at high crops on a limited area. In France and Belgium, both manufactures and agriculture are highly developed. Horticulture—market gardening (partly under glass) and fruit-growing—has yielded marvellous results in the Channel Islands; and America and Canada have proved that the possibilities of intensive agriculture are immense. The soil of Belgium is not naturally fertile, but it has been made so entirely by man at less cost than would usually be supposed. In Jersey, the farmers obtain agricultural produce to the value of £50 to each acre of the aggregate surface of the island. In the opinion of Prince Kropotkin, 'it is utterly impossible to foresee at the present moment the limits as to the maximum number of human beings who could draw their means of subsistence from a given area of land.' The following account of the way in which agricultural knowledge is propagated in the New World will be of interest to us in India :

"In every American State and in every distinct region of Canada there is an experimental farm, and all the work of preliminary experiment upon new varieties of wheat, oats, fodder and fruit, which the farmer has mostly to make himself in Europe, is made under the best scientific conditions at the experimental farms, on a small scale first and on a large scale next. The results of all these researches and experiments are not merely rendered accessible to the farmer who would like to know them, but they are brought to his knowledge, and so to speak, are forced upon his attention, by every possible means. The 'bulletins' of the agricultural stations are distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies; visits to the farms are organised in such a way that thousands of farmers should inspect the stations every year and be shown by specialists the results obtained, either with new varieties of plants or under various new methods of treatment. Correspondence is carried on with farmers on such a scale that, for instance, at Ottawa, the experimental farm sends out every year a hundred thousand letters and packets. Every farmer can get, free of charge and postage, three pounds of seed of any variety of cereals, out of which he can get next year the necessary seed for sowing several acres.

And finally, in every small and remote township are held farmers' meetings, at which special lecturers who are sent out by the experimental farms or the local agricultural societies, discuss with the farmers in an informal way the results of last year's experiments and discoveries relative to every branch of agriculture, horticulture, cattle-breeding, dairying, and agricultural co-operation."

Prince Kropotkin concludes, as a result of his investigations, that 'our means of obtaining from the soil whatever we want, under *any* climate and upon *any* soil, have lately been improved at such a rate that we cannot foresee yet what is the limit of productivity of a few acres of land,' and that 'there is not one nation in the world which, being armed with the present powers of agriculture, could not grow on its cultivable area all the food and most of the raw materials derived from agriculture which are required for its population, even if the requirements of that population were rapidly increased as they certainly ought to be.' Indeed, Kropotkin goes so far as to hold that if the soil of a commune were once permanently improved by organised labour on the part of all its members, less than a fortnight's work would be necessary to grow the yearly bread fruit for an average family of five persons.

III. SMALL INDUSTRIES.

In these days of mammoth factories and huge industries, the immense variety of petty trades which still persist all over Europe is apt to be overlooked. One-half of the population of France live upon agriculture, and one-fourth upon industry, and this fourth part is equally distributed between the great industries and the small ones. More than one fourth of the Belgian industrial workers are employed in small workshops which have, on the average, less than three workers each. In Austria, Hungary, Italy, the United States and Russia, the petty trades occupy an even more prominent position.

These industries are broadly divisible into two classes, e.g. cottage or domestic industries carried on in the villages where they are a by-occupation of agricultural workers; and petty trades which are carried on in the suburbs and slums of

cities and which have no connection whatever with land. Small industries which are divorced from land flourish only, as in the suburbs of Paris, when they are concerned with the manufacture of articles of luxury for which there is a certain demand. Farmers have no work on their hands during certain seasons of the year, and industrial occupation then comes to them as a second string to their bow. Besides, those who have a few acres of land or some head of cattle to fall back upon, are not entirely dependent on wholesale dealers and 'sweaters' for the sale of their manufactured produce. Hence most of the petty trades flourish only in combination with agriculture. The vast bulk of the produce of the great manufactories consists of 'shoddy' goods, intended for export to distant and more primitive countries. All plain articles which can be produced by the million with the aid of complicated machinery can best be turned out in such factories. Again, there are industries in which the co-operation of hundreds or thousands of workers is necessary and such industries cannot of course be carried on in cottages. The great iron works and mining concerns, the gigantic spinning and weaving mills belong to this category; oceanic steamers cannot be built in village factories. But in the artistic finishing of many factory products, as well as in new and young trades in which factories for production on an extensive scale are not yet required, and in the manufacture of things demanding artistic skill and invention, where so much depends on the peculiar genius of the individual worker, such as toy-making, bicycle-making, fancy knitting, fabrication of mathematical and optical instruments, of furniture, small luxury articles, pottery, artistic lace and silk weaving, high-class cutlery (the best Sheffield cutlery is hand made) and the like, handwork is sure to supersede machine work.

One great objection to the setting up of huge factories is that they cannot be easily adapted to the constantly varying demands of consumers. Cottage industry does not degrade the labourer to the level of the machine, and blunt his intelligence and inventiveness; he retains his independence and self-respect, and can take an intelligent

interest in his work, and live in his home in the midst of his family, and enjoy plenty of light and air when at work. The points in favour of the great industries are: (1) economy in the cost of motive power, (2) division of labour and its harmonious organisation, (3) the advantages offered for buying raw material and selling the finished product. Of these advantages, the first is being more and more eliminated every year by the progress achieved in the transmission of motive power and in the perfection of 'hand-motors' moved by water, gas or electricity; the second exists, to the necessary extent, in small industries as well; but the third is the most considerable, and its want is the greatest drawback in the way of the small producers, and can be overcome only by organisation and development of the spirit of association among them.

Each new factory calls into existence a number of small workshops, partly to supply its own needs and partly to submit its produce to a further transformation, e.g., the cotton mills of Lancashire have created an immense demand for wooden bobbins which are made in small factories. The vitality of small industries is best exemplified in the case of the textile industry, for in spite of the prevalence of huge power-loom factories the handloom flourishes everywhere in Western Europe. Some of the other small trades which flourish in Europe are:—basket-making, button-making, umbrellas, celluloid handles, tanneries, guns and rifles (Birmingham, France &c.), hosiery, straw-plaiting, linen handkerchiefs, embroideries, tin-ware, polishing needles, metal, horn and mother-of-pearl manufactures, combs, hardware and locks, penknives, matchboxes, card-board cases, sheaths, watchmaking, &c.

The combination of industrial art with agriculture makes it possible to understand why France, taking the mass of its population, is considered the richest country in Europe. In Switzerland the small industries display great activity and this has been fostered by three different sets of measures; (1) the extension of co-operation in the village communes, (2) a wide extension of technical education in the schools and the introduction of new branches of semi-artistic production in different parts of the country, (3) the supply of cheap motive power in

the houses by means of a hydraulic or electrical transmission of power borrowed from the waterfalls.

IV. BRAIN WORK AND MANUAL WORK.

In olden times men of science did not despise manual work. Galileo made telescopes with his own hands. Newton could grind his own lenses. Leibnitz was fond of inventing machines. Linnæus was a practical gardener. The intelligence and curiosity of these old masters were stimulated by the atmosphere of manual work they lived in. The Division of Labour theory has now sharply differentiated the brain worker from the manual worker. There are now the scientists who are supposed to discover the laws of nature, the scientific engineers who apply them, and the workers who execute in steel, wood, iron or stone the patterns devised by the engineers. The worker, confined to the making of an eighteenth part of a pin all his life, does not take an intelligent interest in his work, and invents no more. In the interests of social wellbeing, both science and handicraft should be taught together. This is the complete education which should be the aim of the future. In the Moscow Technical School the attempt has been partially made and has been thoroughly successful. The method has been copied in the Chicago Manual Training School and the Boston Technical School, and in Gordon's College, Aberdeen. In the Moscow school, drawing was considered the first essential step; the student was then brought to the carpenter's workshop, where he was thoroughly taught to execute carpentry and joining; then he was transferred to the turner's workshop, where he was taught to make in wood the patterns of those things which he would have to make in metal in the following workshops. The foundry followed, and there the student was taught to cast those parts of machines which he had prepared in wood; and it was

only after he had gone through all these processes that he was admitted to the smith's and engineering workshops. Alongside of this practical training, the student, who generally entered the school when he was a boy of fifteen with only a substantial knowledge of Geometry and Algebra, was given a thorough training in higher mathematics, physics, mechanics and the connected sciences. As a result, after 5 or 6 years of this education, the students fabricated with their own hands and without the help of professional workmen, fine steam-engines, from the very boiler to the last finely-turned screw, agricultural machinery and scientific apparatus, all of which received the highest awards at the international exhibitions. But in the Moscow school, which aimed at training up the complete man, the humanitarian branches of learning were rather neglected. In Bengal, the proposed union of the National College and the Technical Institute may to a certain extent obviate this result. Waste of time in burdening the brain with bootless information is the bane of modern university education. This should be avoided, and independent thinking stimulated. Everything which the pupil makes in the workshop should be utilised and this will lead to economy and give the learner a real interest in his work. In a hundred cases against one, mechanical invention comes before the discovery of the scientific law, e.g., the dynamical theory of heat followed the invention of the steam-engine. Thus, if we are to expect inventors in our country, we must train our young men in the use of their hands and eyes, familiarise them with machines and their leading principles, and make them habitually breathe the atmosphere of the workshop and the building-yard. This is how the Watts and Stephenson of a bygone century became great inventors, and unless science and handicraft are brought into closer union, their successors will be few.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1813—1833

II. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

IT has been said before that the Government of India did not devote the sum of one lac of rupees a year to the purpose for which it had been intended by the Legislature to be spent. They did not establish any school or college for the instruction of Indians.* The Court of Directors also did not encourage the Government of India to do anything for the diffusion of education among the inhabitants of this country. In their letter to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 3rd June 1814, the Court of Directors wrote:—

"The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country.

"Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our Universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration."

So the Indian Government did not take the initiative in the matter of the education of the people of this country. It was the people themselves who had to take the initiative and to do the needful. In this direction the people of Bengal were the first to understand the necessity of educating their countrymen by their own efforts. There was one man amongst them, who may be truly called the prophet of his race, who understanding the importance of education in elevating his countrymen in

* The Marquess of Hastings was Governor-General of India when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1813. Although he did not do much for the spread of education, his wife, Lady Hastings, established a school in Barrackpore, and under her patronage got treatises compiled for the use of the scholars.

the scale of nations spared neither trouble nor money to get that object accomplished. That man was the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy. It was he who conceived the idea of that educational institution which came to be the well-known Hindoo College of Bengal. It was the first institution of its kind in India and it worked wonders, because the educated men it turned out were the pioneers of all those movements in Bengal which has made that province the "Brain of India".

Although Raja Ram Mohun Roy conceived the idea of the establishment of the Hindoo College, it was Sir Edward Hyde East who was principally instrumental in establishing that institution. Sir Edward Hyde East was Chief Justice in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. In letters written to his friend Mr. Harrington, who was the senior judge of the Sudder Dewany and Nizamat Adawlut at Calcutta, then absent in England, Sir Edward Hyde East gave an account of the origin of the Hindoo College. Extracts from these letters were published in one of the Parliamentary Blue Books† from which the following passages are reproduced:—

In his letter, dated Calcutta, 18th May 1816, Sir Edward Hyde East wrote:—

"An interesting and curious scene has lately been exhibited here, which shows that all things pass under change in due season. About the beginning of May a Brahmin of Calcutta,‡ whom I knew, and who is well-known for his intelligence and active interference among the principle native inhabitants, and also intimate with many of our own gentlemen of distinction, called upon me and informed me, that many of the leading Hindoos were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition; and desired that I would lend them my aid toward it, by having a meeting held under my sanction. Wishing to be satisfied how the Government would view such a measure, I did not at first

† Lords Committee's Second Report on Indian Territories, Session 1852-53, p. 235 *et seq.*

‡ This of course refers to Raja Ram Mohun Roy.

give him a decided answer; but stated, that however much I wished well, as an individual, to such an object, yet, in the public situation I held, I should be cautious not to give any appearance of acting from my own impulse in a matter which I was sure that the Government would rather leave to them (the Hindoos) to act in, as they thought right, than in any manner to control them; but that I would consider of the matter, and if I saw no objection ultimately to the course he proposed, I would inform him of it; and if he would then give me a written list of the principal Hindoos to whom he alluded, I would send them an invitation to meet at my house.

"After his departure, I communicated to the Governor-General what had passed, who laid my communication before the Supreme Council, all the members of which approved of the course I had taken, and signified, through his Lordship, that they saw no objection to my permitting the parties to meet at my house.

"It seemed indeed to be as good an opportunity as any which could occur of feeling the general pulse of the Hindoos, as to the projected system of national moral improvement of them recommended by Parliament (and towards which they have directed a lac to be annually laid out), and this without committing the Government in the experiment. The success of it has much surpassed any previous expectation. The meeting was accordingly held at my house on the 14th of May 1816, at which 50 and upwards of the most respectable Hindoo inhabitants of rank or wealth attended, including also the principal Pundits; when a sum of nearly half a lac of rupees was subscribed, and many more subscriptions were promised. Those who were well acquainted with this people, and know how hardly a Hindoo parts with his money upon any abstract speculation of mental advantage, will best know how to estimate this effort of theirs. It is, however, a beginning made towards improvement which surprises those who have known them the longest, and many of themselves also. Most of them, however, appeared to take great interest in the proceedings, and all expressed themselves in favour of making the acquisition of the English language a principal object of education, together with its moral and scientific productions.

"I first received some of the principal Hindoos in a room adjoining to that where the generality were to assemble. There the Pundits, to most of whom I was before unknown, were introduced to me. The usual mode of salutation was on this occasion departed from; instead of holding out money in his hand for me to touch (a base and degraded custom), the chief Pundit held out both his hands closed towards me; and as I offered him my hand, thinking he wished to shake hands in our English style, he disclosed a number of small sweet-scented flowers, which he emptied into my hand, saying that those were the flowers of literature, which they were happy to present to me on this occasion, and requested me to accept from them (adding some personal compliments). Having brought the flowers to my face, I told him that the sweet scent was an assurance to me that they would prove to be the flowers of morality, as well as of literature, to his nation, by the assistance of himself and his friends. This appeared to gratify them very much."

Ram Mohun Roy was the prime mover for the establishment of the Hindoo College. But the leading Hindoos of Calcutta strongly objected to associate with him in this educational movement. The principal ground of their objection has been very clearly set forth by Sir Hyde East in the letter under reference. Ram Mohun Roy appeared to the Hindoos to all intents and purposes a Mussalman.

"Talking afterwards with several of the company, before I proceeded to open the business of the day, I found that one of them in particular; a Brahmin of good caste, and a man of wealth and influence, was mostly set against Ram Mohun Roy, * * * * He expressed a hope that no subscription would be received from Ram Mohun Roy. I asked, why not? 'Because he has chosen to separate himself from us, and to attack our religion.' * * * *

"Upon another occasion I had asked a very sensible Brahmin what it was that made some of his people so violent against Ram Mohun. He said in truth, they did not like a man of his consequence to take open part against them; that he himself had advised Ram Mohun against it; he had told him that if he found any thing wrong among his countrymen, he should have endeavoured, by private advice and persuasion to amend it; but that the course he had taken set everybody against him, and would do no good in the end. They particularly disliked (and this I believe is at the bottom of the resentment) his associating himself so much as he does with Mussalmans, not with this or that Mussalman, as a personal friend, but being continually surrounded by them, and suspected to partake of meals with them. In fact, he has, I believe, newly withdrawn himself from the society of his brother Hindoos, whom he looked down upon, which wounds their pride.

"The principal objects proposed for the adoption of the meeting * * were the cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindoostanee tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals * *; Grammar, writing (in English as well as Bengalee), Arithmetic (this is one of the Hindoo virtues), History, Geography, Astronomy, Mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-letters, poetry, &c., &c.

"One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.

"Another singularity was that the most distinguished Pundits who attended declared their warm approbation of all the objects proposed; and when they were about to depart the head Pundit, in the name of himself and the others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in their country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.

"Another meeting was proposed to be held at the distance of a week; and during this interval I continued to receive numerous applications for permission to attend it. I heard from all quarters of the approbation of the Hindoos at large to the plan; they have promised that a lac shall be subscribed to begin with. It is proposed to desire them to appoint a committee of their own for management, taking care only to secure the attendance of two or three respectable European gentlemen to aid them, and see that all goes on rightly."

It is not necessary to proceed any further with the history of this institution and its successful career. For nearly 40 years it maintained its independent existence and it turned out such scholars and workers as the late Revd. K. M. Banerji, Michael M. S. Dutt, Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, Ram Gopal Ghose, the poet Kashi Prasad Ghose and many others whose names have become almost household words in Bengal. It was about 1854 that this institution was incorporated in what is now known as the Presidency College of Bengal. In August 1853, Dr. Frederick John Mouat, Secretary to the Council of Education, Bengal, drew up a history of the Hindoo College which was published among the selections from the Records of the Bengal Government.* Those who are interested in the subject of education may consult this publication with profit, because it contains much valuable information.

Owing to the prejudice of his countrymen against him, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, with characteristic self-effacement, chose to sever his connection with the Hindoo College. But he never ceased to take interest in matters educational. A writer in the "Indian Echo" for 1883—presumably Mr. K. M. Chatterjee, Barrister-at-law, a grandson of Ram Mohun Roy, wrote:—

"It is known to but a few of our generation that Ram Mohun Roy, baffled in his objects with the Government of the day, established a school of his own, supported entirely by himself, near Cornwallis Square, which afterwards went by the name of Purna Mittra's School. In 1830 the Raja, on the eve of his departure for England, and scarcely sanguine of the success of his own institution, did all in his power to induce people to join the Free Church Institution just founded by the celebrated Dr. Duff."

As regards diffusion of education, the people of Bombay were not idle. Mr. Warden, the President of the Board of

Education at Bombay, in his Report for 1853, wrote:—

"The Board of education, which now superintends under the general orders of the Government, the administration of public instruction throughout the Presidency of Bombay, had its rise as follows:—

"In the year 1820, a Committee of the 'Bombay Education Society' ** formed a committee which was called 'The Native School-book and School Committee.'

"The main object of this Committee was to prepare and provide suitable books of instruction for the use of Native schools in the different vernacular languages and to establish and improve Native Schools; and two years later this Committee became a separate society, denominated, 'The Bombay Native School-book and School Society.' It was for some time supported solely by voluntary subscriptions; but an appeal was made to Government for assistance, and in 1824, Government granted an annual allowance of about 6,000 rupees. In 1825 the Society purchased the ground on which the Elphinstone College stands, and the name of the Society was changed to that of 'Bombay Native Education Society.'

"For several years these Societies laboured under pecuniary and other difficulties, but on the retirement of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone from the Government of this Presidency in 1827, a powerful stimulus was given to the cause of education. In honour of that illustrious man, ** who had governed Bombay seven years, influential natives in every province on this side of India came forward and raised, in conjunction with Europeans, a durable monument to his memory, in the shape of a subscription to the astonishing amount of nearly 30,000£, appropriated to the promotion of Native Education, * *. This liberal conduct at once placed the cause on a firm basis. It was determined to appropriate the sum raised to the foundation of 'Elphinstone Professorships,' for teaching the English language, and the arts, the sciences, and the literature of Europe. Government then came forward and placed an annual sum of 44,000 rupees at the disposal of the Directors of Education, in support of the Elphinstone Professorships, and for the use of the institutions at the Presidency.

"In 1832 a plan for the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships was arranged. The Elphinstone College was erected, and a College Council appointed, * *. The connexion of this Society with the Elphinstone College then ceased. The management of the College, vested in the Council, became subject to the general control of Government."†

Private enterprise in the matter of education was not limited to the presidency towns of Calcutta and Bombay only, it extended also to many a mofussil station of note. Thus one Bengali gentleman named Joynarain Ghoshal, an inhabitant of Benares, presented a petition to the

* No XIV. Papers relating to the Establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal, 1854.

† Pp: 377-378. L. Committee's Second Report on Indian Territories, 1853."

Marquess Hastings when his Lordship visited the Upper Provinces in 1814,

"with proposals for establishing a school in the neighbourhood of that city, and requesting that government would receive in deposit the sum of Rs. 20,000, the legal interest of which, together with the revenue arising from certain lands, he wished to be appropriated to the expense of the institution. The design meeting with the approbation of Government, Joynarrain Ghossal was acquainted therewith. Accordingly in July 1818, he founded his school,

were soon collected for instruction, and great numbers continuing to apply for admission, a statement of the school was submitted, through the agents at Benares, to the Governor-general in Council, with an application for pecuniary aid from Government; this was immediately granted to the extent of Rs. 252. 12 as, per mensem or per annum, Rs 3,033.

"In this school, the English, Persian, Hindoostanee and Bengallee languages are taught; a number of poor children are admitted into the house, where they are subsisted and clothed; other poor children receive small allowances for subsistence out of the house. The children are admitted without regard to caste or country: no scholar is admitted under seven years of age, nor do any receive pecuniary support for more than seven years; * * A library and museum, in connection with the school, were proposed to be formed by voluntary contribution. * * * *

"In April 1825, Colly Shunker Ghossal, son of Joynarrain Ghossal, augmented the funds of this school by a donation of Rs. 20,000. * * *

The College at Agra was established from the rent of certain lands held by one Gungadhar Sastri.

"It is stated that in the year 1802, the local agents in the Agra District reported the existence of certain lands held by the late Gungadhar Pandit in Agra and Ally Gurb, yielding an annual rent of nearly 16,000 rupees, which constituted an endowment applicable to the maintenance of schools and seminaries of learning. The accumulated proceeds of these lands amounted to nearly 1,50,000 rupees, interest upon which being allowed, an annual income would be yielded by the endowment, of 20,000 rupees, forming a fund adequate to the support of a collegiate establishment—a scale creditable to the Government and beneficial to the people." † * *

In the districts of the Bombay Presidency also, several institutions for the education of the natives were founded by the voluntary contributions and donations of the people themselves. The most noteworthy of these institutions was the Native School Society of the Southern Concan.

"This society was formed on the 15th June 1823, by the exertions of Lieutenant J. B. Jervis, for the establishment of native schools in the Southern Concan. It commenced its operations with a fund

* Pp: 404-405 of Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I (public)."

† *Ibid.* p. 408.



GANGADHAR SASTRI.

appointing to the management thereof, the Rev. D. Corrie, corresponding member of the Calcutta Church Missionary Society, * * Owing to some litigation respecting the lands, with the revenues of which it was Joynarrain Ghossal's original intention to endow the school, he delivered up to Mr. Corrie a house in Benares, to be used as a school-house, and assigned a monthly revenue of 200 rupees for the support of the institution.

"Nearly 200 children, Hindoo and Mussulman,



PATCHEAPPAH MUDALIAR.

amounting, in annual subscriptions and donations, to 1,600 rupees, including some liberal contributions made by natives of distinction. With this sum three schools were established at Rutnagherry, Nandwera, and Chiploon, for instruction in the Mahratta language. * * * *

"Material assistance in the establishment and management of these schools appears to have been

derived from two public-spirited natives, Mahomed Ibrahim Pacha and Vittoba Ragoonath Caunt, * * * *

PATCHEAPPAH'S SCHOOLS.

Although these schools in the Madras Presidency were not established during the period of which we are treating here, yet this seems to be the proper place to refer to them. Regarding these schools, it is stated in an official publication :—

"The founding of Patcheappah's Schools marks indeed an era in the history of Madras education, as it was the first example of intelligent natives of various castes combining to aid the cause of popular instruction. Patcheappah, in whose name these institutions are founded, was a wealthy Hindoo, who, dying in the last (18th) century, left one lakh of pagodas by his will for the establishment of charities, chiefly of a religious character, but in part dedicated to objects of general benevolence. The Advocate-General, Sir Herbert Compton, having discovered that these charities were totally unperformed, and the funds spoliated by the successive executors of his will, filed an information in the Supreme Court, and obtained a general decree against the party finally liable for an account of the fund, to be paid with accumulated interest—amounting to many lakhs of rupees—and also for the performance of the charities. In the whole there were finally collected to the credit of the charities nearly eight lakhs of rupees. A scheme was prepared, whereby, in due accordance with the provisions of the will, and without trenching upon any specific religious or benevolent charities mentioned in the will, it was proposed that all the accumulated sums beyond one lakh of pagodas (that is, upwards of four lakhs of rupees with all accumulating interest) should be devoted to educational establishments in various parts of the Presidency, and particularly at Madras. The scheme provided all details for the quality, localities, subjects of instruction, and governance of these institutions; and they were all finally incorporated in a decree of the Court. After some years directions were given, under Lord Elphinstone's government, for the Board of Revenue making such orders as were necessary to carry out the decree of the Supreme Court and the wishes of the Court of Directors. A school in Black Town was established in January 1842, for affording gratuitous education to the poorer classes of the native community in the elementary branches of English literature and science, coupled with instruction in Tameel and Telegoo. * * *

* * * In the same year [1846] the Patcheappah trustees took over the charities of another rich native named Govindoo Naidoo. In 1856 scholarships were given in this benefactor's name at Patcheappah's Schools, and later on a separate Primary School was opened from the same funds. The new institution was called "Govindoo Naidoo's Primary School," and was opened in 1864. In the year 1869 a third school of equal importance was established by means of a bequest from C. Sreenivassa Pillay, who had been for several years president of Patcheappah's charities."

[P. 570, Vol. I, Madras Manual of Administration.]

* *Ibid* pp. 430-431.

It is not necessary to multiply other instances of private enterprise in matters educational between the years 1813—1833. In the light of the facts narrated here, it cannot be said that the Government took the initiative in the diffusion of education or rather high education amongst the people of India. Heaven helps those who help themselves. And it was because the people

tried to help themselves in education that the educational policy of Government met with some amount of success. The British mode of the administration of India reduced the people to rank poverty and made them quite helpless and hence they were unable to be quite independent of State aid in education.

"WELFARE WORK": WHAT IT IS AND WHY WE SHOULD ADOPT IT IN INDIA

WESTERN industrialists have learned that, if good work is expected from their employes, they must organize a system of "welfare work" for laboring men and women. Welfare work is not charitable work. Charity represents the aid offered to a poor person who is out of work or incapable of working. Welfare work, on the contrary, means the uplift work engaged in by employers for the benefit of their employes. The industrialists of the Occident look on welfare work as an investment which pays substantial dividends. It represents a bonus over and above the wages paid to laboring people and is calculated to better the conditions under which the working men and women live and work. It aims to make the laborer more contented and comfortable, and in every manner possible to raise the standard of living. A humanitarian spirit has entered into welfare work—a recognition of the duty of the employer toward the hundreds and thousands of men and women who work for him, earning the profits that keep him in opulence; but the industrialists who carry on great welfare enterprises have no hesitancy in confessing that the motive back of the work is not philanthropic, but selfish. They have learned that it is good business policy to treat employes considerately. The vast sums which they yearly expend in this direction have brought a harvest of returns. Indeed, welfare work has proved such a splendid investment that the employers hire specialists at high salaries—men and women who have made

a life-study of uplift work—to take charge of this branch of their business and manage it so that it will bring the greatest returns in healthy, happy, more productive working people. Because it helps along the evolution of unevolved human beings and raises the standard of their living, ideals and ambitions, welfare work is worthy of the consideration of nations in search of models to copy.

Welfare work is about twenty-five years old. It began a quarter of a century ago in Germany, where it was instituted under the name: "*Wohlfahrts Einrichtungen*"—welfare institution—in the Government subsidized factories. At that time bath rooms, club rooms, lunch rooms and similar conveniences were installed in factories for the free use of the employes. It did not take long for Western industrialists to grasp the utility of the innovation and the idea rapidly spread through the West. Today even Japan is copying the welfare methods of the enlightened nations of the Occident. It is only a question of time when India will become quickened to the necessity of similar organized effort for the uplift of the laboring classes. Hindostan is becoming more and more eager to adopt Western industrialism, and it behooves the nation to study features like welfare work which Occidental captains of industry are introducing in order to mitigate the evils of the system and render the lot of the wage earner as happy as possible.

Industrialism, without welfare work, is soulless—inhuman. The poor people who

earn their living by the sweat of their brow, labor under disadvantages from the very beginning of their existence. The child is neglected because the parents must be away all day working hard in mill or factory. Just as soon as the child grows to the age where it can be used as a small cog in the machinery of production, it is set to work. There is little chance for education or for the development of the finer faculties. The child grows to manhood or womanhood a beast of burden, little higher than the animals. From its birth the tentacles of the trade octopus crush it in their merciless grip, squeezing out their life energy in the form of production, throwing aside the battered bodies when their usefulness is gone. Welfare work steps in between the worker and destruction. It aims to soften the blow of the business bludgeon and keep it from stunning the working people into senseless automatons. Industrialism realizes that it pays to have intelligent men and women workers rather than soulless animals. It is poor business policy to employ laborers who have little or no brains, and who are incapable of intelligently doing even physical work. So industrialists are trying to make men and women out of their stolid helpers.

Welfare work expresses itself in many forms. It seeks to better the surroundings of the employe both at home and in the factory; it seeks to make the environment in which the worker lives and labors pleasant and healthful; it provides clean, wholesome recreation for hours of leisure; affords opportunity for mental improvement; furnishes doctors, drugs and nurses if the employe is injured or ill; encourages laboring people to save their money and advises them how to invest their savings to the best advantage; helps them to secure cheap, reliable insurance; and provides relief and pension funds for disability or old age. Both the employer and the employe reap a rich harvest of dividends in the clear heads, steady nerves and iron muscles of the people who take advantage of the opportunities offered them for improvement and advancement. The illiterate are given a chance to secure an education; readers are provided with libraries stocked with choice books; the unskilled may perfect themselves at a trade;

the beneficence of welfare work is so many-sided, possesses so many ramifications that it is impossible to give a detailed account of this great uplift work which will cover the whole ground or carry an idea of its real greatness.

The experiment has been tried so many times that there is no question as to the beneficent results of welfare work of various descriptions. Shops in which lunch rooms have been established where employes can secure a warm meal for a nominal sum instead of the mid-day cold snack, have immediately shown greater and better production. The employes feel more like working hard and conscientiously on a well-filled stomach, and after a warm meal. Their health is improved and they are physically better able to turn out a better grade of work. In some shops where a number of girls are employed, a hot breakfast is provided and the young women are permitted to leave work and eat breakfast at any time. This was done because it was discovered that the young ladies came to work very early in the morning. Usually they ate an insufficient or no breakfast, and during the morning either stole a few minutes to surreptitiously eat a little lunch or worked on empty, rebellious stomachs. It was out of the question to expect that employes working under such a handicap could give the best of themselves to their employer. The factory operatives, toned up by nourishing diet, pay solid returns in better labor for the outlay incurred in feeding them.

A steel and iron company of America maintains probably the finest hospital in the United States, where an average of 65,000 cases yearly are cared for. The man who superintends the welfare work of this company is a physician. Seventeen thousand employes, scattered over four States, are under his care. These employes represent thirty-two nationalities, speak twenty-seven languages and a number of dialects, and number, with their families, 80,000 persons.

Probably the most extensive and intensive welfare work in America is done by the railways. The various railway corporations of the United States annually spend immense sums in looking after the well-being of their employes. It is absolutely necessary for them to do so. The business demands clear

heads, nerves of iron and muscles of steel. If any of these requirements are lacking in an employe—something untoward happens—the railway company pays the damages. It has been found more economical to spend money to keep the employes in perfect condition than to pay damages for accidents.

The story is told of a railway magnate that he never permits a driver to climb up on the engine and engineer the train until he declares on oath that he did not quarrel with his wife the previous night. The psychological reason for this action is easy to explain: a man who has quarrelled with his wife is nervous and sour-tempered. It is not advisable that the lives of a train-load of people should be placed in his hands. It is for this essential reason that the master of this railway line has made this rule. For the self-same reason it is evident that it pays the employer to do everything in his power to make the employe reasonably contented and happy: and this forms the basis of welfare work on railways.

Railway employes are peculiarly susceptible to temptations which, if succumbed to, break down the mind and ruin the constitution, rendering them worthless. The trainmen must spend a great deal of their time away from home. They naturally gravitate to the liquor shop, which, in the Occident, is always elegantly furnished and attractively lighted. The saloon is practically the only place open to them where they can amuse themselves for a small price. Drunkenness and disaster follow. Recognizing this, the different railway companies have established institutions of many kinds, especially designed for the use and benefit of their employes. In some cases the corporations are assisted by the Young Men's Christian Association; but even then the railway companies pay the bulk of the expenses, usually shouldering sixty per cent of the burden.

The clubhouses and similar institutions maintained for railway employes are equipped with every modern convenience for the pleasure and comfort of men. Baths, with an abundance of hot and cold water; restaurants that serve wholesome, well-cooked food at all hours of the day and night; dormitories with plenty of clean, fresh bedding; gymnasiums; libraries and reading rooms stocked with

choice books and magazines and newspapers; billiard and pool rooms, bowling alleys, and writing rooms form part of the equipment of these welfare clubs.

Lecture courses on subjects of interest to railway workers, or general topics, and classrooms where the employes can secure instruction in railroad rules, mathematics, shorthand, telegraphy, operating air-brakes, combustion of coal, mechanical drawing and kindred subjects, are regularly maintained. By taking advantage of these classes operators are able to qualify themselves for higher positions. The spiritual side receives attention; but religion is not forced on the men. The employes pay, in some cases, a fee of from Rs. 9 to Rs. 15 annually. This entitles them to the free use of the building and includes the use of the library, reading room and correspondence rooms. A small fee, barely covering the cost, is assessed for meals, bed and baths. The buildings are open day and night and a meal or a bath may be had at any hour.

The Southern Pacific Railway has established a chain of these club houses extending through a number of Western States. No expense has been spared in fitting them up, and beauty as well as utility has been consulted in planning the buildings. Darkened bed-rooms are provided for men who have night runs and are obliged to sleep in the day-time. Bathrooms, washrooms, toilets, cardrooms, billiard, pool and lounging rooms all are elegantly fitted and luxuriously furnished. The men are given opportunity to study, and well-stocked libraries furnish reference works or light reading, as may be desired. Every effort is made to keep the men in touch with their families so that home ties will not be broken because of protracted absence. Some of these club houses cost as high as Rs. 45,000 and are furnished on a corresponding scale. Other Western railroads have followed the example of the Southern Pacific and have built and equipped club houses for their employes. The only requirement for membership in these clubs is that the applicant must be an employe of the road and must behave like a gentleman.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company operates a system of

"reading rooms" for their employes. Not less than three quarters of a million rupees is represented by these reading rooms, which really are club houses, with sleeping rooms, swimming pools, music rooms, billiard and pool rooms and bowling alleys.

The modern policy of the railways is to encourage their employes to learn the business from the ground up and qualify themselves for higher positions. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company maintains a "Railroad High School", equipped with every up-to-date appliance which the mind of man could suggest. It is considered to be the peer of the leading technical schools of the United States. A four-year's course perfects the student in everything connected with railway work from mechanical drawing to machine designing. The school contains a draughting room, a carpenter shop, forging room, wood-working and metal working departments fitted up with the most modern tools and appliances, all for the free use of the students.

This same railway has established eight scholarships for the technical training of the sons of living or dead employes. The scholarships are worth Rs, 1,800 a year each. They are secured by competitive examination and two are awarded each year. Another school is maintained by the Pennsylvania road where students study telegraph and are instructed in the duties that generally fall to the lot of station master. Other railways have elaborate student systems, while some compel their apprentices to go to the night schools which the company maintains. Two railways subscribe for scholarships in the railway courses at the Chicago University, which are distributed freely among their employes. The classes are held at night so the men who work in the day-time can attend them.

The railway companies compute that they are well-paid for their outlay in providing educational facilities for apprentices and employes, by the better work due to higher proficiency, which is given them by the employes they educate.

Eighteen American railways have put into practice the pensioning of old and faithful employes. The number of employes affected by the railroad pension funds are around 500,000. The relief work for dis-

abled or sick employes has also been taken over by the companies, who have systematized it and put it on a substantial basis. All the large railroads conduct hospital associations. The men pay a fee of about two rupees a month, and receive medical attention, hospital service and physician's attendance in case of injury or sickness.

One of the most helpful branches of railway welfare work is the savings and investment feature. The railway companies assist the employe to save his money and invest it to good advantage. The leading American railways have different plans for caring for their employes' savings. Some invest the money in stocks, others in houses, land and property. But in every instance the money is absolutely safe and earns good dividends.

Welfare work is not confined to railway companies. Hardly any large industry can be named which does not conduct welfare work of some kind or other in the interests of its employes. In the department stores, where one can buy merchandise of all kinds, groceries, wearing apparel, household furniture, hardware, etc., where hundreds of men, women and children are employed, welfare work usually finds expression in a restaurant which sells eatables at cost prices. Provision is also made at these great stores to educate the boys and girls and teach them to live the life worth while. Many stores permit their juvenile employes to study for an hour or an hour and a half during the regular business hours, besides providing scholastic facilities on the premises.

The writer recently paid an extensive visit to a mammoth soap factory situated at Buffalo, New York. Here he was entertained by the proprietor, Mr. Larkin, at a noon-day meal. On the menu were marked the prices of the various dishes, hot and cold—and a sumptuous list of dishes it was—and the prices were extremely reasonable. When the prices of the restaurant at the soap factory were compared with those obtaining at ordinary cafes and refectories in the same town, the difference proved to be great. The prices of the welfare restaurant were amazingly cheaper. Mr. Larkin explained that the restaurant was absolutely self-supporting. It was a co-operative affair, run for the benefit of the employes

and not a cent of profit was made out of the concern.

Welfare work brings the employer and the employe into close relationship. It helps the rich man to grasp the problems of life which the poor man must solve and thus conduces to universal brotherhood. It raises the general tone of the employes, increases their loyalty and instills in them the feeling that the success of the company

means success for them—that employer and employe must stand or fall together—that their interests are interlocked so that each must be loyal to the other or both will fail. Viewed from every point, welfare work is a splendid investment. It pays big dividends. Indian industrialists should make a systematic study of the system and adopt it for their peculiar requirements.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB

(Translated from Persian MSS.)

SECTION III.

ABOUT HIS OFFICERS.

§ 28. Humiliation of Nasrat Jang.

WHEN Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nasrat Jang, after the capture of Jinjī, arrived within 4 *koses** of the Imperial camp at Parnala†, Sarbarah Khan, the *kotwal*, reported to the Emperor that an Imperial order had been issued [to Nasrat Jang] for the chastisement of the enemy [i.e., Marathas] roving in the direction of the Base Camp, and [yet] the Khan had arrived near the Imperial camp. The Emperor said, "Don't give him a pass to enter the lines of the army. Yar Ali Beg, who is the agent of Nasrat Jang, should write about this matter to him." Next morning he entered the Imperial encampment without a pass and demanded an order for admission to the Emperor's private audience. His Majesty ordered that Nasrat Jang should come to the presence with his quiver and pouch [of ammunition] fastened to his waist, his bow on his shoulders, and his musket in his hand, and that, contrary to the former practice, when his *palki* used to come to the rope-fence (*jali*) of the Private Audience Hall, he would that day have to leave his *palki* inside the rope-fence near the two *rawtis* (small square tents) of the Hall of Private Audience. Yar Ali Beg wrote [to

Nasrat Jang] fully about this angry order. The Khan dismounted at the *gula-bar* (red canvas wall round the Imperial quarters), stripped off all weapons from his person, and wishing for an interview sat down at the *rawti* at the door of the Private Audience Hall, waiting for the order of his presentation. The Emperor passed two *gharis*‡ without speaking of or attending [to Nasrat Jang], and then permitted him to enter. As he wished to kiss the Emperor's toes, His Majesty extended his right leg||. On account of his great confusion and agitation Nasrat Jang's knees touched the cushion (*masnad*) of the Emperor, who got displeased at it, but with extreme kindness and favour, he laid his hand on the Khan's back and said, "You were absent for a long time and so have forgotten the etiquette of the Court. (Verse)

A crow turned its tail to the city and its face to the village;
[Surely] the crow's tail was better than its head!"

Then the Emperor turned his face towards Bahramand Khan and said, "How can it be that servants brought up in my household unlearn etiquette by reason of their going away from the Court? Evidently this Khan's eyesight has been affected." So he ordered Muharram Khan to bring a pair of spectacles and with his own hands place them on Nasrat Jang's nose, and also insisted that he should go to his quarters in that guise, and that as

* MS. N. reads *fourteen koses*.

† Ir. MS. omits *at Parnala*.

‡ A *ghari* is 24 minutes.

|| Ir. MS. reads "Nasrat Jang extending his right leg".

it was a gift from the Emperor he should for three days come to the *darbar* with the spectacles on, as was the rule about robes of honour.

When Nasrat Jang saw this disgrace, he, through the intercession of Amir Khan, the superintendent (*darogha*) of the emperor's personal servants (*kharwas*), at night secured permission to depart for the punishment of the Marathas. After the *Gisha* prayer he came with the spectacles on, had audience in the room where the Emperor counted his beads, and took his leave.

[Text.—Irving MS. 1b—2a, MS. N. 37b—39a.]

Notes.—Zulfiqar Khan, surnamed Nasrat Jang Bahadur, was a son of Aurangzib's prime minister Asad Khan. (Born 1657 A.D., executed in 1713). The fort of Jinji (or Gingee in the South Arcot District) capitulated to him on 7th February, 1698. Parnala (or Panhala) was besieged by Aurangzib from 9th March to 28th May, 1701. The Base Camp was at Islampuri on the Bhima river. Bahramand Khan was the chief paymaster, died 5th November, 1702.) Amir Khan was Mir Abdul Karim (son of Amir Khan Shah Jahani).

§ 29. Obey orders first.

Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nasrat Jang had by order gone in pursuit of Hanuwant [Rao], the wretched commander of the [Maratha] infidels. By chance he passed within four miles of the Imperial encampment. So, he petitioned, "As it has happened by chance that I have to pass close to the Emperor's army, I consider it a breach of etiquette to go away without waiting upon your Majesty." On the application the Emperor wrote, "Two things have been done by you contrary to good manners: first, why have you let the brigands pass close to the Imperial encampment? This act was not free from badness of conduct, nay it was likely to cause a disturbance. Secondly, by not engaging in the work entrusted to you and by making a request contrary to it, you have shown disobedience. **Obey God, obey the Prophet, and obey the commanders (kings) among you!**"

Text.—Ir. MS. 21 a & b.

§ 30. Presumptuousness of a Deccani officer.

From the news-letter of the army of Zulfiqar Khan Nasrat Jang, the Emperor learnt that Jang-ju Khan Deccani, who held

the rank of a Commander of Five Thousand cavalry, had placed his kettledrums on buffaloes and in a mischievous spirit had ordered them to be carried side by side with the kettledrums of Nasrat Jang Khan on an equal footing. The Emperor wrote, "What harm does it do to me, and what objection has Nasrat Jang Khan to it? So long as this chief of the accursed and wretched tribe does not understand his own parading (*tashhir*), which is the height of disgrace, even if he carries his drums in advance of those of Nasrat Jang, it would be just what [we] desire! His marching abreast of Nasrat Jang, too, is no small disgrace to him."

Text.—Ir. MS. 3b—4a, not in MS. N.

Note.—*Tashhir* is a mode of punishment in which a man is publicly disgraced by being paraded through a city or camp mounted on an ass and accompanied by noisy music, in parody of a royal procession.

§ 31. Faithlessness of Deccani officers.

The letter-writer (*sawanih*) of Nasrat Jang reported to the Emperor that Zindan Khan Deccani, who had got the rank of Commander of Four Thousand in the roll (*zabita*) of the Deccan, used to sacrifice his life in the [military] service of the Emperor and hence it would be proper to confer a higher rank on him. Nasrat Jang Khan wrote to the Emperor to the same effect. The Emperor wrote this order;—"The term 'sacrificing his life' is a mere piece of rhetoric and a flourish of the pen! If he repeatedly sacrificed his life, how is it possible for him to be alive still? To show favour to this race (*i.e.*, the Deccanis) is to take up a scorpion by the hand or to keep a serpent in the arms. **The people of Kufa are faithless.**"

Text.—Ir. MS. 4a, not in MS. N.

Notes.—This contempt for Deccani officers was unjust. It was a Deccani officer who, by great activity, courage and enterprise, captured Sambhaji. Kufa is a town in Asiatic Turkey, west of the Euphrates and east of Mashhad.

§ 32. Beware of the Syeds of Barha!

From the report of the province of Khandesh* the Emperor learnt that Syed

*Mr. Irvine's original MS. reads *Nader*, his copy of it *Ahmadabad*, and the Rampur MS. *Tader*. Now, the father of Hasan Ali was appointed Faujdar of Nander (which, however, was not a province) in Feb. 1590 (*M.A.* 335). Hasan Ali's charge, the Faujdari of Nandurbar, was a part of Malwa and not

Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur had shown great activity in fighting with Hanuwant, the general of the misbelievers [Marathas], sacked his base-camp (*bungah*), taken alive the brother's son of Janaji and honoured him by conversion to Islam. Zulfikar Khan Bahadur Nasrat Jang, who was passing by that place for chastising the disturber Dhanna Jadon, recommended promotions for both the [Syed] brothers and sent the letter of recommendation to the Emperor by relays of couriers (*dak*), praying that the elder brother's rank which was 800 might be raised to 1000, and the younger brother's, which was 700, to 900.

Across the sheet [of the report] the Emperor wrote, "Bravo! Why should it not be so? The Syeds, who are sources of auspiciousness, bear this meaning that they should try with all their life for supporting the strong faith of their forefather, His Holiness the Syed among prophets [Muhammad]. Send to both the brothers with [a mace-bearer] two robes of honour from the special wardrobe, with two plain daggers set with jasper and having pearl straps. The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order' full of praise and send it to them."

Across the letter [of Nasrat Jang] His Majesty wrote, "The recommendation of promotion made by this hereditary servant aware of my sentiments, was very proper. Failure on the part of generals to conciliate good soldiers is injustice. It should not be done. But it is difficult [for me] to consent to their promotion in one step. True, love for the high-ranked Syeds is a part of our faith, nay more, it is the very essence of spiritual knowledge; and enmity to this tribe is the cause of entry into hell-fire and of [incurring] the anger of God. But we should not do an act which might be a source of our grief in this world and misery in the next. To relax the reins to the Syeds of Barha is to bring on final ruin, *ie.*, a bad end; because these people at getting the least prosperity and promotion boast 'There is none like me', stray from the path of right conduct, cherish high views,

of Guzerat (Ahmadabad). Nandurbar is described in *M.U.* lji 131 as a part of Baglana, which last was situated between Khandesh on the east and Guzerat on the west. So a report about his exploit might well have come from Khandesh. Hence my emendation.

and cause impediment. If they are neglected, worldly affairs become difficult to perform. If they are corrected, the feet fall into mud.

Text.—Ir. MS. 266 & 272.

Notes.—Syed Hasan Ali Khan of Barha, afterwards became Qutubmuluk Abdullah Khan and the *Wazir* of Farukhsivar. He is known to fame as one of the "Syed Brothers" or Indian King-makers. In Aurangzib's reign he was Faujdar of Nandurbar and Sultanpur. (Life in *M.U.* iii. 130—140.) Hasan Ali's heroic but disastrous fight with the Marathas under Nima Sindhia (1698) is described by Khafi Khan, ii. 457. His brother Husain Ali Khan, afterwards created Amir-ul-umara, did not serve in the Deccan in Aurangzib's reign, but was Faujdar of Hindun-Biana. (Life in *M.U.* i. 321—338). Hence both the MSS. are wrong in giving the name of the hero of this episode as *Husain Ali*. Nasrat Jang "returned to Court after punishing Dhanna Jadon" about January, 1700 (*M.A.* 432). But he had a roving commission from 1701 to 1705 to chastise the Maratha bands wherever found.

§ 33. The Rise of the Nizam's father.

When Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, whose original name was Mir Shihabuddin, first came to India from *Vilayet*, his father 'Abid Khan, through the mediation of Sarbuland Khan the Paymaster, introduced him to the Emperor at Delhi in the course of His Majesty's ride on a pilgrimage to the saint Qutb [Shah's tomb], and got for him the rank of a commander of three hundred horse. Afterwards when the Emperor went to Ajmir, none of the scouts consented [to go out] to bring news about Prince Muhammad Akbar who had gone over to the Rajputs. Mir Shihabuddin said, "This slave is willing." The Emperor gave him a robe of honour and a promotion of two hundred, and so sent him. On the 14th day the news of his return reached the sentinels round the Imperial army, and he too sent a letter saying "This slave has arrived with true news. Please quickly issue an order for my admission into the camp that I may tell it." On the petition the Emperor wrote, (*verse*)

"Whosoever drinks, like the ruby, the blood of the
liver and grows patient,
Becomes the ornament of the top of the crown
of Fortune."

The *katwal* must give him a pass to enter the camp.

Text.—Ir. MS. 106, MS. N. 316 and 32a.

Notes.—Mir Shihabuddin, surnamed Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, was the son of Abid Khan, *Sadr* of Aurangzib's reign, and the father of the 1st Nizamul

mulk (Mir Qaniruddin, Chin Qalich Khan, Asaf Jah). Shihabuddin came from his home in Samarqand to seek his fortune at the Court of Delhi in Oct., 1669. The incident of the present anecdote is also described in the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 185, Khafi Khan, ii. 267, and in his life in the *Masir-ul-umara* ii. 832 *et seq.* It took place some time before Akbar's rebellion. *Filayet* means any country across the N. W. frontier of India, especially Central Asia. Prince Akbar rebelled against his father in January, 1681.

§ 34. Trials to be held strictly according to Quranic Law.

The Emperor learned from the news-letter of the army of Firuz Jang Khan that he had while holding audience, executed a man named Muhammad 'Aqil on the charge of highway robbery. The Emperor wrote, "The Prime Minister [Asad Khan] should write thus to the foolish Khan Firuz Jang, —You have undertaken an execution, *i.e.*, the destruction of what God had built, without proof according to religious Law. Alas for the day when the heirs of [the slain] will arrive and refuse to accept the price of his blood! How can this humble being [Aurangzib] help giving the order of retaliation [on you], as mercy in the exercise of penal laws is contrary to the authority of the Word of God [*i.e.*, the Quran]? And kindness should not overpower you in [matters concerning] the religion of God"

Text.—Ir. MS. 3b, MS. N. 9a.

Note.—Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang Bahadur, the father of the first Nizam of Haidarabad, was one of the two highest generals of Aurangzib, the other being his rival Nasrat Jang. (Died 1710 A.D.) *The price of blood* is the money-compensation for which the heirs of a murdered man may, under the Islamic law, give up their demand for the execution of the murderer. (Compare the same practice among the ancient Teutons.)

§ 35. Preaches meekness to Firuz Jang.

The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Ghazi-uddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, that the Khan had laid it down that in the orders which he sent to various places the phrase 'By the *karamat-buniad* command [of the Khan]' should be written.

The Emperor wrote, "No harm. His ancestors were hermits and inmates of monasteries. I allow the use of 'By command' only. But a Commander of Seven Thousand does not possess miraculous power (*karamat*). I order that in future the customary present on the Emperor's

coronation anniversary which he will send to [us] his slaves, will not be accepted [by us]."

When Ghaziuddin Khan got news of it, he petitioned thus, "**He who repents of a sin becomes sinless as it were, and when a man confesses a fault verily God forgives all his faults, few and many.**" On the petition the Emperor wrote, "**Whosoever earns the pardon of his affliction by means of reformation, God will recompense him. And if a man returns to his sins, God wreaks vengeance on him!**"

Text.—Ir. MS. 24b & 25a.

Notes.—Ghaziuddin Khan, the father of the first Nizamulmuluk, was the grandson of Alam Shaikh, a scholar and saint of Samarqand (*M. U.* III. 837, 120,) who claimed descent from Shaikh Shihabuddin Saharwardi, a renowned saint of Central Asia. There is a play upon the phrase *Karamat-buniad*, which may mean (1) gracious and (2) miracle-working. Aurangzib takes it in the latter sense, hence his objection and ironical remark that he is only a slave of Firuz Jang!

§ 36. Kindness to Hamid Khan Bahadur.

The Emperor learnt from the report of the army of Hamid Khan Bahadur, the brother of Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, that though not granted this distinction by the Emperor, he carried with himself kettledrums and bandsmen, and everyday played the *naubat* as at festivities. On the sheet the Emperor wrote, "The brother of Firuz Jang Khan is not such a fool as to act so very audaciously. It is evident that there is some festival [or other] in his house everyday. As even low persons do not require permission from the Emperor to play the *naubat* on festive occasions, why should he? In future the news-writer must not spitefully bring such charges against him. I admire his patience that while, in spite of his holding the rank of a Commander of Four Thousand horse and the title *Bahadur*, I have not granted him the right to play the *naubat* in view of the littleness of his wisdom, he himself has not once asked for this [mark of distinction]."

Text.—Ir. MS. 10b & 11a. MS. N. 11b & 12a.

Notes.—Khawajah Hamid, the son of Qalich Khan (Khawajah Abid) and brother of Firuz Jang, was created Hamid Khan Bahadur in Sep., 1685; afterwards got the titles of Muizuddaula and Salabat Jang. See Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, III, 765. In Aurangzib's reign he did not rise to a higher rank than the command of

2500 (actual number of troopers 1500.) He was quite distinct from Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur. Died at Kulbarga 1140 A. H.

§ 37. Oppressive governor rebuked.

Khan Jahan Bahadur, who was the governor of the Panjab, greatly oppressed the inhabitants of the place at the time of his return, so that the matter reached the Emperor's knowledge from the reports (*sawanih*). On the day of interview the Emperor told him, "I had not expected this of you. The worst of all [your acts] is that you have set on foot certain innovations (*bidat*, heretical practices) in the *yagirs* appertaining to Lahor which will last for ever. (*Verse*)

Even after his death the tyrant does not abstain
from oppression.
The plumes of the [dead] eagle become at last
the feathers of arrows!*

Text.—Ir. MS. 6a & b.

Notes.—Mir Malik Husain, Bahadur Khan, brother of Azam Khan Kokah, (created Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash in 1673, and Zafar Jang in 1675) was one of the highest officers of Aurangzib and long served in the Deccan. Appointed Subahdar of the Panjab 11th Ap., 1691, but dismissed in the middle of 1693. Died 23rd Nov., 1697; buried at Nakudar in the Panjab Doab. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 798—813.)

§ 38. Qualifications of a Governor.

Khawajah Sarbuland Khan, the chief Paymaster, whose father belonged to an eminent Khawajah family of Bukhara, was treated with great consideration by the Emperor. Once, when His Majesty complained about him, it was only this that his words savoured a little of Shia-ism. He replied, "Ay! your Majesty, in Bukhara many of the Syeds of Bukhara belong to that sect. Traces of their society have been left [in my speech.] But I have not yet been confirmed in that faith. Through ill luck I have withdrawn myself from this and yet not arrived at that [creed?]" The Emperor smiled and gave no reply.

For this reason Sarbuland Khan showed great favour to the Persians and exerted himself much in furthering their affairs, so that he recommended a certain [Persian] lord for the Governorship of Kabul. Across the sheet of his petition the Emperor wrote, "I grant the request of this trustworthy servant. Let a robe of honour consisting of six pieces of cloth from my ward-robe be given [to the nominee]. Jewels, horses, and elephants will be presented to him

according to the regulations. But remember that this man will not be able to discharge the duties of that post. May God make it end well."

Notes.—Sarbuland Khan, appointed 2nd Paymaster in Oct. 1672 and died in office 27 Dec. 1679. (Life in *Masir-ul-um.* ii. 477) Sarbuland's mother was Ai Begam, a daughter of Mirza Shahrugh, king of Badakhshan.

Text.—Ir. MS. 12b and MS. R. 15. But in MS. N. 18a—20a, which also differs a little textually from the Ir. MS., the above order of the Emperor is continued in the following words:—

"—so that it may not be a cause of disgrace and ridicule, and may not make people talk about it for years. This man's thoughts are full of violence and his notion about himself is marked by great confidence and pride. Plato wrote to Alexander, 'Government should be strict without being oppressive, and gentle without being weak.' This noble has extreme severity and obstinate adhesion to one policy only, in as much as he has never known subterfuge. Besides, he is very honest and simple-minded, as he cannot at all understand fraud and stratagem. One cannot rule without practising deception. The clear text of the Holy Traditions [of Muhammad] is 'War is stratagem.' The Science of Jurisprudence has many component parts. It is most likely that the art of government is included in this total. In the days when I was going to take up the Governorship of the Deccan, I met at Burhanpur a *darvish* who was a master of *taksir* (word-breaking and word-forming). He had learnt some points of this art from his preceptor, and he also now and then composed some others himself. It is a fixed rule of *taksir* that if we strike off the common letters from the two lines of *taksir*, we can extract a meaning from the words, [which may be formed from the remaining letters] consistently with sense. So that, if the words *hakumat* (government) and *hila* (cunning) are arranged in two lines, and the common letters are cancelled, the words *kul*, *yum*, and *malik* are derived [from the remainder] by combination (*qalb*), and we get 'malik-i-kul-yum'* (king

* It is done in the following manner:

H	K	U	M	T	(<i>hakumat</i>)
H	Y	L		T	(<i>hila</i>)

Cancelling the common letters H and T, we can form, by combinations of the remaining 5 letters, only these words 'bearing a sense', viz., *kul*, *yum*, and *malik*. Thus is proved the precious doctrine that if a

for all time', that is to say, a government that is joined to cunning lasts and remains firm for ever, and the master of this [art of government] becomes a king 'for all time.'

In the opinion of the common herd, cunning and deception are greatly scorned. As God himself in his Holy Word [=the Quran] has ascribed cunning to his own holy self, saying '**God is the best of plotters,**'* it is contrary to the Quran to consider stratagem as blameable. Besides, in governing Kabul this quality is most beneficial and excellent. (*Verse*)

"I am speaking to you what is required by eloquence; You take wisdom from it or feel displeased, [as you like.]"

Text.—MS. N. 19a2—20a5.

§ 39. Ability the only qualification for office.

Muhammad Amin Khan, on his first arrival in India from *Vilayet*, was created a Commander of Five Hundred, on account of the fact that his father had been faithful to Prince Alamgir during the war in Balkh and had rendered good service. In the course of time he received praise, was repeatedly promoted, and attained to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand (two thousand troopers) and the distinction of playing *naubat*, for his activity against the accursed enemy [the Marathas], bringing fodder (*khai*) from Satara and other places, conveying provisions, and going to and from every [Mughal] entrenchment. As the Emperor wished that the Khan should remain away [from the Imperial encampment] for some time and play the *naubat*, he said, "I learn from the reports that the revenue coming from Bengal has crossed the Narmada. You should go and halt at Aurangabad, in order that you may at last enjoy some respite from movement, and play the *naubat* granted to you to your heart's content." Then His Majesty dismissed him, after presenting him with the riding cloak trimmed with fur and richly laced which he was himself wearing.

When the Khan returned with the revenue, after fighting with the shameless ruler combines *hakumat* and *hilat* he becomes *malik-i-kul-yam*!!!

* That is God's ways are inscrutable to men and He sometimes seems to deceive mortals in His dealings with them. Cf. Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 350-360,—667-686.

Marathas, gaining victories, and conveying the government treasure in safety, His Majesty presented him with a horse adorned with gold trappings, a dagger with a *kalgi*, and the robe of honour worn on his august person. When he saw these successive favours, he submitted a petition through Muharram Khan, saying, 'In view of the obedience and old service which the aged slave had performed in Balkh, this devoted servant had hoped for favours; but owing to the large number of his enemies and the fewness of his friends [at Court] he had not so long made bold to submit some of his wishes. [But now] relying on God I make this petition.'

Copy of the petition: "Hail! saint and spiritual guide of the world and of its people. Both the Paymasterships have been conferred on heretical demon-natured Persians. If one of the Paymasterships be given to this old and devoted servant, it would be a means of strengthening the [Sunni] faith and of snatching away employment from accursed misbelievers. **O, ye faithful! do not take as friends our and your own enemies.**"

Across the sheet of the petition Aurangzib wrote, "What you have stated about your long service is true. It will be appreciated as far as possible. As for what you have written about the false creed of the Persians, [I answer],—'What connection have earthly affairs with religion? and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? **For you is your religion and for me is mine.**' If this rule [suggested by you] were established, it would be my duty to extirpate all the (Hindu) Rajahs and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers. Your request for a Paymastership is appropriate, as you hold a rank suited to the post. The reason that acts as a hindrance is that the Turani people, your followers, who are brethren from the same city as my ancestors,—according to the saying '**Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands**',—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle. It would not be a great harm if this sort of thing took place in a foraging expedition but it would cause a terrible difficulty if it occurred in the midst of a [regular] battle."

If, God forbid it! the attendants of the Emperor were to act thus, then in a moment all would be over [with him].

If you have [ever] declined this actually experienced and tested business (*viz.* retreat) write to me in detail [about it]. The Persians, whether born in *Vilayet* or in Hindustan—who (the last) are noted for their gross stupidity,—are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement (*i.e.*, flight). *Verse*

Do justice, as the folly of these bad men
Is better than a thousand brains of the fox-natured.
One brain is enough for an army
For throwing bricks from engines into the eyes
[of the enemy]".

Text.—Ir. MS. 14a—15a.

Notes.—Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Bahauddin, who was the brother of Qalich Khan, came to India from Bukhara in 1687; got the title of *Chin Bahadur* (Nov. 1706) and the post of *Sadr* (1698). At the time of Aurangzib's death he was a Commander of 4000 (1500 troopers). For his attachment to his Mughal followers, see *Masir-ul-umara* i. 349.

§ 40. Aurangzib preaches humility to an officer.

Yar Ali Beg submitted to the Emperor on the basis of an oral report from a courier (*harkarah*), that while Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur was exchanging words with Muhammad Murad *qul*, the latter said 'You little man! (*mardak*) you are a *chelah* (slave) of the Emperor just as I am'; and that at this Hamiduddin Khan resigned his post and sent the letter of resignation to Bahramand Khan, the Chief Paymaster. The Emperor wrote, "The word *mardak* was not employed in abuse; it is a diminutive meaning 'a little man.' The men of the world are not at all great men. Probably the Khan Bahadur felt ashamed at being called a *chelah*. (*Verse*)

Whosoever quarrels with a man lower than himself,
Tears up his own *pardah* (honour) sooner than
the latter's.

Every wise man who enters into a dispute with a
worthless man,
Only strikes his own lustrous jewel (*i.e.*, intellect
or character) on a hard stone."

Text.—Ir. MS. 16a & b.

Notes.—Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur, surnamed *Nimcha-i Alamgirshahi*, was the son of Ihtamam Khan (Sardar Khan), and greatly distinguished himself by his fights with the Marathas (*Life in Masir-ul-umara*, i. 605—611). *Qul* is a Turkish word meaning a slave. The Emperor Akbar changed the title of the Imperial slaves from *ghulam* (slave) to *chelah* (disciple), because he considered it an act

of impious presumptuousness for one mortal to call another his *ghulam*, men being the *ghulams* of God only. (*Masum's Tarikh-i-Shujai*, 143a).

§ 41 Poverty is no hindrance where there is a will.

In the 32nd year of Aurangzib's reign, Mirza Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Safwi, (who was finally given the title of Shah Nawaz Khan), was dismissed from his rank for making an improper request. The Emperor settled on him an annual stipend of Rs 40,000. After a year His Majesty recollected the claims of his father, Mirza Sultan Safwi, who had shown great constancy during the war with Dara Shikoh. So, he sent a gracious *farman* summoning him to the Court, with a special robe of honour, by the hand of macebearers. The Khan after taking the *farman* kissed it, put on the robe, and after showing the proper etiquette sent a petition, "Owing to the poverty consequent on my long deprivation of rank, I am not able to engage a body of retainers with whom I may attend the Court. So, I am waiting for the *caravan* from Bengal [to escort me]." The Emperor wrote, (*Verse*)

"The odour of the rose and the morning breeze
are out on the road.
If you wish to go out of yourself, there is no
better caravan than these.
Alas! that the objects that captivate the heart
Are as close together as the links of a chain!

Outwardly your excuse is reasonable,
but in fact the weakness of your spirit
[is the cause of your] straitened means.
O, God! show the path to all of weak
steps!"

Text.—Ir. MS. 16b.

Notes.—Mirza Sultan (*M. U.* iii. 581) was devoted to Aurangzib during the war of succession, but did not fight as he was left behind at Aurangabad. His son, Sadruddin, rose to be Paymaster under Aurangzib and was created Shah Nawaz Khan by Bahadur Shah I. (*Life in M. U.* iii. 692).

§ 42 A silent suppliant.

The Emperor told Bahramand Khan, who was Paymaster at that time, "Musvi Khan *alias* Mirza Muizz-i-Fitrat, out of pride never petitions me about his wants, and is living in great distress. Unless he applies to me about his circumstances, he will get no favour from me. You should send him word [about it], get in reply a petition from him, and submit it to me." So, after

receiving the message, Musvi Khan wrote to the Emperor, **Your knowledge of my condition is better than my words.** (Verse)

In demanding, we speechless ones belong to the
 To me it is easier to burn [in the fire of desire] ^{race of moths;}
 My tongue of statement has become silent from my ^{than to state my wish.}
 These meritorious deeds have thrown me into the ^{pride of service.}
 The ocean of mercy never reposes from [heaving in] ^{path of mistake.}
 (Hence) those who beg make needless importunity." ^{billows of gracious acts;}

The Emperor wrote on the petition, **"Verily you have written the truth.** (Verse)

Silence opens the hardest prisons.
 In the cage the parrot with its beak is chattering ^{about itself.}

But,

No man is engaged in mending his own character;
 Every one whom I have seen is busy in pampering ^{his own nature (passions).}

According to the Tradition, **'The king is the shadow of God'**, whenever the king of the age requests his servant to state his desires, and the latter gives such an excellent answer, it would be bad manners not to grant favours to him."

Text.—Ir. MS. 18, b.

Note.—Mirza Muizz, a Persian of Mashhad, married a sister of Aurangzib's wife and was created Musvi Khan and *diwan* of the pay office (*daftar-i-tan*) in Sept. 1688, and *diwan* of the Deccan in June 1689. Died after May 1690. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 337 and 338. Life in *M.U.* iii. 633.) His poetical pseudonyms were *Fitrat* and *Musvi*. The moth which silently burns itself in the flame is the emblem of the highest kind of lover in Persian poetry.

§ 43. Work for your wages.

Mukhlis Khan petitioned the Emperor to grant an increment, half in cash salary and half in *jagir*, to Sultan Mahmud, one of the pure Syeds of the holy city of Mashhad, who was living in a very distressed condition, and whom the Khan greatly supported.

The Emperor wrote on the petition:—**The good deeds we do are for our own benefit, the sins we commit shall lie on ourselves.** I know full well the saintliness and piety of that Syed. But he is not attached to any post. A hired labourer should not consider his wages as lawfully earned unless he has

done service,—which is a good and virtuous deed. (Verse)

Although you cannot untie a knot with your toes,
 The knots of livelihood are opened by the exertions ^{of the feet (i.e., active service).}

Text.—Ir. MS. 6b.

§ 44. Charity covers a multitude of sins.

From the news-letter of the office (*kachari*) of the High Diwan the Emperor learnt that Mir Habibullah of Jaunpur, the *amin* of the poll-tax on non-Muslims (*jazia*), had misappropriated beyond a doubt Rs. 40,000 out of the Imperial property, and that he had also admitted it. Inayatullah Khan had placed him under detention in the office and appointed strict *sazawals* (collectors) to exact the money from him. The aforesaid Syed was saying, 'I have my life, but no earthly property in my possession.'

Across the sheet of the news-letter the Emperor wrote, "Why do you try to realise again money which has been already recovered by me? From the reports of Burhanpur I had repeatedly learnt before this that the aforesaid Syed was spending all his accumulations on deserving mendicants and in works of charity. As the money of this sinner sunk in sin (i.e., Aurangzib) has been spent by means of this my agent in deeds of charity, its restitution will do no benefit [to me]. **God save us from the wickedness of our passions!**"

Text.—Ir. MS. 17a.

§ 45. The mystic number Twelve.

When the Emperor marched from Islam-puri (otherwise called Barhampuri) in the month of Jamadi-us-sani in the 42nd year of his reign, to conquer the forts of the Deccan,—he ordered that every day Mukhlis Khan, the second Paymaster, should present to His Majesty ten mansabdars (military officers) from among the hereditary servants (*khanahzad*) and others, but excluding the Deccanis. The Khan submitted, "As your Majesty has followed the verse **'These are the ten perfect ones,** in ordering that ten officers with their retinue (*misl*) should be daily paraded before you, it is good. Otherwise, if the number be twelve, there is no harm." The Emperor replied, "Your request,

too, is not unsupported by [scriptural] authority. (*Verse*)

Behold the hours of the day and the Signs
of the Zodiac,
Day and night and the heavens too are
[followers of the number] twelve!"

Muhammad Amin Khan said, "Ay, companionship has a wonderful effect, as I find to-day. Why should there not be four instead of twelve?" His Majesty replied, "Four is included in twelve." He smiled and said, "Why is not three, [you might ask] But twelve is related to three as the double of double. You are free to choose. Do whatever is likely to benefit the creatures of God most."

Text.—Ir. MS. 16b & 17a.

Notes.—Aurangzib marched out of Islampuri on 5th Jamadi-ul-awwal, in the 43rd year of his reign (=19 Oct. 1699) to conquer the Maratha forts. Mukhlis Khan, app. 2nd Paymaster July 1692, died 3 Jan. 1701. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was Sadr at this time.

§ 46. Kings should never rest.

After the conquest of Bijapur and Haidarabad, the Prime Minister petitioned the Emperor, "Praised be God! that through the grace of the Great Omnipotent and the undecaying fortune [of your Majesty,] two great kingdoms have been conquered. It is now good policy that the Imperial standards should return to the Paradise-like Hindustan (*i.e.*, Northern India), so that the world may know that nothing more remains for the Emperor to do."

The Emperor wrote [across the letter], "I wonder that an all-knowing hereditary servant like you has made such a request. If your wish is that men might know that no work now remains to be done, it would be contrary to truth. So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work. (*Verse*)

The traveller of the path of long hopes needs no guide,
So long as a breath remains, the path of life is not

It is very hard that my disturbed heart longs for home,
The dew has so passed away that its mind dwells
on the garden.

If Shah Jahan had not chosen to stay at Delhi and Agra, and had been constantly out on tour, his affairs would not have come to the pass that they actually did. If out of regard for good manners you do not [again] make such a request, and can bear the hardships of the expeditions for capturing

forts,—then in future I shall turn to the siege of forts. (*Verse*)

What fear of danger has the man steeped in love?
What anxiety about headache has the man who
has lost his head?

Praised be God that in whatever place and abode I have been, I have by passing through it withdrawn my heart from all things connected with it, and made death easy for myself. (*Verse*)

Untie little by little the knot tying your heart [to
earthly things],
Or else, Death will pull at this string suddenly
and unawares.

Text.—Ir. MS. 17b and 18a.

§ 47. Rigorous marching even in illness.

When the Emperor marched from Barham-puri, which he had named Islampuri, in order to capture [the Maratha] forts, he ordered that whether he was sick or well there should be a march every day except Friday, which was to be a day of halt. So that, before reaching Khawaspur, where his knee was hurt, he had two severe fits of illness; once fever, another time diarrhoea, yet except on Friday there was never a halt. During illness he used to be carried in a chair *takht-i-rawan* with an open top, whereas in health he rode in a chair closed at the top. By chance, it was on a Thursday night that his knee got hurt at Khawaspur. Immediately he said, "Strike the kettledrums for a march". Hamiduddin Khan, as he was very bold, submitted, "It would be contrary to the order issued when leaving Islampuri." His Majesty smiled and said, "If you had the least knowledge of the science of logic, you would not have said so. We were [then] talking of halting on days other than Friday. My object was preparation for the march, and not that because it was a Friday therefore no march should be made [on it]. An opposite conception does not conflict with the meaning of the original.

Text.—[MS. N. 762—11 and then 33a 1—8].

Notes.—Aurangzib set out from Islampuri on 19 Oct., 1699 (*M. A.* 408), and arrived at Khawaspur about 31st Aug., 1700 (430). The *Masir-ul-umara* (iii, 529) and *Khafi Khan* (ii, 176) state that he was hurt in the leg at the close of the 40th year of his reign, (which ended on 13th Mar., 1697). Aurangzib means to say that the expression "there should be a march on all the days of the week except Friday" does not logically imply that there would be no march on Friday.

§ 48. A profligate noble punished.

Mirza Tafakhhkhur, the son of the Prime Minister [Asad Khan]'s daughter, acquired ruffianly habits at Delhi, laid the hand of oppression on the property and honour [*i.e.*, women] of the people, often came to the bazar with his comrades, plundered the shops of the fruiterers, confectioners and others, and with the help of his men seized the Hindu women who went to the river to bathe, and did them all sorts of disgrace and dishonour. Every time that this matter was brought to the Emperor's notice in the news-letters and reports, he wrote "The Prime Minister" and nothing more.

At last the Emperor repeatedly learnt that while a *Baxaria* named Ghanasyam, having just married, was passing with his companions by the gate of Mirza Tafakhhkhur, placing his wife in a *dooli* and himself on horseback, the ruffians informed the Mirza, who sallied forth with a party of them, and dragged the *dooli* by force into his own house. Two men were killed and six wounded [in the affray]. The men of the Imperial artillery, on getting the news [of their comrade's dishonour], wished to assemble and crowd at the gate of Mirza Tafakhhkhur. Aqil Khan, sending the *kotwal*, forbade them. Then he despatched an eunuch of his to Qamar-un-nisa, the daughter of the Prime Minister and the mother of Mirza Tafakhhkhur, and greatly chid and rebuked him; so that the poor Hindu woman, after the loss of her caste and honour, was given up to the eunuch, and he calmed the artillerymen by promising that a report of the matter would be inserted in the news-letter and the Emperor would certainly remedy [their grievance]. They, therefore, abstained from creating a tumult.

The Emperor, after reading it, wrote across the sheet [of the report], "The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order' to Aqil Khan ordering him to confine in the fort of Delhi this worthless wretch and luckless leader of wicked men; and in case his mother, out of her extreme love for her son, refuses to part with him, the governor [of Delhi] should be ordered to bring Qamar-un-nisa Begam [in] a *chaudol* (rich litter) within the fort with every respect and keep her with her son. Aqil Khan

should assign a good house fit for the residence of Qamar-un-nisa Begam. As she is the daughter of my maternal aunt* and is adorned with noble qualities, I ought to show consideration to her internally and externally. But what reform could even the Prophet Noah (on him and on our Prophet Muhammad be peace!) make in his own unworthy son, that other [parents] would succeed? It is my duty to prevent oppression on the people, who are a trust from the Creator. Fifty men of the *kotwal* should carefully keep guard round the house and at the gate [of Tafakhhkhur's house], so that this noxious creature may not creep out like a mouse from a hole. (*Verse*)

Some of these unworthy sons of a Satanic character Have brought disrepute on some well-reputed

[parents]."

The Prime Minister at once wrote a 'Letter By Order' and without sealing it placed it before the Emperor with his own letter to Aqil Khan. The purport of the latter was, "My dear and gracious brother, in view of our longstanding friendship—which dates from the reign of Shah Jahan,—I expect that you would consider yourself as an uncle of the wicked Tafakhhkhur. If you send an eunuch, summon him to your presence, and give him fifty stripes with a thorny stick, it will in short give satisfaction and comfort to the loving heart of this brother [of yours]. The thorns of the sticks will extract the thorns planted in my affectionate heart [by my grandson's misdeeds]."

The Emperor after reading it, wrote across the sheet, "No body else can chastise the son of my maternal aunt's daughter. If my life lasts and Death grants me respite so that I may return to Delhi, I shall, God willing, chastise him with my own hand. He indeed stands in the relation of a son to me. But what help is there when the son is wicked? **To beat a slave is to insult his master.**"†

Text.—Ir. MS. 11b—12b, MS. N. 16a—18a.

* Ir. MS. has 'my adopted daughter'.

† In the place of the last sentence MS. N. gives the following:—

"These dignities that were shown in writing and speaking [about Tafakhhkhur] were due to the maxim, 'To beat a slave is to insult his master.' If a well-connected man does such wicked deeds, where can he be put to disgrace?"

Notes.—Asad Khan had married one of the four sisters of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and he was therefore the maternal uncle of Aurangzib. Many other profligate descendants of Asad Khan are mentioned in *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 320. The confinement of Tafakhkhur is referred to in some of Aurangzib's letters, *viz.*, Inayatullah's *Ahkam-i-Alam-giri* 145b, 146a, 165a, 207a, 210a, 290a. The men of the garrison artillery were taken from the *Baxarias* or Hindu inhabitants of Buxar; these people (now called Bhojpuris) long supplied the E. I. Co. with matchlockmen and the Zamindars with clubmen. Aqil Khan (surnamed Razi) was Subahdar of Delhi from October 1680 to his death in 1696. Noah's undutiful son was Canaan. "Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, cursed be Canaan." (*Genesis*, ix. 24).

§ 49. Vigilance against foreign invader's stratagem.

From the news-letter of the province of Afghanistan, the Emperor learnt that eleven thousand horses fit for riding, with one groom for every two horses, had entered Kabul, it being usual that after selection by the Governor of Dehli the horses were sent to the Emperor. Across the sheet of the news-letter, the Emperor wrote:—"It is a very strange act of negligence on the part of Amir Khan [the Governor of Afghanistan] who has been trained by me and knows my mind. It is as if 5,500 brave Turanis have entered the Imperial territory from foreign parts. Well, such (was the number of the) men who wrested the kingdom of Hindustan from the hands of the Afghans. However, a mistake should not be punished and carelessness should not be chastised [like a deliberate sin]."

In future he should know it to be his duty to avoid this sort of action, and he should remedy the past in this way, that whenever the droves of horses arrive (at the frontier), he should allow only one groom to every 20 horses, and that groom too should be chosen from useless old and helpless men."

Text.—Ir. MS. 5a, MS. N. 34b—35a.

Notes.—Amir Khan (son of Khalilullah) was governor of Afghanistan from 19th March, 1677, to 28th Ap., 1698. (*Masir-ul-umara*, i. 277). Muhammad-i-Bakhtiar's troopers invading Bengal were imagined to be horse-dealers. (*Raverty* 557).

* This Arabic passage occurs in MS. N., only, where it is followed by a Persian rendering, with the additional note that the translation formed no part of what Aurangzib wrote.

§ 50. Be ever vigilant against foreign powers.

From the despatch of Amir Khan, the Governor of Kabul, it came to the Emperor's knowledge, "It has been learnt from the letter of the *thanah-dar* of Ghaznin that the Persian frontier was 36 miles [from Ghaznin], but now the *thanahdar* of that side (*i.e.*, Persia) in the direction of Qandhar, says that if we permit him to set up his outpost (*thanah*) four miles further towards our side, every year a hundred Persian horses would be sent to His Majesty. As the water has dried up in the site of the former outpost, and water is available four miles from it [towards the Mughal frontier], he has made this request."

The Emperor wrote in answer, "It is not the part of a wise man to contribute to the vigour and splendour of the Persian *thanah-dar* and to rob his own administration of its cover. But, (*Verse*)

"The word *tam 'a* [=greed] has three letters, all of which are empty [other meaning 'without cots']."

What do you talk of permitting him to come two *kos* [towards our frontier] when I would not let him come even two steps nearer? It is the opinion of theologians of all schools that persevering in trivial sins is equivalent to committing mortal sins. I wonder at this hereditary servant, aware of my sentiments,—who has been brought up in my Court from the age of seven years,—being indifferent to the devices of the Persians! Consider for yourself why they have consented to present me with a hundred Persian horses, whose price must be high, in return for this simple matter that their outpost might be set up four miles from our side of the frontier. It is according to that very proverb,—

"He holds the tip of the finger with the design of breaking it, And then all of a sudden he will display baldness against the hand. Be not negligent about your enemy's plans. Always scratch his black face."

It is a well-known saying

"Wisdom and fortune are closely connected with each other, He who lacks wisdom, has neither any fortune."

The common people, who are like beasts, imagine that whosoever is a man of fortune must necessarily be a wise man, but it is a wrong idea. The real meaning

[of the proverb] is that if a man is not wise his fortune does not last long, and hence we may say that it does not exist. To use more words on this point is like striking an iron when cold, or sewing an old coat".

Text.—MS. N. 12a, 11—13b, 1.

Notes.—Under Shah Jahan and Aurangzib there was the greatest rivalry between the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Delhi, and several alarms about Persian invasions. Indeed, the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud over certain periods of these two reigns, and the Emperors felt relief on hearing of any warlike Shah's death. Qandhar had been lost to the Persians in 1649. Mir Khan, a son of Khaliullah Khan, was created Amir Khan; he governed Afghanistan from 19th March, 1677 to his death, 28th Ap., 1698. (Life in *M. U.* i, 277). See my article on *A Muslim Heroine in Modern Review*, April, 1908.

§ 51. Persians and Indians contrasted.

The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Ghaznin, "Subhan Quli, the *thanahdar* of the Persian frontier, has written a letter to Amir Khan, the Governor of Kabul, saying 'Between the two frontiers there is a distance of 12 miles. Praised be God! friendship and alliance prevail between the two countries; and there is no fear on any account whatever of quarrel and rupture. It is proper that the people of each side should go to the other side for buying and selling, so that both the places may increase in prosperity.' Amir Khan wrote in reply, 'I shall report the point to His Majesty, and inform you of the order that I get.'" The same thing was brought to the Emperor's notice by the report from Kabul.

On the sheet of the news-letter of Ghaznin, Aurangzib wrote, "My reply has been written on the report of Kabul,"—which was this: "I wonder that Amir Khan,—a hereditary servant aware of my sentiments, whose ancestors from generation to generation had lived in the society of the grandees of the Court of the Timuride Emperors,—has forgotten the sense of this couplet:

Don't give up caution when your enemy turns gentle;
Stratagems may be concealed under a veil, like
water under grass.

Without [being charged with] prejudice and enmity, we may say that as the Sun is the guardian planet of the Persians, the intellectual keenness of those men in quickness of perception and foresight is four times as great as that of the Indians, whose tutelary planet is Saturn. Their only defect is this that

by reason of its conjunction with Venus, they have grown ease-loving, whereas men connected with Saturn are accustomed to toil; and the nearness of Saturn to Jupiter is really more frequent [than that of the Sun to Venus]. But there is a little natural inferiority and meanness in Saturn, the exceptions being certain individuals only, in whose horoscopes some other planet is their helper. The purport of my words is this that you should be on your guard against the great cunning of the Persians and never submit to me such [seemingly] friendly overtures, as they would only prove your lack of sagacity. (*Verse*)

"The flood kissed the foot of the wall only to
overthrow it!"

Text.—MS. N. 29b, 1—30b, 5.

§ 52. A Subordinate Officer protected against his Superior.

Jan Nisar Khan, Deputy Governor of Haidarabad, acting for Ruhullah Khan, petitioned the Emperor thus, "Although this hereditary servant was appointed Deputy Governor at the request of the Chief Paymaster, Ruhullah Khan, yet the latter has become a cause of trouble to me without any reason, and wishes to remove me from the Deputyship. As the Khan's mind in the manner of a serpent (*mar*) is always bent on doing mischief, I hope that your Majesty will summon this slave to the Presence that he may be delivered from these instigations of the worst of men."

Above the word *mar* the Emperor wrote the letter *he*, making it *himar* (=ass). The poor man, whose name has been corrected by adding the letter *he* has no power to do harm [like an ass]. But what remedy is there for a bad nature?

Text.—MS. N. 4b 4—5a 3.

The contents of the Emperor's writing, "The Deputy [Governor] ship has been conferred at his recommendation. What authority has he to dismiss? It is [like] that saying, 'A thief is chained at the words of a peasant, but not released at his request.' If he complains [against you], then **Whosoever dug a pit for his brother will certainly himself fall into it.** That is, I remove him from the post of Paymaster of *tankhah*."

Text.—MS. N. 4a 1—4b 4.

Notes.—Ruhullah Khan I., Mir Bakhshi, was

appointed Subahdar of Haidarabad soon after the annexation of the kingdom, 1687 (*M.U.* ii. 313). But he was evidently removed from the post soon afterwards. Jan-nisar Khan (Khawajah Abul Mukarram, *M.U.* i. 537), was never Deputy Governor of Haidarabad, but was appointed *diwan* of Bijapur in Feb., 1660 (*M.A.* 335). Ruhullah Khan had been appointed Subahdar of Bijapur in Sept., 1686, (*M.A.* 282). There was a Jan-sipar Khan (Mir Bahadur-dil, 3rd son of Mukhtar Khan Sabzwari) who served as Governor of Haidarabad for many years after its conquest with great success and credit (*M.U.* i. 556). Either, he is the officer meant here, (though we do not read of his having been Ruhullah Khan's deputy) or, the scene of the episode was Bijapur, where Jan-nisar Khan was serving under Ruhullah Khan.

§ 53. Aurangzib's just dealing with his officers.

Yar Ali Beg, the Superintendent of the office of the High Diwan, submitted to the Emperor, "By your Majesty's order whosoever does not get a *jagir* for six months, makes a demand on your Majesty's agent (*wakil*) and takes his salary for six months. This order appears to me too difficult to carry out. I have, in order to effect a saving to Government, laid it down that they should not demand [their salary] until they get their *jagirs*."

The Emperor wrote, "**First one requests, then another.** It is not the act of a wise man to attend to the profits of this perishable world and thereby earn eternal punishment. Wait for a few days, that, after the close of the utterly dark reign of this man drowned in the ocean of sin and [the commencement of] the times of my foolish sons, the officers will get promissory bonds that their due *jagirs* would not be given to them before the Day of Judgment!" Then he added in slanting lines, "You are superintendent of the office. Why do you not exert yourself about giving *jagirs* to people, which may be a cause of your good name in this world and of merit in the next life, and which may relieve this rancour-less humble creature [*i.e.*, Aurangzib] of the heavy load of the [unsatisfied] dues [of my officers]? (*Verse*)

Alas, my life has been wasted in vain!
This world has passed away in labour, and
faith has gone out of my hand!
I have angered God, and [yet] not pleased the people,
I have [merely] consumed a quantity of water
and fodder [like a cattle].

Though I am a bad man and know myself to be such, yet O Great God! save [men] from the greater wickedness than mine that will prevail after my time!"

Text.—Ir. MS. 17a & b.

Notes.—Yar Ali Beg was appointed assistant (*peshdast*) of the 2nd Paymaster in Oct., 1686. He is best known as Superintendent of the postal department, and greatly increased the power of the news-writers (*Khafi Khan*, ii, 410).

§ 54. No money for repairing forts.

Ruhullah Khan II, (whose name was Mir Hasan) petitioned the Emperor, "The fort of Islampuri is weak and your Majesty will soon march [to it]. It requires repair. What order on this point?"

The Emperor wrote, "God pardon us! God pardon us! it was improper for you to write the word 'Islampuri' in a context speaking of 'weakness.' Its old name was Barhampuri, which you ought to have written. The fort of the body is even weaker than it. What remedy is there for *that*? (*Verse*)

We have adorned ourselves with works of water
and mud;
We have pampered ourselves instead of preparing our [heavenly] home.

The Khan again urged, "If your Majesty orders it, the government masons may inspect the fort of Barhampuri." The Emperor wrote [reply], "It is a kind of play to you to repeat the request in spite of my former reply. (*verse*)

Don't be the architect of your own [self], lest you
should ruin the houses.
Be a ruin that on you may be raised a lofty foundation.
Be level with the dust, draw not your neck [back]
from any body,
It is fitting that the dust should not be raised higher
than the ankle of the feet.

If life be yet spared to me and I return, I shall consider the question of repairing [the fort]. If, however, matters end otherwise, what need is there that for [the fulfilment of] the verse '**Verily your property and your children are your enemies,**' I should waste the money of my troops?"

Text.—Ir. MS. 19a, MS. N. 40b & 8a & b.

Notes.—Mir Hasan, successively created Khanah-zad Khan and Ruhullah Khan II, was the son of Ruhullah Khan I, (Life in *M. U.* ii. 315-317). He was 2nd Paymaster and *Khansaman* at the time of his death, 9th May, 1704. Aurangzib means that it is an insult to his religion to describe anything bearing the name of *Islam* as weak, hence the old Hindu name of the place, *viz.*, Barhampuri (Brahma-puri), should have been used! This incident throws light on the overwhelming financial difficulties of the last years of the reign.

§ 55. No money for repairing forts.

The letter of Mansur Khan, Governor of Aurangabad, was placed before the Emperor. Its purport was: "The Imperial Camp has reached Ahmadnagar. I consider it necessary to apply for an order for the repair of the citadel of Aurangabad, so that by the time of the arrival of the Imperial standard here the repairs may be completed."

The Emperor wrote thus, (*verse*)

In the grave the earth has opened its arms
to invite him,
And the man in his ignorance is painting his house!
It will soon happen that through this negligence,
avarice and desire of his,
His bones and flesh will fall apart from one another!

I wonder at [the application of] this old servant who knows my feelings, in the face of my remark made on the day of my arrival at Ahmadnagar 'Write down Ahmadnagar as the **journey's end**.' What chance is there of my going to Aurangabad, when I have spoken of Ahmadnagar as the **end of my travels**? In so many days of my past life there has been no difference (inconsistency) in my words! God willing, up to the day of my removal to the eternal home, there will be no divergence between my words and acts."

Text.—Ir. MS. 24a & b, MS. N. 10b & 31a.

Note.—Aurangzib returned to Ahmadnagar, a broken down old man, ruined in health, finance, and prestige, on 20th January, 1706. (*M. A.* 512). We read of a Mansur Khan, who was superintendent of the Deccan artillery from 1699 to 1705. (*M. A.* 404, 497). A Khawajah Manzur was *qiladar* of Daulatabad in 1658. (*A. N.* 44). The phrase 'journey's end' is given in *Khafi Khan*, ii, 541.

§ 56. Reliance on God in financial difficulty.

Inayatullah Khan submitted to the Emperor, "The number (*misl*) of the officers who are daily paraded before your Majesty is unlimited, while the land for granting *jagirs* is limited. How can an unlimited thing equal a limited one?"

The Emperor wrote, "God pardon us! The Imperial stores (*karkhanah*) are an emblem of the Court of God. **The people are the children of God and their livelihood is in God's charge.** This poor and humble bread-distributer (*i.e.*, Aurangzib) is no more than an agent of the glorious Lord. To believe in the scantiness and limit of God's Court is the

essence of infidelity and sin. Praised be God! and again praised be God! Although my legs are broken, my heart is not broken. After the capture of fort Satara *jagir* for 5 or 7 thousands has, according to the statement of Arshad Khan, been added to the dominions of this mortal (=Aurangzib). Make them assignments on this (new territory). When it is exhausted, God will give you a day of new livelihood."

Text.—Ir. MS. 24, b.

Note.—Inayatullah Khan (*M. U* ii, 828) was appointed *diwan of tankhah* in July, 1692. He was the "personal disciple" and favourite Secretary of Aurangzib, and rose to be *wazir* under Bahadur Shah I. Arshad Khan, was appointed *diwan of khalsa* in 1698, and died in 1701. *M. U* i 290.

§ 57. Mutinous artillery officers cheated.

When the Emperor was marching from Satara towards fort Parli, the pay of the followers (*ahsham*) and men of the artillery was fourteen months in arrear, owing to the delay in the arrival of the revenue of Bengal. All the four trusted Commanders of one Thousand told the Emperor on the way "Our followers no longer listen to our words. They want to make an outbreak against Tarbiyat Khan, the Chief of Artillery, (*Mir Atish*)". His Majesty ordered, "Give them half the due salary from the public treasury inside the harem. For the rest give an assignment on the revenue of Chicacole in the province of Haidarabad; that they may fetch the money thence. Let the Prime Minister write a permit to the Diwan of Haidarabad and send collectors (*sazawals*) with the artillerymen," Man Singh and Chaturbhuj, both of them Commanders of One Thousand, did not agree to it, dragged Tarbiyat Khan out of his *palki* during the journey, and made him sit down in the midst of the rain. Yar Ali Beg, the superintendent of the couriers (*harkarah*), reported the matter to His Majesty, who immediately ordered the Superintendent of the treasury of the harem to pay up their salary in full. They kept the Chief of Artillery sitting in this manner in the rain till evening. After they had got their pay, they mounted him [in his *palki*] and brought him to his quarters.

Next morning the Emperor gave robes of honour to each of the four Commanders of One Thousand and said, "You have been

brought to this [misery] through the wickedness of the Chief of Artillery. Tarbiyat Khan's rank is reduced by Five Hundred, and his *jagir* will be decreased to the same extent." After one week he ordered those two Commanders of One Thousand to go to Chicacole and draw in advance six months' salary for their comrades. With his own hand he wrote a *farman* to Jan-nisar Khan, the Governor [of Haidarabad], ordering him to divide the amount into instalments, and every day pay the instalment due. The news reached the other two Commanders of One Thousand who were with the Emperor, and their minds were composed. Then His Majesty ordered that these latter two officers should go to Aurangabad and take from the treasury of that place six months' advance pay for their followers; and an order was sent to Mamur Khan, the Governor of that Province, to pay the money by instalments.

After ten days His Majesty ordered that the two Commanders of One Thousand who had started first should be confined in the fort of Haidarabad and all the money paid to them, formerly and now, should be taken back! A similar order was also sent to the Governor of Aurangabad, *viz.*, that he should confine (the two men) in the fort of Daulatabad and recover their former and present salaries.

Text.—Ir: MS. 23b & 24a.

Notes.—Satara capitulated to Aurangzib on 21st Apr., 1700, and he marched from it to Parli in three days (28th-30th April). Mir Muhammad Khalil, (eldest son of Darab Khan of the Mukhtar tribe), was created Tarbiyat Khan and *Mir Atish* about 1698. (*M. U.* i. 498-503). Died in the battle of Jajau.

§ 58. Do not provoke a satirical poet.

Kamgar Khan, the son of J'afar Khan, petitioned the Emperor, "Mirza Muhammad Niamat Khan, whose malignant nature is accustomed to satirising, has published certain verses on my marriage, saying 'the object of it [*i.e.* marriage] is lawful movement, but in this case there is a coupling of two quiescents.' And he has besides introduced into them other disgraceful remarks about me, so that I have been put to shame before the public. I hope that your Majesty will so punish him that he might not again venture to compose such idle tales. It was proper to submit this matter to your Majesty."

Above the words 'it was proper' Aurangzib wrote 'it was wrong (*haram*),' and on the top of the petition he made this remark, "Punishing him will cause greater disgrace [to you than before.] This simpleminded hereditary servant wishes to make me his sharer in this [public] contempt, so that Niamat Khan might say and write about me whatever [satire] he likes and make me notorious to the world. Formerly, too, he had not spared me [in his satires]; in return I had increased his reward, that he might not do it again; yet in spite of this [favour] he had not on his part been less [satirical]. It is not possible to cut off his tongue and sever his neck. We ought to repress our feelings and live in harmony [with others]. **He is a friend, who neither clings to thee nor separates himself from thee.**"

Text.—MS. N. 6b. 7-7b 1.

Notes.—Kamgar Khan, the son of Aurangzib's early *wazir* Jafar Khan and Farzana Begam, (*M. U.* i. 531) was appointed *Khansaman* in 1687 and married the daughter of Syed Muzaffar Haidarabadi in September 1688 (*M. A.* 297, 312). Life in *M. U.* iii. 159. His simplicity was notorious. The first couplet of the satire on his marriage is given in *M. U.* iii. 160.

Mirza Muhammad Haji Niamat Khan, poetical name Ali, was the son of an eminent Persian doctor, Hakim Fatihuddin. Under Bahadur Shah he got the title of Danishmand Khan. He wrote the *Jang-namahi*, *Waqai*, and *Mazhakat* and was the most famous satirist of the age. (*M. U.* ii. 699. *M. A.* 267, *Khafikhan*, i. 338, 359 *Elliot's History of India*, vii. 200). There is a play upon the word *quiescent*, which means (1) a consonant not followed by a vowel and therefore incapable of being joined to another letter, and (2) a man wanting in virility.

§ 59. A back-biter punished,

From the report of the army of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, who was then at Ahmadabad, the Emperor learned that one Muhammad Beg, who was one of the Prince's troop of *ahadis*, had by means of back-biting secured the Prince's companionship and become the cause of harm to many of his servants.

His Majesty wrote, "Siadat Khan should send strong mace-bearers (sergeants) to bring that graceless back-biter—who is the ruiner of the state—to my presence, walking on foot, because the most harmful of all bad things on the part of kings and rich men is the company of backbiters and calumniators. **Mischief-making is worse than murder.** [*MS. N. adds.:*] According to

the saying 'Verily the outside of a snake is many-coloured, but within it there is poison,' such is the character of a back-biter that externally he is charming, but at heart he holds a deadly poison. **Avoid him! avoid him!**"

Text.—Ir. MS. 19a & b, MS. N. 9b.

Notes.—Prince M. Azam was sent to Guzerat, (capital Ahmadabad), as Governor about the middle of 1701 and stayed there till March, 1706, when he came to the Court. *Ahadis* were gentlemen troopers, recruited singly; serving the Emperor directly, and not attached to any chief. (Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, 43). Siadat Khan IV, the son of Syed Ughlan (Siadat Khan III) was appointed Superintendent of "the confirmation of postings" in 1699.

§ 60. Angry Governor punishes his slanderer.

From the letter of Muhammad Azam, news-writer of the province of Guzerat,—who was one of the Emperor's own retainers (*walashahi*), His Majesty learned that Muhammad Amin Khan, the Governor of the province, had held court while intoxicated with wine. The Emperor wrote [on the sheet]:—"God is holy! This is a great slander." The [Court] agent of Muhammad Amin Khan wrote of this matter to his master. The Governor in open *darbar* ordered the moustaches and beard of the news-writer to be pulled out and flung into the air. This, too, reached the Emperor's knowledge. His Majesty wrote:—"His Holiness Ali has said, 'Anger is a sort of madness and there is no law in anger.' The Khan has a very violent temper. But in this matter what is known is that the news-writer had calumniated him'. What power had he that the smell of wine should reach from the Khan's mouth to his [nostrils]? Anyhow, his punishment belonged to me, and it was improper for the Governor to inflict it himself. The sentence on the lying news-writer is dismissal from his post, and that on the Governor will be withholding from him the robe of honour at the [coronation] festival every year."

Text.—Ir. MS. 6b—7a.

Notes.—Muhammad Amin Khan *Hafiz*, son of Mir Jumla, was Governor of Guzerat from 11th June, 1672 to his death 16th June, 1682. A very proud and self-willed nobleman and a bigoted Shiah. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii, 613).

§ 61. Official discipline—both sides punished!

Yar Ali Beg, the Superintendent of reports (*sawanih*), submitted to the Emperor, "Buzurg Ummid Khan has insulted Abdur Rahim, the report-writer of the province of Bihar, in open audience, and with disgrace turned him out. If no punishment is inflicted [for this], other writers will abstain from writing the truth about occurrences, and become [mere] servants of the provincial Governors. If your Majesty, too, acts according to [the proverb] 'Bad humour always attacks the weakest limb', then your slaves are helpless in obeying [your] orders." The Emperor wrote, "This helpless person [*i.e.*, Aurangzib] himself is ever weak, and he considers all men, high and low, to be weak. 'The strong' is an attribute that belongs only to the pure nature of God. But low persons should never be domineering to high ones. I punish the report-writer with loss of his rank and dismissal, and the provincial Governor with a decrease of 500 in his rank (*mansab*) and the transfer of his *jagir*."

Text.—Ir. MS. 8b, MS. N. 36b—37b.

Notes.—Buzurg Ummid Khan, a son of Shaista Khan and the conqueror of Chittagong, was Subahdar of Bihar from 1683 (?) to July, 1692 and again at the time of his death, 12th Feb., 1695. (Life in *Masir-ul-umara*, i, 453). Another instance of his haughtiness is given in *Masir-ul-umara*, i, 454.

§ 62. Every regulation to be rigidly observed.

Ruhullah Khan II. whose original name was Mir Hassan, had, on account of the Emperor's great intimacy and trust, been raised to the posts of Paymaster of *tankhah* (salaries) and Chamberlain (*khan-saman*). In spite of his having become a Commander of Three Thousand, he took his own turn of being present as a *khawas*, but stood at the foot of the Court hall. Through the Prime Minister Asad Khan he made the following petition, "My rank is that of a Commander of Three Thousand, and Faizullah Khan Sarbari, the Deputy Superintendent, is only a Commander of Seven Hundred. If I am appointed Sarbari and Deputy Superintendent, it would be conformable to the favour and grace resulting from your Majesty's custom of cherishing your servants."

The Emperor ordered; "There is no objection to your being made Sarban, provided that you lose both your present posts and get instead the rank of Commander of Seven Hundred!" Then Asad Khan asked, "But where should he stand?" The Emperor replied, "There is no place above him except over my own head." Then His Majesty continued, "If a single rule is disregarded, all the regulations will be destroyed. Though I have not allowed the violation of any rule [of the Court], men have grown so bold that they request me to set aside rules! When this practice becomes wide spread, a great difficulty will arise."

Text.—Ir MS. 5b—6a, MS. N. 32b, 11a.

Notes.—Mir Hasan, the 2nd son of Ruhullah Khan Bakhshi, was created Khanahzad Khan and in 1657 got the post of *Khansaman* and his father's title. Appointed *Darogha* of the Imperial retinue 1691. Created 2nd Bakhshi, Jan. 1701. Died in the fulness of youth, 9th May, 1704. (Life in *Masir-ul-Umar*, ii, 315—317)

§ 63. Official etiquette enforced.

From the report of the province of Bengal the Emperor learnt that Ibrahim Khan, the Governor, in excess of pomposity and pride, used to hold court while sitting on a couch (*charpai*), and the Qazi and other officers of Religious Law used to sit in disgrace on the floor. On the sheet of the report the Emperor wrote:—"The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order of the Emperor' to the said Governor stating that if he is unable to sit on the ground by reason of any disease, he is excused till his restoration to health, and he should urge his doctors to cure him soon. As the report-writer (*sarwānīh-nigar*) has risen to a high rank (*mansab*), he is no longer fit to continue as report-writer. Let him be given a promotion in rank of 100 troopers. Write to Ibrahim Khan to find for him a *faujdar* (militia command) within the jurisdiction of his province, so that the latter too may know the taste of report-writing against himself by (other) writers. Yar Ali Beg should recommend some other report-writer who has discretion and possesses respect."

Text.—Ir. MS. 5a & b, MS. N. 35 a & b.

Notes.—Ibrahim Khan was Governor of Bengal from 1689 to 1697.

§ 64. Royal prerogative infringed.

From the report of Ahmadabad, then governed by Ibrahim Khan, the Emperor learned that the Khan used to go to the Cathedral Mosque riding a *palki*. As even the Princes could not go [to church] in a *nalki* without the special permission of the Emperor, the news-writers had asked him 'What should we write?' and he had replied 'Write whatever you like.'

On the sheet of the report His Majesty wrote, "Ibrahim Khan is a hereditary servant, aware of my wishes. He has been enrolled among the *amirs* (Commanders) from the time of Shah Jahan (now in heaven), and can never act contrary to the rules. As he was twice Governor of Kashmir and he rides on *jhampons*, which the report-writers here call *palki* from mere resemblance, [in spite of its] difference of shape. Let the Prime Minister write to him, 'Why should you do an act which gives a handle to the news-writers [to complain against you]?' The punishment of the report-writer for his wrong conception is that [though] he is retained at his post, his rank is decreased by 50 and his *jagir* reduced to the same extent."

Text.—Ir MS. 18b & 19a.

Note.—Ibrahimi Khan, son of Ali Mardan Khan was appointed Subahdar of Guzerat in 1705 but arrived at Ahmadabad just at the time of Aurangzib's death (Life in *M.U.* i, 295). He had previously governed Kashmir 1659—1662, 1677—1689, and 1700—1705. During his administration of Bengal (1689—1697) Rahim Khan's rebellion broke out. *Jhampan* or *dandi* is a boat-shaped chair carried on men's shoulders in the hills. *Nalki* is an open *Palki* or litter.

§ 65. Ambition of an Abyssinian admiral.

From the news-letter of Machhli-bandar the Emperor learnt that Siddi Yaqut Khan, the *thanahdar* of Danda Rajpuri, had inserted a petition under his own seal in the news-letter, stating that if the collectorship (*matasuddi-gari*) of Danda Rajpuri were conferred on him, he would render far better service than his predecessors in increasing the prosperity of the place and in sending the Imperial revenue.

Across the sheet of the news-letter the Emperor wrote, "For a long time I have known of this aggressive and self-willed spirit of

Siddi Yaqut Khan. [Here the MS. ends abruptly.]

Text.—MS. N, 30b 6—12.

Note.—Siddi Yaqut, an Abyssinian, is described in 1702 as Collector of Danda Rajpuri and virtually the Mughal admiral on the Bombay coast. (*M. A.* 455). Khafi Khan often narrates his history, (ii, 225—228, 453—454). Died about March 1704 (*Ibid* 514—515). Danda Rajpuri is a town on the Bombay coast, N. W. of Mahabaleshwar, and facing the island of Jinjera, which was the stronghold of the Abyssinians. Machhli-bandar is the modern Masulipatam, near the mouth of the Kistna river, on the east coast.

§ 66. A fragment.

The Emperor wrote on the sheet of the application, "Although he is [not] a child, I know him to be of childish intellect. Probably he made this petition in a state of *sukr* (=intoxication) which is written with the letter *sin* (i.e., *s*) devoid of dots, whereas *shukr* (=gratitude) is written with the letter *shin* (=sh) marked with dots, [though] both the words are of the measure of '*qufl*'. For this sort of gratitude, [the term '*shukr*'] with that *shin* does not help in [supplying] the measure (*waʿn*) [of the word *qufl*]

Text.—MS. N. 4a 7—11.

Note.—The Arabic letter for *s* is turned into *sh* by putting three dots over it. *Measure* &c. are terms of Arabic etymology.

§ 67. Be not too proud of your good service.

"Write to Fāitihullah Khan that his exploits have been known in detail from the despatches, and they have become the cause of his welcome at court (*mujra*); but he should not turn this risking of his life into the sale of service (i.e., mercenary work) nor should he displease me by displeasing my generals."

Text.—Ir. MS. 12b & 13a, MS. R. gives only the portion from 'he should not turn.' This letter is given in many of the other collections of Aurangzib's letters, and is No. 123 in the lithographed edition of the *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*. I think it has got into the *Ahkam* by mistake.

Notes.—Mir Muhammad Sadiq, surnamed Fāitihullah Khan Bahadur Alamgirshahi, distinguished himself at the sieges of Panhala and Khelna, so that the other Imperial generals grew jealous of him (Khafi Khan, ii. 489; life in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 40—47).

THE FATAL GARLAND

By SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GANESH DEV firmly believed that in protecting the young Prince he was doing right, so the prospect of war gave him neither anxiety nor remorse. His only thought was to overcome despotic oppression, and if blood was shed in such a cause, it was well shed.

After the assembly had adjourned, he went into the inner apartment, his mind still occupied with the thoughts of the event that was to come. Nirupama greeted him and then informed him that his mother was displeased because refuge was still granted to the Prince.

"What do you think of the matter?" he asked in reply, "have I done right or wrong in giving him shelter?"

"You have done right," the young wife

said enthusiastically. "If a Raja would cease to protect the helpless and subdue oppression, what would then be the fate of the country? You have acted as your noble and generous heart prompted you to act."

He raised her hand to his lips and said, "Beloved, you have spoken like a true woman."

Nirupama's tender heart became filled with delight, she drooped her pretty lashes, but presently she spoke again. She had an important piece of news to tell her husband. "Have you heard what is being said?" she asked. "You remember Shokti, of course. She has become Gais-ud-din's Begum."

"Really?"

"Had you not heard it as yet? The report comes from Kutab's tent, and so it

cannot be false. How horrible to become Mussalman for the sake of wealth and power."

This contemptuous allusion stung Ganesh deeply. Did he not know all? How fallacious the world's judgment? This sad young life had entered the Mussalman's harem as a burning sacrifice, and now the world's unrelenting censure was added to her lot. It would, however, have been unwise to explain the truth to Nirupama, he therefore only said, "Do not judge her, you do not know what her motives were. And after all, why should we despise the Mussalmans. Are they not the sons of our motherland as well as we ourselves? The only difference is our creed. Why should we consider ourselves so very superior?"

"I cannot say why it is, but I despise them. I would not become a Mussalmani even to gain heaven". Little Nirupama, although she knew it not, was in her childish way expressing the general sentiment of her people.

"You are wrong in cherishing such feeling," replied her husband gravely. "If we advance such sentiment, can we be surprised that they in their turn despise us? The true glory of our Hindu faith has always been its spirit of tolerance. You pride yourself in being a Hindu, but you ignore the key-note of the Hindu teaching, which enjoins us to condemn no creed, but treat them all as one."

The little Maharani was convinced of the truth implied in her husband's words, she became confused and only shyly answered, "But if Shokti were to come here, I could not meet her on equal terms."

"It would be condescension on her part to meet you as her equal. She is the Sultana of Bengal, and you are only one of her many subject Ranis."

The young wife felt mortified. Her old jealousy for the beautiful companion of her childhood made itself felt once more, and jealousy always hears a great deal more than is being said. She put her own interpretation upon his words, her pride was hurt. But she was meek and gently faltered, "You are right."

At that moment some one knocked at the door. It was Rangini, who informed the Raja that the Bhagavati sannyasini wished to see His Highness. The Raja himself

rose to admit her, and the priestess entered. She had sad news to tell. "Your mother," she said to the Raja, "has told Kutab Prince Saheb-ud-din's whereabouts. I fear he is a prisoner by this time. See what is to be done, make haste, there can be no delay."

Ganesh Dev became agitated and said. "I thank you for the information, holy mother. You may tell the captain of the guards to bring troops to my assistance as soon as possible. In the meantime I will take as many of the palace guards as are available and advance."

He delayed not a minute but set out with as many of the soldiers as he could muster at the moment. If he could check Kutab till reinforcement came, all would be well. He was a high-spirited youth, this young Raja of Dinajpore, and the inspiration of defending justice gave him great strength and dauntless courage. Supported by a handful of soldiers, he faced an overwhelming force. But his attempts were futile. He could not save the young fugitive whom he had granted protection. That very night Ganesh Dev and Prince Saheb-ud-din were taken prisoner by Kutab's soldiers.

CHAPTER XXXII.

There was a villa by the river side, surrounded by a garden of exquisite delights. The Ganga's rippling waves kissed the green shrubbery growing by the water's edge, and all was fragrance, beauty, peace and happiness. Softly murmuring fountains sent their silver spray on high, and a lotus-covered stream wound its way through beds with rose and jasmine laden. The statuary spoke of Hindu myths, and marble figures of the gods and heroes of the Aryan lore lined the winding pathways. Here a graceful Radhika, there Krishna played his flute, and shaded under yonder Champak tree Saraswati played the vina, while round the lotus seat of Lakshmi soft tendrils wound, and near a spraying fountain stood Sakuntala, the beautiful, robed in a dress of bark, and earthen vessel in one hand and with the other fondling a young deer that lingered by her side, and Ratnavali, the lovestricken, stood with bent head before King Udayan, her lover.

On yonder marble balustrade a peacock stood with his proud head erect, the shining feathers of his sweeping tail touching the bow of Cupid. And in a silver lake girded with lilies swam among the lotus stems two snow-white swans, gliding on dreamily. Their domed wings and gracefully curved necks looked as if carved of marble. Gold fishes played in silver basins, flitting here and there like shining rays. Bright-feathered parrots bound by golden chains sat chatting in the branches, and wood doves cooed in foliage-laden cages, while bulbuls whistled in the trees. A snow-white doe lay browsing in the grass, and the tall palm trees rustled their mysterious sound, that seemed like an echo from an unseen world.

And in this place of beauty sat the Sultana, Shoktimoi, now Empress of the land. She did not live among the other wives, her royal husband gave this place to her. And though he was a foreigner to her faith, he gladly granted her representations from the Hindu myths, left her her own religious worship, only saw that every wish of hers was granted.

But was the Empress happy? She was still beautiful, her form was slender and her queenly face as fair and youthful as ever. But sadness lingered in her midnight eyes, the very smile upon her lips breathed sorrow. The young deer came and softly touched her hand, he was accustomed to take food from her. She smiled and stroked his slender neck.

She loved to linger amid the flowers and the waving trees, they brought some solace to her aching heart. For while around her all was beauty, her soul was weary, the great pain of her life still lingered in her heart, and she knew neither joy nor peace. She courted loneliness and often sat for hours and gazed.

Now evening came and the pale lunar disc rose slowly in the vaulted sky, the wind whispered through the branches and the silver wavelets murmured at her feet. They told her of a childhood bright and happy, of a life's love and bitter sorrow, they whispered of a garland crushed and faded, and the Sultana sighed. It was the winter season when the days are pleasant but the nights are cold with a sharp cutting chill. Shokti retired to a spacious garden hall

attached to the palace which laden with foliage and flowers, and decorated with fountains and statuary, was like a garden in itself. A figure approached, her dream was interrupted. But oh, the change that came over those beautiful features! She became irritable, she did not return his greeting. "What is this I hear?" she exclaimed angrily, "Prince Saheb-ud-din has been made prisoner to be put to death? Shame on me, to have married such a cruel man!"

The Sultan was surprised to find her so soon this evening, for as a rule he had to wait for a long time when he came to see her. For this was the hour when her child, her little girl, was being put to rest for the night and Shokti spent her time then with the little one. The fact was she was anxious to see him to-night, for she had heard of the imprisonment of his nephew, and she wanted to hear from his own lips whether this was true. But he saw soon that she was in no mood to receive his oft-repeated vows of love. Seating himself on the soft couch beside her, he replied. "Is he more cruel than the woman of his heart! Have I not placed at your feet all that can make life dear? And yet you will not yield yourself to me, you call me cruel, because I must slay a foe."

Shokti could have endured ill-treatment from her husband, but his vows of love, his caresses filled her with repulsion. She said coldly, "You are slaying an innocent lad, simply because you fear he may be dangerous to you at some future time. Is this the heroism of a Mussalman? The blood of your seven brothers is already calling out against you, but not satisfied with that, you must put to death an innocent child. This proves a coward's heart."

"Perhaps your Hindu heroes did not know of the jewel they lost in you, otherwise why did they allow a coward to win you? It seems cowardice won, while heroism failed." Her husband occasionally revenged himself on her with a taunt of this kind. Shokti's face flushed with anger, because she felt his words were true. She picked a flower from a branch near her hand and crushed it with her slender fingers. Meanwhile the fountains played and leaves and flowers filled the room with fragrance. But Shokti knew it not, her eyes cast looks of scorn and

sadness mingled. The bright light of the chandelier shone full upon her face, the Sultan gazed at her and then exclaimed, "Beloved of my soul, your beauty overpowers me, you drive me from your side, but I cannot leave you," and then he kissed her passionately.

She had been the Sultan's wife for five years now, but she avoided his caresses as much as she possibly could. Today they seemed more cruel to her than ever, she shuddered and her heart turned cold within her. "Ganesh Dev, what have you done? If I live to-day, it is to accomplish my revenge," these were the thoughts closed lips concealed.

A maid appeared carrying a little girl who cried violently. "I cannot keep the Princess quiet, your majesty," she explained, "so I have brought her here." The child ran to the mother, and still sobbing said, "I want to stay with you. I will not go away again."

Shokti dismissed the maid and taking the child on her lap, kissed her little face, but the child scrambled down saying, "you naughty mama, you left me, I shall go to papa," and then she climbed upon her father's knee.

Shokti's bitter mood gave way to motherly tenderness, her anger changed to pitiful despair. The man for whom she cared so little was after all the father of her child. She could not, however hard she might try, destroy this bond. How terrible her fate! The father plucked some flowers and gave them to the child. The little one chattered and laughed as she played with them and threw them into the basin of a fountain. Shokti's sad gaze lingered on the child's happy face, her heart burnt with agony. The father kissed the little one and then turned to the mother saying, "Beloved, it is for the sake of this child, that I slay my enemies, otherwise who would protect her and you when I am dead?"

"That cannot exonerate you in shedding the blood of an innocent boy.

"His very helplessness is his strength. Many will flock around him on that account and the kingdom will never be at rest.

"Still slay not the innocent, that is not the justice befitting a king. No blame attaches to the boy, in hiding in fear of his life, he has done no wrong. If you fear

a rebellion, punish the guilty, punish him who gave shelter to the fugitive against your command."

The Sultan was amazed. He knew she loved Ganesh Dev still, and he could not understand her mind. He knew not the dividing line between woman's love and desire for revenge. Her speech, however, pleased him and he replied, "Ganesh Dev is a prisoner."

"A prisoner?"

"Yes, for more than a month."

The child heard this and in her sweet babbling voice called out, "I broke Ganesh. Sundar Lal gave it to me, but it was so ugly."

Sweet innocent child, how little she knew what moved her mother's heart. The gardener had given her a clay image of the god Ganesh, the elephant-headed, but it pleased her not, and she broke it.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Prince Saheb-ud-din was prisoner, and his fate was discussed at the assembly. The Sultan himself was not present. Kutab was in favour of having the young Prince killed; for this alone, he argued, would procure the peace of the Empire. The other members of the council were not of his opinion. They requested him to intercede for the boy with the Sultan, since excepting the Sultana, the Badshah listened so readily to no one as to Kutab. He, however, put on a piteous air and persuaded his fellow councillors that he was no longer in the Sultan's favour. Azim Khan, who was a just and sincere man, and who was moreover indebted to Prince Saheb-ud-din for his life, was incensed at Kutab's attitude. Impatient and angry, he exclaimed, "It was we who rebelled against the late Sultan and placed Gais-ud-din on the throne. If this tyranny continues and the Prince is not released, I myself will fight for him."

To this Kutab replied in tones of despair, "How would that help the matter? Whatever we may do, we cannot save the Prince's life. If we rebel, we may add our own to his. The country no longer belongs to the Badshah, it is governed by that she-devil, the Sultana."

The assembly agreed with him, all cursed the Queen as the promoter of the Sultan's evil deeds. Kutab had won his point, this was what he had wanted to accomplish in order to have his own actions appear justified. He hated Shoktimoi for the influence she had over her husband. He thought she supplanted him in the Emperor's favour. As a matter of fact, Shokti never troubled herself about matters of state. But if the Sultan at any time differed from Kutab, then woe betide the poor Sultana, for Kutab laid all the blame on her and cursed her inwardly.

A few days ago he had arrested several way-farers and had them mercilessly flogged in the compound of the palace because they had not saluted him properly on the road. The little Princess, Gul Bahar, had witnessed this and running weeping to her mother, told her what she had seen. Shokti had the matter investigated, but could not get at the truth. She was told their offence lay in having tried to enter the royal palace over night while intoxicated. The Empress, however, succeeded in having them pardoned, and even had one of them, Sunder Lal, installed as one of the gardeners in her palace garden. Kutab became infuriated, but he concealed his feeling and praised the Sultana's kindness of heart to the Sultan, while to the courtiers he represented himself as having saved the poor men from the Sultana's ill treatment.

He feared the child might work him further harm by her innocent disclosures, so one day he advised the Emperor to keep the Princess confined in the Zenana, since now she was growing up. The Sultan agreed, and yet no change ensued. He knew that this was due to her mother's influence, but was powerless to act further in the matter and had to keep quiet. But when he imagined her influence made itself felt even in state affairs, his power of endurance came to an end. He resolved to check her, and in order to gain a point, he advised Gais-ud-din to slay his nephew. He was surprised to see that the Sultan, who had first wanted to see the young Prince killed, had now changed his opinion. He saw the Queen's hand in this. He therefore impressed on him the more urgently the necessity of removing Saheb-ud-din from his path, pointing out how dangerous he

might become if he were allowed to live. On the other hand he agreed with the Badshah in making peace with the Maharaja of Dinajpore and keeping on friendly terms with him. This too was done to spite the Sultana, because he knew she had no good feeling towards Ganesh Dev. He assured the king that Ganesh Dev could be relied upon if he once gave his word.

"But the question is," put in the Sultan, "what will happen if he refuses to give his word. In that case I shall be obliged to have him put to death. Saheb-ud-din will be helpless without his support. He can be left free if once the Maharaja is dead."

At any other time Kutab would have agreed with his view, but thinking the counsel came from the Sultana and blinded by rage, he insisted on Saheb-ud-din's death. He yearned to have his jealous hatred satisfied, and he thought he saw a chance to overthrow the Queen's influence and establish his own.

Ill-starred Shoktimoi, how little she knew of the treachery that surrounded her! Unconscious of Kutab's evil deeds and feelings, she still imagined him to be her friend. He had helped her on the occasion when at the close of the war she had seen Ganesh Dev for the last time, and she had trusted him implicitly ever since. But his motive had been black then as all his motives were. He hoped that she would not return, or if she did, that by this act of hers he would have her in his power. But since she did come back and became Queen, he ever planned to disclose the secret to her husband. Only the fear of becoming implicated himself had so far prevented him from doing so. But now another opportunity offered.

The unsuspecting woman sent for Kutab, and told him she wished to visit Ganesh Dev in his cell. His heart beat high with fiendish delight, when he heard this. He bowed his obeisance to her, avowed his loyalty anew and assured her that he would gladly give his life for her, and since what she asked of him was such a trifling service, how gladly would he not manage it.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Ganesh Dev lay on the floor of his cell, haggard, weary and forlorn, gazing vacantly

through the small prison hole at the starry sky above.

In her royal apartment Shoktimoi decked her fair form with choicest robes. Dressed like a Queen as on her bridal day, she now was ready. Ready to go whither? To the prison cell where lay the man she once had loved, who had spurned her, refused her hand and brought disgrace upon her life. No more in the sannyasini's garb would she appear before him. No, she came to triumph over him, he should behold her in her glory now. Ah! did he still recall those words that in the silent woodland she had spoken, did he recall the scene when by the moonlit lake she pleaded for mercy for the last time? Behold Ganesh, the curse has fallen, the hour of vengeance is at hand, a blighted life is vindicated. It is for you now to ask favour from her hand, it rests with her to give you life or death.

And as he lay alone upon the ground, the Maharaja's heart was heavy. That evening messengers had brought the King's proposals which might set him free. On no account must he at any time take arms against the Sultan, and he must support his King at any call and question not whether the cause be right or wrong. To these conditions he must give his oath. The man of noble blood refused, and now the doom must fall. Still death was better than a life of servitude. His whole nature rebelled at the mere thought that such proposals should have been made to him. It is well to die in a right cause, and he feared not death, but his heart was heavy with the thought of those he left behind. He thought of wife and child now at the mercy of a cruel foe and of his faithful subjects, who would soon be scattered and oppressed. This was the last hour of his life, yet there was no one

near to comfort him, no friend, no gentle voice, no tender hand to soothe his throbbing brow. He could not grasp it that death was so near. His faith in the Divine was infinite, he trusted still. Some miracle, he thought, would save him yet for those who needed him. Impatiently he struck his hand against a wall, but only the dead echo answered back, and the great pain that gnawed his heart told him he was in bondage still. He smiled at his own folly. Then he thought of the sannyasini, would she not come to help him, surely she was working for his freedom now. He fought for a just cause, could then the just God let him die, leaving helpless all those who leaned on him for protection and support? And now into his mental vision entered Shoktimoi, he heard her pleading voice, the cry for mercy that had rent her breast. Had she not pleaded for protection in a just cause? Remorse took hold of him with all its bitter force. No no, his doom was sealed, he worked his own destruction on that night when coldly he refused to shelter her from harm. His hope gave way to melancholy, he was exhausted and of sheer weariness he fell asleep. And as he slept he dreamt a dream. He thought the four walls of his prison chamber vanished and in the open field under the starry sky appeared a goddess. Joy filled his soul, he was about to worship at her feet when a slight noise disturbed his sleep. Was this an apparition? Had then a goddess appeared to liberate him? Opening his eyes he saw before him a fair woman robed in jewelled raiment whose radiance lit up his dreary cell. This filled his soul with holy awe and he knew not whether he still dreamt or not.

(To be continued.)

THE VAJRA AS A NATIONAL FLAG

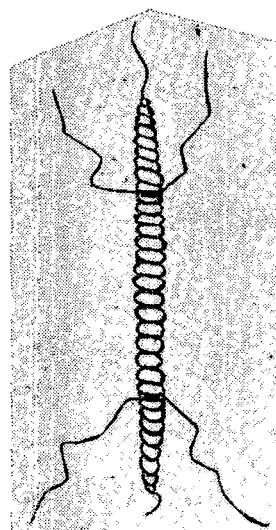
THE question of the invention of a flag for India is beginning to be discussed in the press. Those who contemplate the desirability of such a symbol,

however, seem to be unaware that already a great many people have taken up, and are using, the ancient Indian *Vajra* or Thunderbolt, in this way. When we look at all

that a national banner means, we see the utter impossibility of manufacturing or devising such an emblem. It can only grow up out of the heart and history of a people. A trade-mark, a custom-house seal, or a signalling pennant, may be arranged, imposed, prescribed, but a BANNER, with its menace and its rallying-cry, a BANNER, with its benison and call to sacrifice, must be born within the soul of the nation, and call up a passion that none outside the Guardian-race can understand. For this reason, it seems worth while to recapitulate briefly the history and significance of the *Vajra* as an emblem of nationality. For while this symbolism cannot be imparted piecemeal to those outside the circle of its enthusiasm, it can and must be handed on from generation to generation, and province to province. In matters of worship, the mystic lore can only be analysed and explained to those who are already being initiated and to them, must be; so also here we dare not leave our tradition in any half-light of uncertainty, lest our children should grow up in vagueness as to the sign of their unity and common honour.

Throughout the period before the Christian Era, the Thunderbolt as a symbol, was of cosmopolitan importance. Amongst

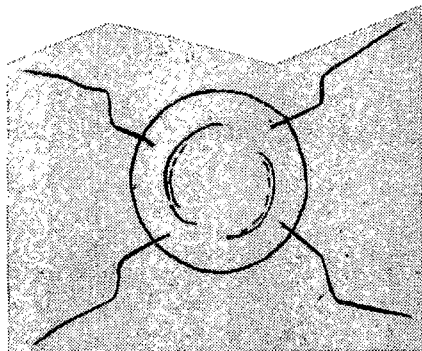
Jupiter amongst the Romans, was the wielder of the Thunderbolt. And similarly, in India, amongst the Aryan races, Indra was the God of the Thunderbolt. It was



THE ROMAN THUNDERBOLT IN WOOD, GILDED, AND WIRE.



THUNDERBOLT OF INDRA IN STONE.



THUNDERBOLT CARRIED BY THE EAGLE OF ZEUS.

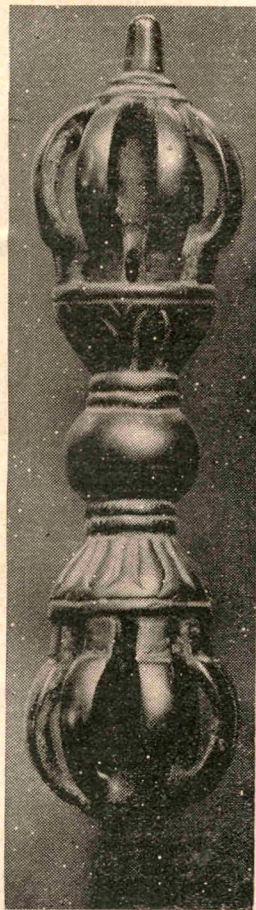
Greeks and Romans, the Eagle of Zeus carried it in his claws. For the Romans, it was a military sign, and a device in perpetual use. It was one of the favourite designs stamped on the little earthen lamps that the housewife brought home from the bazaar. Another was the locust; both evidently symbolising the destructive power of fire. Zeus amongst the Greeks, and

natural enough that this should be so. Tidal waves, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, waterspouts, floods, are all forms of violence that act from below. Only rain and lightning come from above, and of the two lightning is hurled from the remoter height, mysterious, momentary, of a deadly definiteness and certainty of aim, in good sooth the sword of the sky. Farther, to be accounted for on no other terms. Dangerous and wrapped in terror as is the earthquake, it cannot be compared with the thunderbolt in distinctness of form, and in poetry, or, above either of these qualities, in discriminativeness of action. Obviously, to ages whose divinities were at bottom personifications of the forces of nature, it was inevitable that Power Almighty, Cosmic, Infinite, should appear armed with the one weapon of heavenly destructiveness—the thunderbolt. Jupiter, Zeus, and Indra, armed with the *Vajra*, speak for themselves of the past antiquity of the conception, coming, as it does, out of an age when the civilisation of man was one, and continents had not yet attained ethnological distinctness.

The habits of thought of these pre-Buddhistic ages are revealed to us in the

sculptures and bas-reliefs of the Buddhist period itself. Again, the characteristic ideas of the Buddhist centuries find expression in the beginning of the Mahabharata. A new era always opens with a re-statement in some form or other of the convictions of the old. Hence, as Grunwedel points out, in the early delineations of Buddha, Indra is always seen as His supreme worshipper, with the thunderbolt in his hand.

We have here an instance of the way in which the Indian genius renders dynamic and spiritual what would remain in the hands of other races merely static and material. Already, two hundred and fifty years before the crowning of the first Roman Emperor, the Indian people are dreaming of One without miraculous manifestation of any sort, yet so great within that to Him the highest powers of nature



THUNDERBOLT OF
THIBETAN LAMA.

are to be subordinate. All things—even the gods—are put under His feet. Yet He is only the man who has attained. We cannot wonder that the Thunderbolt becomes the symbol of Buddha. In the sculptures of our period—after the formation of the Kutil script—we find it borne on a sort of shield, at the foot of the panel. Again, it becomes specially identified with one of the Bodhisattvas, and he is known as Vajrapani,—a great power, yet to be incarnated, armed with the thunderbolt. In Thibet and in Burma, the thunderbolt stands for Buddha Himself, a fact that one finds abundantly illustrated at Bodhi-Gaya. The Thibe-

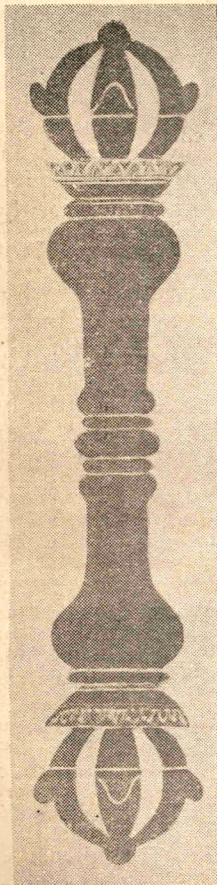
tan Lama does his *puja*, holding a miniature *Vajra* in the left hand. Above all, the famous diamond-throne of the Buddhist world is found, at the same shrine, to be a circular stone, deeply engraved with a circle of *Vajras* and ornamental designs, and known as the *Vajra-Asana*, or Thunderbolt Seat.

Do we desire to fill in the hiatus here, to understand the innermost significance of this identification? Why was Buddha the Thunderbolt? To this question the Mahabharata as we now have it, gives us the answer. At the opening of the Mahabharata, it would be impossible to exaggerate the importance attributed to the Thunderbolt. "Wherever there is glory, or honour, or purity, great wisdom, or great sanctity, or great energy, know that to be a fragment of the Thunderbolt." But the *secret* of this is a different matter. The gods, it is said, were looking for a divine weapon, that is to say, for the divine weapon, *par excellence*—and they were told that only if they could find a man willing to give his own bones for the substance of it, could the Invincible Sword be forged. Whereupon they trooped up to the *rishi* Dadhichi and asked for his bones for the purpose. The request sounded like mockery. A man would give all *but* his own life-breath, assuredly, for a great end, but who, even to furnish forth a weapon for Indra, would hand over his body itself? To the *rishi* Dadhichi, however, this was no insuperable height of sacrifice. Smilingly he listened, smilingly he answered, and in that very moment laid himself down to die—yielding at a word the very utmost demanded of humanity.

Here, then, we have the significance of the *Vajra*. THE SELFLESS MAN IS THE THUNDERBOLT. Let us strive only for selflessness, and we become the weapon in the hands of the gods. Not for us to ask how. Not for us to plan methods. For us, it is only to lay ourselves down at the altar-foot. The gods do the rest. The divine carries us. It is not the thunderbolt that is invincible, but the hand that hurls it. Mother! Mother! take away from us this self! Let not fame or gain or pleasure have dominion over us! Be Thou the sunlight, we the dew dissolving in its heat.

The Thunderbolt did not cease to have a

history, with the closing of the Buddhist period. In India, it probably gave birth to the *trisul* of Siva, and it remains to this day the weapon placed in the lowest of the right hands of Durga, in the autumn *puja*. In Europe, it is quite possible that, through Byzantium, it has determined the form of the sovereign crown. But undoubtedly as a weapon it has grown less dynamic in form, with the progress of time. Nothing could better show the superiority of the Indian mind in decorative instinct, than a comparison of the classical thunderbolt of Europe with that of India. The Roman thunderbolt is a specimen of crude realism; the Indian, from the beginning, is graceful and replete with poetry. In its Bodh-Gaya form, as it appears on the *Vajra-Asana*, the meaning has become clear—'the spear concealed in the flower of the lightning.' It is this wonderful phonetic quality that



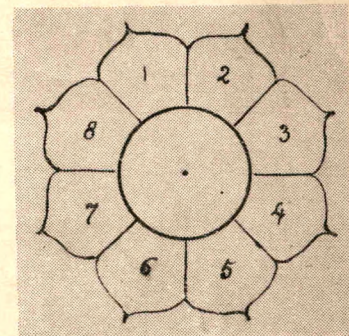
THE THUNDERBOLT
OF DURGA.

gives the symbol its peculiar appropriateness for a national flag. For above all things, a banner must have phonetic power. Whole nations are proud to be its bodyguard. Instinctively must they translate its crimson into struggle for it, its gold into promised victory, its white into the purity and passion of their own love for land and race. "Red as our love for thee, green as our hope for thee, white as our faith in thee!" sang Swinburne, to the Italian Flag, with its red, white, and green. But meanings like these cannot be learnt. They must spring up spontaneously, self-prompted by the first glance at the waving scarf, the first grip of the hand upon its staff. The eagles of Rome, or of Napoleon, the *fleur-de-lys* of mediæval

France, the stars and stripes of the American States,—what a spell these cast, by their very names, upon the hearts of men! This is the secret appeal of the standard to its chosen souls. This is the call that stirs their blood to the madness of devotion, the spiritual *reveille*—Awake! Awake!—that could not be resisted if we would, that must be followed, whenever and wherever it may lead.

But the future is never exactly as the past. And the new symbol cannot be even as the old. Hence the Thunderbolt of present day use is crossed. That is to say, it is multiplied in power, as befits the aspiration that is not of a great man here and there, but of every soul in a vast nation, at the same time. It is India, in all her millions, not a few Indian saints or prophets, who is called today to attain selflessness. India, in the might of her brotherhood, India in her unity, India in the cohesion of a single body, has to go down, down, down, into the depths, in order to climb the mountains of perfect strength and gaze upon the Promised Land.

It is for this that the Thunderbolt is multiplied, that it may be the symbol, not of a hero, but of a nation of heroes. With the same idea, also, of expressing in the national emblem the unity of India, many people use the lotus for the reverse of the flag. Very few probably know the beautiful old map of Varaha-Mihira (about A.D. 550) in which India is represented as an eight-petalled lotus, where Panchala is the



THE LOTUS OF INDIA BY VARAHAMIHIRA.
COPIED FROM CUNNINGHAM.

o Panchala, 1 Harhama, 2 Madra, 3 Kulinda,
4 Magadha, 5 Kalinga, 6 Avanta,
7 Amarta, 8 Sindhu.

centre, and Magadha, Kalinga, Avanta, Amarta, Sindhu, Harhama, Madra, and Kulinda form the eight petals. India as the lotus, the lotus lying on the Ocean, or India as Uma practising austerities to be the bride of Mahadeva,—it is difficult, sometimes, to believe that our old poets did not directly and deliberately idealise their country!

When we think of all that a national banner represents, we cannot wonder that the standards were the only things contained in the chapel of the Praetorium, in Roman times. We feel their sacredness, alike in war and peace. We thrill to the thought of the shot-riddled flags brought home from European battle-fields and hung beside the

altar, in churches and cathedrals. To a people who understand their own nationality, no other guerdon can be half so precious. For a banner is at once a benison and a menace, a consecration and a rallying-cry. It is as an altar, at whose foot, whether for assault or defence, men's lives are freely offered up. Generations come and go. New combinations arrive and vanish, but that for which the national symbol stands—that ineffable union of *jana-desha-dharma* for which every people fights—remains for ever, simple and steadfast as Eternity, mirrored in the fugitive minds of its myriad worshippers.

R. S.

JOHN DALTON, JACOB BERZELIUS AND THE ATOMIC THEORY

(BY SATISH CHANDRA MUKERJEE, M.A., B. Sc.)

[In placing this paper before the readers of *The Modern Review* I have only to repeat what I have said elsewhere, namely:—

Those who wish to take to the study of chemistry must not approach it with a light heart. A life-long inflaming zeal and devotion is necessary in order to achieve anything worth the name. This is an age of intellectual competition. That country which can produce the largest number of brain-workers will in the long run come off victorious. A very large number of students have been attracted to chemistry from purely mercenary motives. As Emerson truly observes: "The history of man is a series of conspiracies to win from Nature some advantage without paying for it." The goddess of science does not, however, condescend to appear before a false, unfaithful worshipper. More than a thousand years ago the precursor of Indian chemists, the celebrated Nagarjuna, after years of devotion to his favourite subject, exclaimed:

डादशानि च वर्षाणि सहाकेशः कृती मया

* * *

यदि तृप्तसि मे देवि सखेदा भक्तवत्सले ।

दुर्लभं विषु लोकेषु रसवत्त्वं ददस्व मे ॥

"For twelve years I have gone through severe penances [*i.e.*, assiduously pursued the subject]. O Goddess! if thou art propitiated, be pleased to communicate to me the rare knowledge of chemistry."*

"It has become customary with certain writers to sneer and inveigh against western civilization and hold up the Europeans to scorn as being worshippers of Mammon. But they forget that the Hindu society,

as it is, is thoroughly permeated with materialism. Those who go up for university education are taught to look upon it purely as a means to an end. A diploma is judged by its monetary equivalent as something which can be turned into cash. We are concerned only with the present and not with the past—with the society of to-day. If such a state of things is to be characterised as conducive to spirituality as opposed to materialism, I do not know what materialism is. The Bengalee is as fond of money as any people on earth, nay he is perhaps the most mercenary of all. He has prostituted one of the noblest gifts of God, namely thirst for knowledge. England, Germany and America are growing enormously rich—the wealth gathered from the four corners of the earth are being poured forth into these countries. But we must bear in mind that modern Europe and America alone can boast of devoted worshippers at the shrines of learning, engaged in unravelling the mysteries of Nature. Galileo suffered the tortures of the Inquisition and Bruno was burned at the stake for their fearless vindication of the doctrine of Copernicus. Nor need we pause here to allude to the lifelong devotion to the cause of Science of a Newton, a Faraday, a Scheele, a Pasteur and a Berthelot. It is to Europe that we must turn our eyes for the realisation of the ideals presented by our own Rishis—unflagging and concentrated devotion to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. If Europe has become the mistress of the world, it is because she could not help it, since knowledge is power. The man of science in Europe braves the rigours of the Polar Expedition and the malarial fevers in the almost impenetrable regions of Africa and heroically courts death by inoculating himself with the germs of many a fell disease so that he might study their activities on the human system. But what a sorry spectacle is represented by our own youths. They bid farewell

* *The Modern Review*, August, 1909, p. 130.

to the goddess of learning as soon as they have secured the hall-mark of the University—it is the diploma that they really care for. Our boys of course are not to blame for this morbid appetite. They have been brought up amidst surroundings which have taught them to set a fictitious value upon a University qualification and upon booklore in general.—*Vide* "The Bengali Brain and its Misuse."

P. C. RAY.]

AT about 1200 B. C. the Hindu Philosopher Kanada gave for the first time a clear exposition of the Atomistic Theory of Matter. He said that each of the then recognised five elements, namely, earth, water, fire, air and ether was constituted of very fine indivisible particles called 'anu' i.e., atoms, which could not be destroyed or changed.

We must also never forget that it was this Kanada of immortal fame who first gave out to the world the important truth that heat and light are different modifications of the same essential substance. Europe discovered this truth not earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, we see rudiments of many modern physical and chemical conceptions in the writings of this great philosopher, but unfortunately they were not taken up and improved upon by subsequent workers and were thus of little use to the world.*

In ancient Greece, there were two prominent theories regarding the constitution of bodies. Democritus (460-360 B.C.) was the well-known propounder of the Atomistic Theory. He was a deep thinker and spared no pains in educating himself by studies as well as by travels in foreign countries. Thus he was able to say of himself:—

"Among all my contemporaries I have travelled over the largest portion of the earth in search of things the most remote and have seen the most climates and countries, heard the largest number of thinkers and no one has excelled me in geometric construction and demonstration—not even the geometers of the Egyptians, with whom I spent in all five years as a guest."

But his theory, though taken up by the Epicurean philosophers, did not meet with general favour. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), who

wielded the greatest power among Greek natural philosophers, was opposed to it. According to his rival theory, matter was capable of division *ad infinitum* and there was no necessity of supposing the existence of indivisible atoms. He was also of opinion that with the help of scientific processes it was possible to transmute one element into another.

There are two opposite estimates of the value of these doctrines of the ancients. Some hold that the Atomic Theory was practically discovered by the Hindus and Greeks and Dalton only rescued it from neglect. But others argue that the theory existed as a philosophical speculation among the ancients. Unless it is verified and corrected by experiments and observations a hypothesis has hardly any value. Although we cannot fail to appreciate the profoundness and ingenuity of the ancient savants, we think there is much truth in the latter estimate.

After the fall of the Greeks, the Arabs continued scientific researches in Spain, during the Middle ages of Europe. It was from the Arabs that the French, English and Germans learnt the physical sciences.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the theory of Aristotle reigned supreme, and it was for this reason that various persons, known as alchemists, used to make experiments in secret laboratories to transmute the cheap metals into gold. But a few profound thinkers upheld Democritus's theory. Thus Bacon (1561-1626) said:—

"And while the opinions of Plato and Aristotle were rehearsed with loud declamation and professional pomp in the schools, this of Democritus was always held in high honour by those of a deeper wisdom, who followed in silence a severer path of contemplation. * * * * To me the philosophy of Democritus seems worthy to be rescued from neglect."

Newton (1642-1727) also was an ardent exponent of the Atomistic Theory. Consequent upon his authoritative support, this theory gained ground and about fifty years after his death Voltaire said:—

"Atoms are accepted, indivisible and unchangeable, principles to which is due the permanence of the different elements and of the different kinds of beings."

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, John Dalton flourished in Manchester. He was the son of a poor village weaver. But by dint of uncommon perseverance and industry, he managed to

* The Atomic Theory of the Hindus has at last found a profound and learned exposition. *Vide* "The Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus" by Principal B. N. Seal, in Dr. P. C. Ray's History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. II, pp. 59-224.

learn mathematics and natural philosophy. He took up the vow of poverty and of celibacy, as befits the bonafide student of science, and earned his livelihood by teaching in a small school. When once asked to marry he jocosely replied "I have no time to get married." Really, for a poor man like him, it would not have been possible to devote his life to the pursuit of knowledge if he was to be encumbered by a family.

Here are some of the remarks made by Roscoe.

Dalton's habits were of the simplest, most methodical and uniform kind. He lived for science. Every day and all day long, he spent in his laboratory, except Thursday afternoons, when he enjoyed a game of bowls with a party of friends and afterwards refreshed himself with a pipe of tobacco. He rose early and directly he had finished his breakfast, repaired to his laboratory, where he had lighted a fire, prior to taking that meal. His life went like clockwork.

He was fond of making meteorological observations; he began them early in life and continued them (from 1787) for more than half a century, day by day, at the same hour, until the very evening before his death in 1844, making altogether no less than 200,000 observations.

Dalton's mind was a speculative one; he was characterised by independence of spirit, fearlessness of inquiry, clearness and straightforwardness of vision, indomitable perseverance and entire unselfish and lifelong devotion to the prosecution of scientific truth for its own sake alone. "If" said Dalton in later life "I have succeeded better than many who surround me, it has been chiefly—I may say, almost solely—from unwearied assiduity; this not so much from any superior genius that one man possesses over another but more from attention to study and perseverance in the objects before them that some men rise to a greater eminence than others.

If, as has been said, genius may be defined as "an infinite capacity for taking pains" then Dalton was, unquestionably, a genius.

Dalton is popularly known as the Founder of the Atomic Theory. But from what has been already said it is clear that the conception of an Atom was quite old when Dalton took it up. Indeed it appears from the writings of Dalton that he himself supposed that the Atomic hypothesis was a well-known one. Now, the question is "In what does the originality of Dalton lie?"

In order to answer this question we must consider the work of the illustrious French chemist, Lavoisier (1743-1794 A.D.). Up to this time, different compounds were analysed simply qualitatively. But Lavoisier first began to analyse substances quantitatively; he it was who by introducing the use of the bal-

ance in chemistry, laid the foundation of that science. From the analytical work of others as well as of himself, Dalton saw that when two elements combine to form a compound they always do so in definite proportions by weight (Law of Definite Proportions) and later on he discovered that when one element, say oxygen, combines in different proportions with another element, say nitrogen, forming different compounds (in the particular case, the five oxides of nitrogen), the other proportions are multiples of the least proportion (Law of Multiple Proportions). Now, these laws could be best explained by the hypothesis that substances are composed of extremely small indivisible particles called by him 'atoms' (literally, those which could not be divided) which have definite weights and which can never be changed and chemical reactions are reactions between atoms. Thus atoms having definite weights, when they combine, must do so in definite proportions; and, as one, two or more atoms of one element may combine with one atom of another element, the proportions of the former element will be 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. As atoms are incapable of division, we cannot obtain proportions such as 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ &c.

Since Dalton made the most important announcement that every atom has a definite weight, the atomic theory was brought down from the realm of imagination into the confines of the laboratory. Henceforward it became possible to test and corroborate the theory by any number of experiments. This step of Dalton is so very important that we may be amply justified in styling him as the Founder of the Atomic Theory. The year 1804 in which he first gave out this theory to the world is a memorable one in the history of human thought.

Now, there is a controversy as to whether the Law of Multiple Proportions was discovered by Dalton before his formulation of the atomic theory. The contemporary chemists of Dalton's time are of opinion that the law was discovered first but Dalton's own views are opposed to this. Roscoe and Harden, who have completely thrashed out the question, have come to the following conclusion which we accept as true:—

"The balance of evidence is strongly in favour of

the statement made in London by Dalton himself in 1810, that he was led to the atomic theory of chemistry in the first instance by purely physical considerations, in opposition to the view, hitherto held by chemists, that the discovery by Dalton of the fact of combination in multiple proportions led him to devise the atomic theory as an explanation."

We can at once see the reason why the chemists of Dalton's time supposed that he must have discovered the Law of Multiple Proportions first. They thought, and I am afraid there are many who think on the same lines, that a grand generalisation like the atomic theory could come only after all the facts of combination in multiple proportions had become known. They were believers in the Inductive Process of Reasoning advocated by Francis Bacon according to which a generalisation can be arrived at after a very large number of individual facts have been gathered, the progress being from particulars to the general. But on studying the histories of the most famous discoveries in science we clearly see that the truth lies far from Bacon's views. Generally, the investigator formulates a hypothesis after a few observations only—builds a hypothesis on insufficient data, so to say,—and then he sets himself to verify by observations and experiments the facts which are correct deductions from that hypothesis. If any experimental fact does not conform to his deduction, he either modifies his hypothesis or completely abandons it as is found necessary. Prof. Jevons says:—

"Throughout Newton's works * * * we find deductive reasoning wholly predominant; and experiments are employed as they should be, to confirm or refute hypothetical anticipations of nature."

Read in this light, the following words of Roscoe and Harden become clear to us.

"There seems to be no doubt that the idea of atomic structure arose in Dalton's mind as a purely physical conception forced upon him by his study of the physical properties of the atmosphere and other gases. * * * The extension of this idea to substances in general necessarily led him to the laws of combination in multiple proportions and the comparison with experiments brilliantly confirmed the truth of his deduction. Once discovered, the principle of atomic union was found to be of universal application."

The time also was ripe for the atomic theory when it made its appearance. "No generalisation" says Thorpe "was more opportune in its announcement than that of Dalton; it was indeed, to use the common phrase, "in the air"; the teaching of a long

succession of philosophers and the experimental labours of many workers had paved the way for its acceptance and it is practically certain that had Dalton not formulated it, Wollaston or Berzelius would have done so. As it was, each of these distinguished men was almost immediately able to supply the strongest experimental proof of its soundness."

As a matter of fact, every momentous discovery can be looked upon as the offspring of the culture of the age in which it is announced. Thus it is that we find the same discovery made almost simultaneously by different investigators, one having no knowledge of the work of others. And the claim of priority is often a very vexed question in the history of science, each nationality averring its own countryman as the first in the field. So after all we are not to suppose that a discoverer is necessarily the best product of his age—he may be the most fortunate man by anticipating his contemporaries. Thus luck plays a prominent part even in the domain of scientific discoveries.

The influence of this theory on the science of chemistry has been prodigious. When, prior to his publication Dalton verbally explained his theory to the well-known chemist Thomson, "he was enchanted", as he has said, "with the new light that burst upon his mind and saw at a glance the immense importance of such a theory". All the later researches have wonderfully corroborated it so much so that it has been said that "the whole course of modern chemistry, however complex and many-sided it may seem, is really one vast elaboration of the atomic theory. Liebig has said, "All our ideas are so interwoven with that theory that it is difficult to carry ourselves back to the time when it did not exist."

The abilities of scientific investigators vary within a pretty wide latitude. As O. W. Holmes has beautifully expressed it, there are "One-story intellects, two-story intellects and three-story intellects with skylights. All fact-collectors who have no aim beyond their facts are one-story men. Two-story men compare, reason, generalise, using the labours of the fact-collectors as well as their own. Three-story men idealise, imagine, predict; their best illumination

comes from above, through the skylight." There is no doubt that Dalton is one of the very few persons who are, according to Holmes, "three-story men".

But Dalton was more of a philosopher than of an experimental chemist. His analytical results were inaccurate and unsatisfactory and it was due to another famous chemist that numerous accurate quantitative analyses were carried out firmly establishing the laws of definite proportion and multiple proportions and thus indirectly proving the atomic theory to be true. The glory of successfully accomplishing this task has crowned the head of the illustrious Swedish chemist Berzelius.

Sweden is a small, poor country, but Sweden is glorious as the motherland of a long list of famous chemists. Bergmann, Scheele, Cleve, Nilson and Arrhenius, all come from Sweden, and Berzelius occupies the first place among them. During the few years of the nineteenth century, Berzelius's private laboratory at Stockholm became the Mecca of the then chemists where earnest students flocked together to learn chemistry at the feet of the well-known professor. Wohler, who later on achieved great success as a chemist, was one of the students who hailed from Germany and with what thirst after knowledge and devotion to the great master they used to come may be understood from the following words of his.

"With a beating heart I stood before Berzelius's door and rang the bell. It was opened by a well-clad, portly, vigorous-looking man. It was Berzelius himself. * * * As he led me into his laboratory I was as in a dream, doubting if I could really be in the classical place which was the object of my aspirations."

Indeed, unless the student is fascinated by his subject of study and has the greatest reverence and admiration for his teacher, he will not make much real progress. Nay, we Indians need not go to distant countries to learn this truth; we are quite familiar with the well-known traditions of student life in Ancient India where the teacher was respected as father. Even in the fallen days of Moslem rule in Bengal, eager students came from all parts of India to the famous University of Navadwipa where they spent years under great hardship and the *guru* could be propitiated only after strenuous exertion and unswerving devotion. Here

is a lesson the student and the teacher of today will do well to take to heart!

Now, after hearing of the high respect in which Berzelius's laboratory was held by students like Wohler, it is natural to suppose that it must have been really a grand place, well-supplied with the requisites of a first-class laboratory of these days. But there was nothing of the kind. Here is the detailed description given by Wohler of that modest place.

"The laboratory consisted of two ordinary rooms furnished in the simplest possible way; there were no furnaces or draught places; neither gas nor water service. In one of the rooms were two common deal tables; on one of these worked Berzelius, the other was intended for me. On the walls were a few cupboards for the reagents; in the middle was a mercury trough, whilst the glassblower's lamp stood on the hearth. In addition was a sink, with an earthenware cistern and tap, standing over a wooden tub where the despotic Anna, the cook, had daily to clean the apparatus. In the other were the balances and some cupboards containing instruments, close to was a small workshop fitted with a lathe. In the neighbouring kitchen, in which Anna prepared the meals, was a small but seldom used furnace and the never-cool sandbath."

Accurate analytical work equal in quality to that carried on by Berzelius in this humble laboratory is rare even in the most up-to-date laboratories fitted up with gas and electricity and well-stocked with various ingenious and costly apparatus. In fact, the brain of the investigator is the most important thing—apparatus are mere helpers. Not infrequently does the investigator himself make a new apparatus suitable for his own use. It is in this way that we have various patterns of apparatus invented.

Now a word may be necessary about the size of these atoms which no man has ever been fortunate enough to see with his eyes. In this connection, I remember a story. In a school in England, the teacher of chemistry asked a student "what is an atom?" Now, in class lectures in that school, small blocks of wood were used as models of atoms. The intelligent student had the notion that they were atoms incarnate. So he boldly answered "Atoms are blocks of wood, invented by Dr. Dalton." So it must be borne in mind that however much the magnifying power of the microscope be increased in future, there is hardly any hope that it will ever disclose to our views the size and shape of the atom. Lord Kelvin from mathematical calculations has come to the conclusion that

the number of molecules* in one cubic centimetre of a gas at 0°C . and 760 millimetres pressure, which by Avogadro's law is the same for all gases, is... = 10^{20} . None but bonafide mathematicians, I am afraid, are enlightened ever so little by large figures like this. For poor people, uninitiated into the mysteries of mathematics, my Lord has condescended to give an easy imagery. "If a drop of water" says he "were to assume the dimensions of this earth, then the molecules constituting that drop would be smaller than cricket balls and larger than small shot."



JACOB BERZELIUS.

So far I have only sung the praises of the atomic theory. Now I may be allowed to make a few disparaging remarks. Atoms from their very nature are indivisible and indestructible. The modern investigations in electricity and radio-activity have almost proved that an atom is made up of still finer particles, called corpuscles and that a heavy atom does disintegrate into lighter ones. For example, radium atoms break up into

* A molecule consists generally of two atoms.

those of helium. On the other hand, the researches of Landolt and Heydweiller have thrown considerable doubt on the well-established law that matter (or atoms) is indestructible. Again, attempts are being made in certain quarters to do away with the atomic theory altogether. Ostwald, for example, in his Faraday Lecture of 1904, has tried to explain the laws of chemical combination with the help of the Phase Rule alone, totally discarding the atomic theory.

After what I have said, some may very naturally ask me "what is the use of any chemical theories at all, when we find that they have to be changed or modified again and again with the progress of time? It would be much better if we confined ourselves



JOHN DALTON.

to experimental results only." I retire, leaving Arrhenius, the illustrious countryman of Berzelius, to answer them. According to him, theories are like so many tools. Just as a mechanic cannot make any progress in his work without his tools, so the chemist cannot advance in his investigations without the help of theories to guide him. Now-a-days, with the advancement of art the old tools are from time to time being replaced by newer and more improved ones, but can any sane mechanic throw away his tools because in future they will have to be changed for newer ones?

Thus until some ingenious person gives

us a theory more comprehensive and better suited to the explanation of all the chemical reactions, we cannot afford to throw away the atomic theory into the lumber room as

a useless, antiquated tool and so long we must remain indebted for our indispensable guide and tool to Dalton of hallowed memory.

MR. GANDHI'S JAIL EXPERIENCES

INSPECTION.

WHEN the different inspectors come to inspect, all the prisoners have to post themselves in a row, and take off their caps to salute them. As all of us had English caps, there was no difficulty in observing this rule. It was both legal and proper that we should take off our caps. The words of direction used were "fall in." These words had so to speak become our food, as we had to "fall in" four or five times a day. One of these officers, an assistant to the Chief Warder, was a little stiff-necked and so the Indians had nicknamed him, "General Smuts." Generally he was the first to come in the mornings, and again in the evenings. At half past nine the Doctor came. He was very good and kind, and unfailing in his inquiries. Each prisoner had according to jail rules to shew all parts of his body, on the first day to the Doctor, stripping himself bare of all clothes, but he was kind enough not to enforce the same in our case. When many more Indians had come, he simply told us to report to him if any one had got itches, &c., so that he might examine him in *camera*. At half past ten or eleven, the Governor and the Chief Warder came. The former was a firm, just and quiet-natured officer. His invariable inquiries were whether we were all right, whether we wanted any thing, whether we had any complaints to make. Whenever we had any such, he heard them attentively, and gave us relief, if he could. Some of these complaints and grievances I shall refer to later on. His deputy came also at times. He was kind-hearted too. But the best of them all was our Chief Warder. Himself deeply religious, he was not only kind and courteous towards us, but every prisoner sung his praises in no measured terms. He was attentive in

preserving to the prisoners all their rights, he overlooked their trivial faults, and knowing in our case that we were all innocent he was particularly kind to us, and to shew his kindness he often came and talked to us.

INCREASE IN OUR NUMBERS.

I have said before that there were only five of us passive resisters, at first. On 14th January, Tuesday, came in Mr. Thambi Naidu, the Chief Picket and Mr. Koini, the President of the Chinese Association. We all were pleased to receive them. On the 18th, fourteen others joined us, including Samundar Khan. He was in for two months. The rest were Madrasis, Kunamias and Gujarati Hindus. They were arrested for hawking without licences, and sentenced to pay a fine of £2, and in default to 14 days' imprisonment. They had bravely elected to go to jail. On 21st, 76 others came. In this batch only Nawab Khan had two months, the rest were with a fine of £2. or in default 14 days' imprisonment. Most of them were Gujarati Hindus, some Kunameas and some Madrasis. On the 22nd, 35, on the 23rd, 3, on 24th, 1, on 25th 2, on 28th 6, and in the evening 4 more, and on 29th, 4 Kunamias added to our numbers. So that by the 29th there were 155 passive resisters incarcerated. On the 30th, I was removed to Pretoria, but I knew that on that day 5 or 6 others had come in.

FOOD.

The question of food is of great moment to many of us, in all circumstances, but to those in prison, it is of the greatest importance. They are greatly in need of good food. The rule is that a prisoner has to rest content with jail food, he cannot procure any from outside. The same is the case with a soldier who has to submit

to his regulation rations, but the difference between the two is that his friends can send other food to the soldier and he can take it, while a prisoner is prohibited from doing so. So that this prohibition about food is one of the signs of being in prison. Even in general conversation, you will find the jail officers, saying that there could be no exercise of taste about prison diet, and no such article could be allowed therein. In a talk with the prison medical officer, I told him that it was necessary for us to have some tea, or ghee or some such thing along with bread, and he said, you want to eat with taste, and no palatable thing could be allowed in a prison.

According to the regulations, in the first week, an Indian gets, in the morning 12 oz. of "mealie pap" without sugar or ghee; at noon, 4 oz. of rice and one oz. of ghee; in the evening, for 4 days, 12 oz. of mealie pap, for 3 days, 12 oz. of boiled beans, and salt. This scale has been modelled on the dietary of the Kaffirs, the only difference being that in the evening the Kaffirs are given crushed maize corn and lard or fat, while the Indians get rice. In the second week, and thenceforward, for two days, boiled potatoes and for two days, cabbages or pumpkin or some such vegetable is given along with maize flour. Those who take meat are given meat with vegetables on Sundays.

The first batch of prisoners had resolved to solicit for no favors at the hands of Government, and to take whatever food was served out, if not religiously objectionable. Really speaking the above was not a proper kind of diet for Indians, though medically of course it contained sufficient nutrition. Maize is the daily food of the Kaffirs, so this diet suits them, nay, they thrive on it, in jail. But Indians rarely use maize flour, rice only suits them. We are not used to eat beans alone, nor could we like vegetables as cooked by or for Kaffirs. They never clean the vegetables nor season them with any spices. Again the vegetables cooked for the Kaffirs mostly consist of the peelings left after the same have been prepared for the European convicts. For spices, nothing else besides salt is given. Sugar is never dreamt of. Thus the food question was a very difficult one for us all. Still as we had determined that

the passive resisters were neither to solicit nor ask for favors from the jail authorities, we tried to rest content with this kind of food.

In reply to his inquiries we had told the Governor, that the food did not suit us, but we were determined not to ask for any favors from Government. If Government of its own accord wanted to make a change, it would be welcome, else we would go on taking the regulation diet.

But this determination could not last long. When others joined us, we thought it would be improper to make them share this trouble with us also. Was it not sufficient that they had shared the prison with us? So we began to talk to the Governor on their behalf. We told him, we were prepared to take any kind of food, but the later batches could not do so. He thought over the matter, and said that he would allow them to cook separately if they put it on the ground of religion but the articles of food would be the same, it did not rest with him to make any changes in them.

In the meantime, fourteen others had joined us, and some of them elected to starve rather than take mealie pap. So I read the jail rules and found out that applications in such matters should be made to the Director of Prisons. I asked therefore the Governor to be permitted to apply to him, and sent the following petition.

"We the undersigned prisoners beg to state that we are all Asiatics, 18 Indians and 3 Chinese.

"The eighteen Indians get for their breakfast mealie pap, and the others, rice and ghee; they get beans thrice and "pap", four times. We were given potatoes on Saturdays and greens on Sundays. On religious grounds, we can not eat meat: some are entirely prohibited from taking it, and others cannot do so because of its not being religiously slaughtered.

"The Chinese get maize corn instead of rice. All the prisoners are mostly used to European food, and they also eat bread and other flour preparations. None of us is used to mealie pap, and some of us suffer from indigestion.

"Seven of us have eaten no breakfast at all, only at times, when the Chinese prisoners who got bread, out of mercy, gave them a piece or two out of their rations,

have we eaten the same. When this was mentioned to the Governor, he said we were guilty of a jail offence in thus accepting bread.

"In our opinion this kind of food is entirely unsuitable to us. So we have to apply that we should be given food according to the rules for European prisoners and mealie pap be left out entirely; or in the alternative such food should be given as would support us, and be in consonance with our habits and customs.

"This is an urgent matter and a reply be sent by wire."

Twenty one of us had signed this petition and while it was being despatched seventy six more came in. They also had a dislike for the "pap," and so we added a paragraph stating that the new arrivals also objected to the diet. I requested the Governor to send it by wire. He asked his superior's permission by telephone, and allowed at once 4 oz. of bread in place of "pap." We were all very pleased, and from the 22nd 4 oz. of bread was substituted in place of pap, morning and evening. In the evening we got 8 oz., i.e., half a loaf. But this was merely a temporary arrangement. A committee was sitting on the question and we heard that they had recommended an allowance of flour, ghee, rice and pulse; but before it could take effect, we had been released, and so nothing more happened.

In the beginning when there was only eight of us we did not cook ourselves, so we used to get uncooked rice and ill-cooked vegetables, whenever the same were given, so we obtained permission to cook for ourselves. On the first day, Mr Kadva cooked. After that Mr. Thambi Naidu and Mr. Jivan both took up the function, and in our last days they had to cook for about 150 men. They had to cook once only, excepting on vegetable days which were two in a week—when they had to do so twice. Mr. Naidu took great trouble over this. I used to distribute.

From the style of the petition the reader must have noted the fact that it was presented on behalf of *all* Indian prisoners and not *us* (eight) alone. We talked with the governor also on the same lines and he had promised to look into it for *all* the

Asiatic prisoners. We still hope that the jail diet of the Indians would be improved.

Again the three Chinese used to get other articles instead of rice, and hence annoyance was felt, as there was an appearance of their being considered separate from and inferior to us. For this reason, I applied, on their behalf, to the governor and to Mr. Playford, and it was ordered that they should be placed on the same level as Indians.

It is instructive to compare this dietary with that of the Europeans. They get for their morning breakfast "pap" and 8 oz. of bread; for the midday meal, bread and soup or bread and meat, or bread and meat and potatoes or vegetables; and in the evenings bread and "pap". Thus they got bread thrice in the day, and so they do not care whether they have the "pap" or not. Again they get meat or soup, in addition. Besides this they are often given tea or cocoa. This will shew that both the Europeans and the native Kaffirs get food suitable to them, and it is the poor Indians alone who suffer. They had no special dietary of their own. If they were treated like Europeans in food, they the Europeans would have felt ashamed, and no one had the concern to find out what was the food of the Indian. They had thus to be ranked with the Kaffirs and silently starve. For this state of circumstances I find fault with our own people the Passive Resisters. Some Indians got the requisite food by stealth, others put up with whatever they got, and were either ashamed to make public the story of their distress or had no thought for others. Hence the outside public remained in the dark. If we were to follow truth and agitate where we got injustice, there would be no room to undergo such inconveniences. If we were to leave self and apply ourselves to the good of others, grievances would get remedied soon. But just as it is necessary to take steps for the redress of such complaints, so it is necessary to think of certain other things also. It is but meet for prisoners to undergo certain inconveniences. If there be no trouble, what is the good of being called a prisoner? Those who are the masters of their minds, take pleasure even in suffering, and live happily in jails. They do not lose sight of the existence of the suffering, and

they should not do so, considering that there are others also suffering with them.

There is another evil habit of ours, and that is our tenacity in sticking to our manners and customs. We must do in Rome as the Romans do. We are living in South Africa and we must accustom ourselves to what is considered good food here. "Mealie pap" is a food, as good, simple and cheap as our wheat. We can not say it is without taste, sometimes it beats wheat even. It is my belief that out of respect for the country of our adoption, we must take food which grows in that country, if it be not unwholesome. Many "Whites" like this "pap" and eat it in the morning. It becomes palatable if milk or sugar or even ghee be taken with it. For these reasons and for the fact that we might have to go to jail again, in the future, it is advisable for every Indian to accustom himself to this preparation of maize. With this habit even when the time comes to take it merely with salt, we would not find it hard to do so. It is incumbent on us to leave off some of our habits for the good of our country. All those nations that have advanced have given up these things where there was nothing substantial to lose. The Salvation Army people attract the natives of the soil, by adopting their customs, dress, &c., if not particularly objectionable.

SICKNESS.

It would have been a miracle had no one out of 150 prisoners fallen ill. The first to be taken ill was Mr. Samundar Khan. He had been brought into jail ailing and was taken to hospital the next day. Mr. Kadva was a victim to rheumatism, and for some days he did not mind being treated by the doctor in the prison cell itself, but eventually he had to go to the Hospital too. Two others suffered from fainting fits and were taken there. The reason was that it was very hot then, and the convicts had to remain out in the sun the whole day, and so they fell down in fits. We nursed them as best we could. Later on Mr. Nawab Khan also succumbed, and on the day of our release he had to be led out by hand. He had improved a little after the Doctor had ordered milk, &c., to be given to him. On the whole, still, it may be safely said, that the Passive Resisters fared well.

PAUCITY OF SPACE.

I have stated already that our cell had space enough to accomodate only fifty-one prisoners, and the same holds good with regard to the area. Later on when instead of fifty-one there were one hundred and fifty-one souls to be accomodated, great difficulty was felt. The Governor had to pitch tents outside, and many had to go there. During our last days, about a hundred had to be taken out to sleep, and back again the morning. The area space was too small for this number, and we could pass our time there with great difficulty. Added to this was our evil inborn habit of spitting everywhere, which rendered the place dirty, and there was the danger of disease breaking out. Fortunately our companions were amenable to advice, and assisted us in keeping the compound clean. Scrupulous care was exercised in inspecting the area and privies, and this saved the inmates from disease. Every one will admit that the Government was at fault in incarcerating such a large number in so narrow a space. If the room was insufficient, it was incumbent on the Government not to send so many there, and if the struggle had been prolonged, it would not have been possible for the Government to commit any more to this prison.

READING.

I have already mentioned that the Governor had allowed us the use of a table, with pen, ink, &c. We had the free run of the prison library also. I had taken from there, the works of Carlyle and the Bible. From the Chinese Interpreter, who used to come there, I had borrowed the Kuran-e-Sharif translated into English, Speeches of Huxley, Carlyle's Lives of Burns, Johnson, and Scott, and Bacon's Essays. Of my own I had taken the Bhagavad Gita, with Monilal Nathubhai's Annotations, several Tamil works, an Urdu book from the Moulavi Sahib, the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Socrates. Many of these I read or re-read in the jail. I used to study Tamil regularly. In the morning I used to read the Gita and at noon, mostly the Kuran. In the evening I taught the Bible to Mr. Foretoon, who was a Chinese Christian. He wanted to learn English, and I taught it to him through the Bible.

If I had been permitted to spend out my full period I would have been able to complete my translations of a book each of Carlyle and Ruskin. I believe that as I was fully occupied in the study of the above works, I would not have become tired even if I had got more than two months; not only that but I would have added usefully to my knowledge and studies. I would have passed a happy life, believing as I do that whoever has a taste for reading good books is able to bear loneliness, in any place with great ease.

Besides myself, my other companions who had a taste for reading were Mr. Pillay and Mr. Naidu and the Chinese. Mr. Naidu had begun to study Gujarati. Towards the end several Gujarati song-books had come, which were utilised by many but I do not consider it to be a study in any way.

EXERCISE.

It was not allowed to spend the whole day in the jail, in reading. I know that if it were allowed, it would have proved detrimental to our health also, so with great difficulty I obtained the Governor's permission to learn exercise (gymnastics) from the warder. As he was a very kind officer, he exercised us at drill, morning and evening. It proved of great benefit, and if it only had continued for a longer time, it would have profited all of us greatly. But as the number went on increasing, his duties also increased, and the area became too small for the purpose and the drill had to be stopped. But as Mr. Nawab Khan was with us, we still persisted in drilling ourselves privately.

We had also with the Governor's permission undertaken to use sewing machines and were learning the making of prisoner's bags. Mr. T. Naidu and Mr. Easton were quick at learning these things, but I took some time to do so. Before I could learn it well, our numbers swelled, and I had to leave it off. From this it will be seen that where there is a will there is a way, and if only a prisoner were to search after and do one work after another not only would he find the time not hang heavily on his hands, but that he would go out from the jail with his knowledge and ability increased. There are instances of men with good intentions

coming out from jail after having performed memorable deeds, e.g., John Bunyan with his immortal book, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in confinement, Mr. Tilak with his "Orion," in jail also. Thus enjoying happiness or otherwise, in prison or outside, to a great extent, lies in our own hands.

VISITS.

Some Englishmen used to come to see us. The rule is that within a month, no one is allowed to call on a prisoner; after that one Sunday in a month, is allowable only for one visitor, the rule being open to exceptions under special circumstances. Mr. Phillips took advantage of the same, and he obtained permission, the next day of our confinement, to see Mr. Foretoon, who is a Chinese Christian. He took advantage of the opportunity to see us also, and cheered us with words of encouragement, and then prayed for us. He called on us thrice and so did Mr. Davis, another *Padri*.

Mr. Polak and Mr. Cohen came to see us also after obtaining special leave, the visit being limited only to office purposes. Visitors are allowed only in company of the warders and our talk takes place in their presence.

Mr. Cart-Wright, the Editor of the *Transvaal Leader*, called on us thrice after getting special permission. He was coming only to talk about a settlement and hence we could see him privately in absence of the warder. His first visit was in respect of the attitude to be taken up by the Indian Community. On his second visit he had brought a draft settled by himself and other English gentlemen. After modifying it, Mr. Koin, Mr. Naidu and I signed the same. This draft and our signatures have been much discussed elsewhere, so I need not dilate on the subject here.

Mr. Playford, the Chief Magistrate, had also come once. He is officially authorised to visit jails, and we cannot say he had called specially to see us. Still we were told that as we all were there, he had specially found time for a call at the jail.

RELIGIOUS STUDY.

In the West, we now see, that as a matter of fact, the state looks after the religion of all its prisoners, and hence, we find a church in the Johannesburg prison for its inmates, but it is provided to meet only

the needs of the Whites, who alone are allowed access thereto. I asked for special permission for Mr. Foretoon and myself, but the Governor told me it was only for *White* Christian prisoners. Every Sunday, they attend it, and preachers of different denominations give them religious lessons there.

Several missionaries come in to convert the Kaffirs also, with special permission. There is no church for them, they sit in the open. Jews also have got their own preachers to look after them. It is only the Hindus and Mahomedans who are spiritually left unprovided for. There are not many Indian prisoners it is true but the absence of any such provision for them is hardly creditable to them. The leaders of both communities should therefore lay their heads together, and arrange for the religious instruction of the members of their community in jail, even if there be only one convict. The preachers, whether Hindus or Moulvis, should be pure-hearted, and they should be careful not to become thorns in the sides of the convicts.

THE END.

All that was worth knowing has been stated above. Indians being placed on a level with the Kaffirs is a fact which calls for further consideration. While the White convicts get a bedstead to sleep on, a tooth-brush to clean their teeth, a towel to wipe their faces and hands, and also a handkerchief, Indians get nothing. Why this distinction?

We should never think that this is not a matter for our interference. It is these little things which either enhance our respect or degrade us. An Arabic book says that he who has no self-respect has no religion. Nations have become great by gradually enhancing their self-respect. Self-respect does not mean vanity or rashness, but a state of mind which is prepared not to let go its privileges simply out of fear or idleness. One who has really his trust in God, attains to self-respect, and I firmly believe that one who has no trust in Him never knows what is right, nor does he know how to do right.

A REVIEW OF THE MODERN WORLD

I

THE SITUATION IN ASIA.

IT is proposed in this series of articles, to take each continent of the Modern

World in turn and discuss briefly its leading features with special reference to India. Mankind makes up to-day one corporate whole to a degree that was never realized or reached in past ages. There is a growing volume of human experience to prove the truth of the saying that 'when one member of the body suffers, all the members suffer with it.' It is of increasing importance, therefore, that the progressive sides of Indian life, its educated and professional classes, should be kept closely in touch with modern developments and feel the pulse of new movements, not only in India itself, but throughout the whole world. What will be attempted here

will be a resumé of the whole field, noting striking features that stand out in the life of nations and races to-day. The field is so large that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to observe a right proportion; but if only a few of the important aspects of modern life in the great world are made more clear and intelligible, my end will have been accomplished.

It is a common-place to-day to state that Asia as a continent has awakened to a new, impulse of quickened energy. It is doubtful, however, historically, if the general opinion is correct, that the awakening is to be traced primarily to Japan. When the story of the Nineteenth Century is re-written, it will be found that, intellectually, the movement had started in Bengal at least a generation before the 'Meiji', or Era of Enlightenment, as the Japanese call it, had begun in the Far East. Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Ishwar

Chandra Vidyasagar had lived and worked, Bengali Literature had produced 'Ananda Math', at a time when Japan was still a closed land, uninfluenced by modern progress, dreaming impossible dreams of a bye-gone age. Again, to come down to quite recent and familiar times, although the war in the Far East with its brilliant ending sent a thrill of surprise and joy throughout the whole of Asia, yet long before this there were hidden national forces at work, which were not called into being by the Japanese successes, but were rather already maturing and on the point of coming to the birth. To take one example out of many, it can scarcely be doubted that Bengal would have risen as one man against the Partition, even if the Japanese had never gained a single victory or given a single new impulse towards nationalism. To say this is not to belittle the part that Japan played, or to minimise her importance. It is only the recognition of facts, which many recent writers have lost sight of in their diagnosis of events.

In China itself, to which we first turn our attention, the Renaissance which is now taking place is more directly traceable to Japan. There the situation is at the present moment full of the deepest human interest. Far more important than the political changes that are taking place, is the Educational Revolution. Whether one great Chinese Minister succeeds or fails at Court, whether the Court itself remains stationary or advances, the Chinese Nation has now accepted education on modern lines, and is, in the most practical manner, putting itself to school in modern science. This will mean far more, in the long run, than dynastic changes; for it goes to the very heart of the people. It implies, in twenty years, a New China. The future is with the younger generation, and with their enthusiasm behind the forward movement it will be irresistible. The effects are already visible. The Opium Curse—the most serious evil against which modern China has to contend,—is being attacked most vigorously of all today, not by the Court, not by the great Viceroys, but by the younger generation of the educated classes. It is they who will gain the victory; and the moral strength, acquired in the struggle with this internal foe, will carry them still

further forward along the path-way of reform.

The practical bent of the Chinese nature is in keeping with the trend of modern education at its present stage. For modern science is experimental and practical. When once the whole strength of Chinese character is occupied in working out its own new type of civilisation, the changes will be very rapid and the results significant. There will not be the speculation and the penetration of the Indian mind, there will not be the pursuit of new spiritual ideals, but there will be solidity of construction and tenacity of purpose. Meanwhile the situation is daily becoming more and more strained between China and Japan. It has been impossible for the young China party to watch the growth of imperialism in Japan and the summary treatment meted out to defenceless Korea, without an intense dread arising lest their own country should be treated in a similar manner. The military and naval strength of China is still insignificant, but she has found, in commercial reprisals, a powerful weapon wherewith to command respect. Japan is far too wise to provoke an actual war with China, but she has determined to make China feel her masterful domination. She has recently exacted apologies, which the sensitive Chinese people have deeply resented. The enthusiasm for Japan among the younger Chinamen is now cooling down, and they are ceasing to flock for instruction to the Japanese Universities. A more independent national spirit is being evoked.

There is little doubt that Japan herself is expecting and preparing for another war with Russia. She will do her very best not to provoke it, but if it comes she will be ready. She is paying off the enormous debt, incurred by the last war, with almost feverish rapidity, and practising every possible economy. She is, however, quite unsparing in the matter of educational, naval and military expenditure. It is now an open secret that a state of exhaustion had nearly been reached when the peace with Russia was concluded. She is determined, therefore, to accumulate finances now while she has time. One of her most powerful aids in any conflict of the future, will be found in her growth as a mercantile power. For it is seamen who spend their

lives on the waters, and not merely big guns, that win naval battles; and the Japanese are now more and more becoming a sea-going people. The North Pacific Ocean bids fair to be soon a Japanese lake. This new feature in world-politics will come before us again in our study of the situation in America.

It is generally supposed that Japan in her internal administration has already reached a democratic stage. This view is mistaken. Japan is still an aristocracy in many important particulars. The number of voters in all the constituencies is only five hundred thousand, out of a population of fifty millions. Perhaps the nearest parallel to the state of the Japanese Government today would be that of England in the time of Pitt the Younger, a strong and virile oligarchy, with democracy already knocking at the doors. Democracy will come sooner to Japan than it did in England, because of the extraordinary progress in her State Education. The percentage both of boys and girls being taught today in her schools ranks among the highest in the world. This by itself will hasten democracy. Another factor, which will make for democratic ideas, is the extremely rapid movement of the population towards the industrial and commercial centres. Tokio is now over 2,000,000 in population, Osaka is over 1,000,000. Kyoto and Yokohama are increasing at an extraordinary rate. In these large and growing cities socialist and republican propaganda is not infrequent,—so fast events and ideas are moving.

In South-Eastern Asia attention may be drawn to the advance of the little kingdom of Siam since the beginning of the century. In the year 1900 slavery was at last abolished, and since then modern lines of government have been introduced. In the Philippines an experiment in education is being tried by the United States which will be watched with the deepest interest. Borneo and New Guinea are still in a state of semi-savagery, only the fringe of the country having as yet been touched by any form of civilisation. They represent large and undeveloped areas of Asiatic soil. In Java, the Dutch Government has endeavoured to avoid, as far as possible, any 'modernizing' of the interior. Outside Batavia and the port-towns there is very

little education. But already the pressure of the new spirit in Asia is beginning to tell, and the Dutch rulers find that it is a force not to be despised. In Sumatra there has been deplorable mismanagement and misgovernment, and the Dutch have continually been at strife with the inhabitants.

The Straits Settlements are becoming more and more each year, that which Nature clearly intended them to be,—the Door of the Far East. Singapore, with its magnificent harbour, now ranks among the greatest naval stations in the world. Chinese immigration is gradually transforming this part of Asia. Last year Singapore and Penang alone received more than a quarter of a million new immigrants from China.

India, holding the central position in Southern Asia, has experienced in fullest measure the new spirit of nationalism. Politically, the immediate outcome has been the welding together of Bengal into a national unit. The marks of a progressive nationality—national poetry, art, literature, music, sentiment, passion,—the forces that go to build up national history,—common feeling, united action, defined ideals—these have gone much further in Bengal than in the rest of the Indian continent. The common people have taken up the movement, and it has already advanced far beyond the limits of the educated classes. What is being witnessed to-day is the fruit of many generations of the past—the coming to fruition of the latest ideas of a century. The foundations of the Bengal Nation have now been laid, a fact which will deeply affect the future history of India.

The second outstanding result has been the growth of political consciousness and consolidation within the Muhammadan community. This has been largely brought about by forces moving outside the boundaries of India,—the wonderful revival that has taken place in Islamic lands, the Pan-Islamic movement, the revolution in Turkey—but in India itself there have been forces of equal magnitude making for consolidation. Among these must be reckoned the great educational work of Aligarh. There is also the stimulus due to the revival in Hinduism, which will be mentioned later.

Economically, Swadeshi has brought a salutary growth to indigenous industries and a quickened impulse all over India.

leading to new industrial enterprise. The great net-work of railways, which makes India easily first among Asiatic countries in facility of communication, has been a great help to the spread both of Swadeshi ideas and Swadeshi goods. But the advent of electric power will work still greater wonders: for it may bring to the numberless villages of India a supply of energy, available for manufacture, at their very doors, and thus render the crowding into towns, which has already taken place in Japan, unnecessary. If this problem of the supply of power to the villages is solved, then economic development in India may be more rapid, and at the same time freed from many of the terrible evils which have so disorganised society in the West.

In the sphere of administration a great step has been taken in the admission of Indian members both to the Secretary of State's Council in England, and to the Viceroy's Council in India itself. The new Reform measures for the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils are still under revision and construction. It is therefore too early to pronounce on their probable result; but the withdrawal of official majorities may be regarded as an important factor in constitutional progress.

It is however in the sphere of religion that the greatest changes are taking place and the widest workings of the new spirit may be expected. For India is a slow country to move, except where religious emotions are aroused. The changes that are taking place within the Indian Musalman Community have already been mentioned, but even deeper forces are at work within Hinduism itself, pointing forward in many directions to progress and re-construction. These forces appear in various forms in different parts of India. Individually they may not seem to be making great headway, but taken collectively they represent a ferment which is almost unparalleled in Indian religious history. Different types of reformation are being witnessed—on the one hand the aggressive, Protestant type of the Arya Samaj, reminding one of a Luther or a Zwingli; on the other hand the liberal and educative type of the small but influential Brahmo Samaj, reminding one of an Erasmus; or again the orthodox but highly-cultured type, which

remains within the comprehensive Hindu fold regarding slow, conservative reform from within as the surest road of progress. In every village some side or other of the new religious influence is being felt, and momentum is being gathered as the great mass moves forward. The objective towards which the reforming Hindu forces are gradually converging is that of the depressed classes—those 50 to 60 millions of namahsudras, pariahs and aboriginals, which are now without the pale. Their present degradation is India's open wound, and the practical servitude and ignorance of nearly one fifth of India's whole population, has sapped the strength of the nation. The reforming movements will bring vitality and blessing to India in proportion to their power of grappling with this her greatest unsolved problem.

One new and important feature in the present Indian situation remains to be noticed. While during last century, before nationalism gained its present sway, India drew her ideals of progress almost exclusively from Europe, she is now discovering on every side that she has treasures of her own which must be brought into use and developed and increased, if her advance is to be truly national. Some countries of the world have had material resources,—coal and iron—which have lain buried beneath the ground for centuries, and then at last in modern times have been utilized to build up the material fabric of the nation. India's resources that have lain buried and unused are not material, but spiritual,—her art, her literature, her philosophy, her religious devotion. These,—to continue the metaphor,—are now being brought into the light of day; and as they come in contact with the oxygen of modern life, they will burst into brilliant flame and give warmth and heat to national enthusiasm. The dross of much of the past may have to be consumed, such things as bad customs and evil traditions; but there will be treasures remaining of the highest worth.

Turning to western Asia, we note that great changes have been taking place which seem likely to give a new vitality and unity to Islamic lands. Persia, after a struggle which has been one long tragedy almost ending in despair, has at last emerg-

ed triumphant over despotism, and won by force of arms her constitution. It remains to be seen whether the new Government will be strong enough to overcome the brigandage which is impoverishing the country on the one hand, and the pressure of an increasing foreign debt on the other. It may be that just as Egypt has been saved from financial bankruptcy through the new irrigation of the Nile, so the irrigation of the Euphrates-Tigris valley, which is shortly to be undertaken, will relieve Persia from her heavy burden and restore financial prosperity. The danger of Russian aggression is, however, imminent, and the Persian national party thoroughly distrust the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention.

The Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor, Syria and Arabia is being slowly permeated with the new ideas of government by the people which have won acceptance across the Bosphorus. The horrible massacres, which formed the culminating horror of the régime of the late Sultan, show what forces of cruelty and bigotry have yet to be overcome. An obscure, but serious revolt against the Turkish power in Yemen is another sign of the dangers which threaten the new constitution at Constantinople. There is every hope, however, that the forces of enlightenment and tolerance will gain the victory at last; but for some years to come we may expect to hear of reactionary revolts. Two extremely important railway undertakings should be noticed, on the one hand the building of the railway to Mecca which will open up Arabia and prove an untold blessing to the Musalman religious world, and on the other hand the construction of the great Baghdad Railway across Asia Minor and Persia. This railway will affect India herself, for it will bring Calcutta seven days nearer to London.

Asiatic Russia, covering an area of nearly six and a half million square miles—that is roughly four times the size of the whole of India and Burma,—contains a population of 22,000,000 persons, out of whom nearly 14,000,000 are Musalmans. Siberia, its largest province, has gained an evil notoriety from the cruelties practised there, in the large convict settlements, upon those who have been convicted of political crime. How

rapidly such convictions have increased may be seen from the fact that the total number of Russian prisoners has risen from 85,000 in 1905 to 125,000 in 1907. The life of the Siberian convicts has been described by Count Leo Tolstoy and other Russian writers in terms to move a heart of stone, but little amelioration of their lot has taken place. The fact that a large proportion of the revolutionaries, who are thus imprisoned, are highly educated men and women, adds to the misery of the situation. The absolute rule of the Tsar descends to every province of the great Empire. A governor representing the Tsar wields sovereign power, subject only to the Tsar himself. All is based on a military model. At the same time a considerable amount of loose popular government is left to the village communes, who themselves judge local cases. The local conditions are somewhat similar to those of India with its village panchayats, except that in Russia all smaller property disputes and criminal offences are left to the village tribunals to decide. The Musalmans under Russian rule have prospered, and their numbers have rapidly increased. One interesting statement has recently appeared, namely, that Musalmans from Siberia played an important part in forwarding the aims of the young Turk party.

The East Siberian Army has been remodelled and increased since the late war with Japan. Every preparation is being made to ensure the utmost readiness should war break out again. There are 250,000 troops in the Far East with artillery and siege guns ready for immediate action. The great Trans-Siberian Railway is now entirely finished and great bodies of troops from Russia in Europe could be mobilised and transported to the Manchurian frontier with far greater ease than during the late war. The peace strength of the armies of all the Russias is upwards of 1,200,000 in all ranks and on a war footing the total number approaches 4,000,000. It is estimated that out of this total number at least 1,200,000 could be assembled in case of need on a single area. The anxiety, therefore, of the Japanese, lest war should break out again and find them financially disorganised, may easily be understood.

What is happening today in Afghanistan is not clearly known by the outside world. Plots and counterplots, with imprisonments and occasional fighting among the turbulent tribes, seem to go on year after year. Yet there are signs of an encouragement of education and an introduction of liberal measures on the part of the Amir. Tibet, since British evacuation in 1904-5, has become more closely welded to China.

Such, in briefest outline, is the situation in Asia today. The 'cycles of Cathay', of which Tennyson speaks, exist no longer. The next 'fifty years of Europe' may be even less intense in life, and less rapid in change than a corresponding period in Asia.

The situation is one of hope,—hope not unmixed with anxiety. Forces that make directly for progress have come into being,—forces which at the present moment are most in evidence, because they are so new. But we should be foolish if we underestimated the forces that still make directly for reaction.

It is a noble age, —an age for a man to live in. The very critical nature of the times gives a zest to life.

In the hands of the present younger generation lies the hope—or the despair,—of the future. May Hope turn the scale!

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE CALIPH ABDURRAHMAN V, AND HIS VIZIER, IBN-HAZM THE POET*

WHEN we relate the history of a disastrous period torn by civil dissensions, we sometimes feel the need of turning away our gaze from the conflicts of parties, from social convulsions and from bloodshed, and of diverting our imagination by looking back to an ideal of calm, innocence and revery. We shall, therefore, pause here for a moment to draw attention to the poems with which a pure and sincere love inspired the young Caliph Abdurrahman V, and his vizier Ibn-Hazm. This love exhales out of these poems like a perfume of youth, simplicity and of bliss and these poems possess an attraction all the more irresistible, inasmuch as we are very little prepared to hear such sweet and serene accents in the midst of a general revolution, this nightingale song in the midst of a boisterous storm. Almost yet a child, Abdurrahman fell desperately in love with his cousin Habiba (Beloved), the daughter of the Caliph Solaiman. But he sighed in vain. Solaiman's widow opposed the union and gave him to understand that there was no hurry about it. Abdurrahman then composed the following verses in

which the sentiment of a wounded pride peeps out beside a love deeply felt:—

"Oh! always some pretext or other not to accord my request—pretexts against which my pride revolts! Her short-sighted family wants to force her to refuse me, but is it ever possible to refuse the moon to the sun? How can the mother of Habiba who knows me, not want to have me for her son-in-law?"

"I love her all the same—that young beautiful and genuine girl of the family of Abd-Shams who leads such a retired life in the harem of her parents. I have promised to serve her like a slave during all my life, and I have offered my heart as a dowry.

"Just as a hawk swoops down on a dove on her wings, in the same way I rush towards her the moment I see her—the dove of the Abd-Shams, I who am also an issue of the same illustrious clan.

"Oh, how beautiful she is! The Pleiades are envious of the whiteness of her hands and Aurora is jealous of the splendour of her breast.

"Thou hast imposed a very long fast on my love, O my beloved. How would it affect thee, if thou permittedst me to break it?"

"It is in thy house that I search for a

* Translated from the original French of Prof. Dozy's "Histoire des Mussulmans d'Espagne" vol III, chap. XVI, pp. 338—350. By Dr. Nishi-Kanta Chattopadhyaya, Ph. D. under the patronage of H. H. Nizam's Government.

remedy for my ills,—in that house on which may God pour His choicest blessings! It is there that my heart shall find a solace to my sufferings, it is there that the fire shall be quenched that now devours me.

"If thou reject me, O my Cousin, thou shalt reject, I swear to you, a man who is thy equal in birth, and who, in consequence of the love with which thou hast inspired him has a mist before his eyes.

"But I do not despair to call her as my own some day or other, and thereby to reach the summit of my glory. For I know how to handle my trusty lance well, even when the dark horses look red because of their gory tints. I pay honour and respect to the stranger who comes to take shelter under my roof; I load with kindness the unfortunate man who appeals to my generosity. Nobody else in her family deserves more to have her than myself, because nobody else equals me in fame and in renown. I possess all that it is necessary to please: youth, urbanity, mildness, and the talent to converse well."

We are not aware what were Habiba's own sentiments with regard to young Abdurrahman; the Arab writers having left vague and indistinct that beautiful and fugitive apparition whose lineaments our fancy would like so much to trace. Notwithstanding, she does not seem to have been quite insensible to the homage of Abdurrahman. Having met her one day by chance, her looks bent down under the fiery glances of her lover; she blushed and in her trouble she forgot to return his salutation. Abdurrahman interpreted this apparent lack of courtesy in a wrong way which in reality was nothing but bashful, virgin timidity, and so he gave vent to his sorrow in the following poem:—

"My salutations to her who has not even deigned to address me a single word. Salutations to that graceful gazelle whose glances are so many darts that pierce through my heart. Never, alas! does she send me her picture to calm the agitation of my dreams. Dost thou not know, O thou, whose name is so sweet to pronounce, that I love thee beyond all expression and that I shall be to thee the most 'faithful' lover in the world?"*

* Ibn-al Abbar, p. 165. 166.

Abdurrahman does not seem to have ever obtained Habiba's hand in marriage and, in general, he was not lucky in love. It is true, that another beauty was not so cruel to him, but after a time she lacked in her promised word, of which the following verses which he then addressed to her bear testimony:—

"Oh! how the nights have been long ever since thou gavest preference to my rival! O, graceful gazelle! thou who hast broken thy vow and hast become disloyal to me hast thou forgotten those nights which we once passed together on beds of roses? The same scarf girded our loins, we were interlaced in each other's arms like the pearls of a necklace; we embraced each other as the branches of trees embrace each other; our two bodies formed only one, while the stars seemed like points of gold twinkling on a field of azure."†

This young Abdurrahman had a friend who in many respects greatly resembled him and whom he made his vizier or prime minister. His name was Ali-Ibn-Hazm. Abdurrahman was barely 22 years old when he was elected Caliph, and Ibn-Hazm just thirty. Ibn-Hazm's ancestors who resided in the territory of Niebla had been Christians until the epoch when his great-grandfather embraced Islam; but being ashamed of his origin and anxious to efface all its traces, he denied his ancestors. Just as his father (Ahmed) had done, who had been a vizier under the Amirides, he pretended to have been descended from a Persian set free by Yezid, the brother of the first Omayyade Caliph, Moawia. As for the religion to which his ancestors belonged, he cherished the most profound contempt.

"We should never be astonished at the superstitions of men" says he somewhere in his "Treatise on Religions."

"The most numerous and the most civilised peoples are subject to them. Look at these Christians! Their number is so great, that it is only their creator that could count them, and there are amongst them illustrious scholars as well as princes of great sagacity. Norwithstanding they believe, that one is three and that three are one; that one of the three is the father,

† Maccare, t. I, p. 285.

the other the son and the third the spirit, that the father is the son and is yet not the son; that a man is God and yet not God; that the Messiah is God in every respect and yet he is not the same as God; that he who has existed from all eternity was created. One of these sects called the Jacobites and whose number is to be counted by hundreds of thousands, even believes, that the Creator was scourged, boxed, crucified and put to death, so that the universe was for three days deprived of Him who governs it....."*

These sarcasms are evidently not those of a sceptic but of a very zealous Mussalman. In religion, Ibn-Hazm held the views of the Zahirites, a sect that strictly adhered to the texts, and that called the decision by analogy, that is to say, by the intervention of human intelligence in questions of ecclesiastical law as an invention of the devil. In politics, he was for the legitimate dynasty whose vassal he had turned to be, thanks to a false genealogy; and the Omayyades did not possess a servant more faithful, more devoted and more enthusiastic than he was. When their cause seemed irrevocably lost, when Ali-Ibn-Hammoud occupied the throne and whenever Khairan the chief of the slave party acknowledged him, he was of the small number of those who did not lose courage. Surrounded by enemies and spies on all sides, he yet continued to plot and intrigue; because prudence, as it is always the case with enthusiastic souls, seemed to him nothing but cowardice. Khairan discovered his plots, and having made him atone for his unseasonable zeal by several months of imprisonment, he punished him with a sentence of banishment. Ibn-Hazm then retired to the governor of the castle of Aznalczar not far from Seville, and he was still residing there when he came to know, that the Omayyade Abdurrahman, IV Murtuza had been proclaimed Caliph at Valencia. He at once set out to offer his services to him, and fought like a hero in the battle which Murtuza lost by the treachery of his so-called friends; but having fallen into the hands of the victorious Berbers, he recovered liberty only in the course of time.

* Ibn-Hazm, "Treatise on Religions" t. II, fol. 227r.

The time would arrive when Ibn-Hazam shall become the greatest scholar of his days, and the most fertile writer whom Spain had ever produced at any period. But for the present, he was, above all a poet, and one of the most elegant poets Moorish Spain had ever had. He was still in the happy age of illusions, because he counted only eight years more than his young sovereign. He also had his love romance—a romance very simple besides, but which he has related with so much delicacy, candour, charm and simplicity, that we cannot resist the temptation of reproducing it here in his own words. Nevertheless, we shall be obliged to eliminate here and there certain risky metaphors, some spangles and embellishments which in the opinion of an Arab lend, no doubt, an inimitable grace to discourses, but which the sobriety of our days would scarcely tolerate.

"In the palace of my father" says Ibn-Hazm, "there was a young girl who was receiving her education. She was sixteen, and no woman ever equalled her in beauty, in intelligence, in modesty and in reserve. The playful tone and the gallant hints wearied her and she spoke little. Nobody ever ventured to raise his wishes up to her, and yet her beauty conquered all hearts; since though proud and stingy in her favours, she was yet more fascinating than the most refined coquette. She was serious and had no taste for frivolous amusements, but she played on the lute in an admirable style.

"I was still very young, and I thought of nothing but her. I heard her speak sometimes, but always in the presence of other people; and for two years I tried in vain to find an occasion to speak to her in secret. But one day, there was in our residence one of those festivals, as there are frequently in the houses of all noblemen, in which the ladies of our palace, those of my brother's as well as those of our most esteemed vassals and servants, were invited. After having passed a portion of the day in the palace, these ladies went to the belvidere whence there was a magnificent view of Cordova and its suburbs, and the ladies were there in such a position, that the trees of our garden did not obstruct them from our sight. I was with them, and I

approached the embrasure where she then happened to be; but no sooner did she see me close to her than she ran away with a graceful celerity to another embrasure; I followed her, and she escaped me again. She knew very well my sentiments about her; since women have more tact in guessing out the love which men bear towards them than the Bedouin who travels at night in the desert to find out the tracks of his route. But fortunately, the other ladies suspected nothing, because absorbed as they were in finding out the most beautiful points of view, they paid no attention whatever to myself.

"Then when the ladies had descended into the garden, those amongst them who by their age and position had the greatest amount of influence requested the girl of my thoughts to sing something, and I seconded their request. She then took up her lute and began to accord it with a modesty which, in my eyes, doubled her charms. Then she sang the following verses of Abbas, the son of Ahnaf:—

'I think only of the sun of my soul—of that supple and flexible young girl whom I saw disappear behind the dark walls of the palace. Was she a human being or a demon? She is more than a woman, to be sure; but though she has all the beauty of a demon, yet she has none of her spite. Her face is like a pearl, her figure that of a narcissus, her breath is like perfume, and taken all in all, she is like an emanation of light. When we see her clothed in her yellow robe marching with inconceivable lightness, we might say, that she could put her foot on the most fragile of things without breaking it.'

"When she was singing, it was not the strings of the lute that she was striking with her plectrum; no; it was my heart. Never has that delicious day gone out of my memory, and I shall recollect it even on my death bed. But since then I have no longer heard her sweet voice;—I have not even seen her.

"Do not blame her, said I in my verses, if she avoids and runs away from thee; since she does not merit any reproaches. She is beautiful like a gazelle or a moon but the gazelle is timid and it is not given to man to reach the moon.

"Thou deprivest me of the happiness of

listening to thy voice, said I again, and thou dost not wish that my eyes should contemplate thy beauty. All absorbed in thy pious meditations, entirely given to God, thou hast no longer any thoughts to spare for human beings. How lucky is he, that Abbas whose verses thou hast sung! And yet if he, that great poet had heard thee, he would have become sad, he would have longed for thee as for his victor; for, in singing his verses, thou hast put in them a sensibility which he did not dream of.

"Subsequently three days after the Mahdi had been declared Caliph, we left our new palace which was situated in the eastern quarters of Cordova, namely, in the suburb called the Zahira with a view to establish ourselves in our ancient palace situated in the western quarters, the Balat-Moghuth but for reasons which it would be useless to explain the young girl did not follow us there. Then Hisham II having reascended the throne, those who were then in power made us fall into disgrace; they extorted enormous sums of money from us; they cast us into prison and when we had recovered our liberty, we had to hide ourselves. Then came the civil war. The whole world had to suffer, but our family more than anybody else. My father died in the interval, on Saturday, the 21st of June 1012, our fortunes did not improve. But one day as I was taking part in the funerals of one of my relations, I recognised the young girl amongst the mourners, I had very good reasons to be sad on that day; all misfortunes seemed to hit me at once; and yet when I saw her again, the present with its sorrows seemed to vanish as if by magic. She recalled the past to me—the first love of my youth—those beautiful days gone for ever; and for a moment, I became young and happy again as I had once been in former years. But, alas! that moment was short, and I was soon recalled to the sad and sombre reality. While my grief, aggravated by sufferings that a hopeless love had caused me, was all the more sharp and agonising.

"She sheds her tears over a death which the whole world honours and respects, said I in a piece of poetry composed on this occasion. But he who is still in life, has far greater claims on her tears. A strange thing! She weeps for one who died a peace-

ful and a natural death, but she has no pity for him whom she causes to die of despair.'

"Shortwhile after, when the Berber troops seized the capital, we were visited with a sentence of exile and I left Cordova in the middle of the month of July of the year, 1013. Five years elapsed during which I did not see the young girl again. At last, when I returned to Cordova in February, 1018, I went to lodge with one of my relations, and there I found her again. But, alas! she was so utterly changed that I had some difficulty in recognising her, and people had to tell me, that it was she. That flower which but lately everyone contemplated with ravishment and which everybody would have gladly culled, if he were not restrained from doing so by regard for her, was now faded; there now hardly remained any traces to attest that she had once been beautiful. The fact was that during those calamitous days, she had not been able to take any care of herself. Brought up under our roof in the midst of luxury she had been suddenly forced to win her bread by hard, assiduous work. Alas! women are very fragile flowers. As soon as they are not duly looked after, they fade away. Their beauty does not resist, as that of men does, the scorching sun, the burning breath of the desert, the inclement weather and the lack of admiration. Notwithstanding such as she then was she would have still made me the happiest of men, if she had but spoken a kind word to me. But she remained cold and indifferent, as she had always been towards me. By and by, this coldness began to wean me from her while the loss of her beauty did the rest.

"I have never blamed her for anything, and even to-day I have nothing to say against her. I have no right to do so. What shall I complain of? I might have complained, if she had ever lulled me with a deceitful hope, but never did she give me the least hope, nor did she ever promise me anything."*

In the account that we have just read it is impossible not to observe traits of an exquisite sensibility very rare amongst the Arabs, who generally prefer the charms that attract, the eyes that prepossess and the smile that encourages. The love that Ibn-Hazm dreams of is a mixture of physical attractions, no doubt,—the regretted object being no longer what it once was his regrets were far less painful,—but also of moral inclinations, of delicate gallantry, of esteem, and of enthusiasm; and that which charms him most is a calm and modest beauty, full of sweet dignity. But we must not forget, that this poet, the most chaste, and I am tempted to say, the most Christian of all Mussalman poets, was not an Arab of pure blood. Great-grandson of a Christian Spaniard, he had not entirely lost the manner of thinking and feeling peculiar to the race from which he had sprung. It was in vain that they denied their origin, those Arabicised Spaniards; it was in vain that they called on Mahomet instead of on Christ, and pursued their ancient coreligionists with sarcasms. At the bottom of their hearts, there always remained something pure, delicate and spiritual that was not Arabian.

NISHI KANTA CHATTOPADHYAYA.

* Ibn-Hazm : "Treatise on love" fol. 99r.—102v.

AGRICULTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

कश्चित् खनुहिता तात वार्त्ता ते साधुभिर्जनैः ।

वार्त्तायां संश्रिता सात लोकोऽयं सुखमेधते ॥८३॥

महाभारत सभाष्य (राजसूय) अ ५. (श्लोः ८३)

NARADA asks Yudhishtira : "My child, is agriculture and trade efficiently carried on in thy realm, by honest people ?

"Agriculture (and trade), my child, is the source of happiness to the people."

कश्चित् ते दयिताः सर्वे कृषि गौरवजीविनः ।

वार्त्तायां साम्प्रतं तात लोकोऽयं सुखमेधते ॥ ४७ ।

रामायण अयोध्या अ १००

Rama asks his brother Bharata :—"Are all the arable and cattle farmers of the realm,

pleased with thee? It is true, my child, that on the success of farming, depends the happiness of the people."

The cry in the West once was about the fabulous wealth of India, "where the gorgeous east showers on her Kings barbaric pearl and gold". The very name of India then made the mouth of the Westerners water, and led to the discovery of the New World. The Mahabharata speaks of the Indian soil as a cow * in milk "महीकाम दुखा" yielding all we want, and whenever we want. Alas, that cow is now dry and barren, and unable to pay for her up-keep. In those good old days every undertaking in the direction of cattle-rearing, arable farming, or trade was successful:

But the times have now changed, and the India of to-day is like a *Fazli* mango squeezed and sucked to the very stone. The cry to-day in the east as in the west, is of the blood-curdling poverty of Indians, leading "in seventeen years (1861 to 1878) to sixteen famines with a lifeloss of 11, 871, 420." What is the explanation of this fatal change? It is easy to fasten the blame on the deficient rainfall.†

It is not alleged that there has been a miraculous change in the meteorological conditions of India, and the rainfall is known to have been deficient in ancient India, as often as now. For example, we read in the Ramayana that as a punishment for the misdeeds of King Romapada of Anga, a fearful drought followed.‡ Again King Dasaratha describes another drought in his own lifetime:—"The sun rode the fearful south through which departed spirits pass, scorching the earth with his rays and sucking up all its moisture"|| The Mahabharata also mentions a prolonged

* "सर्वारम्भाः सुप्रवृत्ताः गोरक्षा-कर्षणं वणिक्"

(महाभारत सभापर्व (राजसूय) अ ५ श्लो १६)

† मही कामदुखा सा हि वीरपत्नीति चोच्यते ॥७ अ ८०

सभापर्व (द्युत)

‡ तस्य वतिक्रमाद्राज्ञी भविष्यति सुदारुणा ।

अनादृष्टिः सुखोवा चै सर्वलोक भयावहा ॥

आदिकाण्ड सर्ग ८ श्लो ८

|| अपाश्रयि रसान् भीमांस्तप्ता च जगदंशुभिः ।

परिताचरितां भीमां रविराचरते दिशं ॥१५

अयोध्याकाण्ड अः ६३

drought which visited the subjects of a love-sick king Sambarana who had left his kingdom to enjoy his honeymoon for twelve long years, with his newly married wife Tapati,—the drought ceasing immediately on his return to duty (Adiparva ch. 189 verses 40 to 52).

Notice that the King was always held responsible for the sufferings of his subjects on account of drought. The question is why should famines have become chronic now, when they were exceptional visitations occurring not perhaps once in a century in olden times. The plea of deficient rainfall will not exonerate us of solemn responsibility for the untimely deaths of so many thousands of our fellow-men every year. Let us take the fullest credit for our famine relief operations, which in their vastness would have staggered the conception of our much simpler forefathers. But are not these relief operations, after all, mere palliatives or baffled attempts on our part for the redress of the wrongs we have ourselves inflicted? Where is the assurance that we have not ourselves caused those very famines by some of the thoughtless changes that we have brought about to upset the old order of things? With the vantage-ground of our modern scientific knowledge, famines should have become much more impossible in India today, than in those crude old days of hoary antiquity. In the other civilized countries, with soils and climates much less favourable than ours, famines are almost an impossibility. It should not have been otherwise in India. Why should the agriculture of the country to-day depend more on the timely rainfall than in times past? What is become of the old Hindu ideal of making agriculture independent of the rainfall or "adeva-matrika"?¶ With the infinitely greater command over the subterranean reservoirs of water, that science gives us, that ideal would be much easier of realisation now, than in those primitive days. The painful fact is that the good old order of things is

¶ सुकृष्टसीमा पशुमान् हिंसाभिरभिवर्जितः ।

अदिवसात्कौरव्यः आपदैः परिवर्जितः ॥४६॥

* * *

कच्चिज्जनपदः स्त्रीतः सुखं वसति राघव ॥

अयोध्याकाण्ड अ १००

changed, and has been succeeded by such hard and unfavorable conditions, that agriculture on a decent footing is become almost impossible. If famine is to be effectively prevented, and India restored to her former glory, those favorable conditions which once enabled her sons to carry on the work of food-production for the people, so

successfully, defying the deficiencies of rainfall, must be found out, and restored. It should be our aim to recover the lost thread, and bring the agriculture of the country to-day, on a line with the past, by rectifying the blunders that have brought it to ruin.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE ANCIENT SEA-BORNE TRADE OF INDIA

BOTH Brahminical and Buddhistic texts are replete with references to the sea-borne trade of India that directly and indirectly demonstrate the existence and development of a national shipping and ship-building. It is now necessary to narrate the facts of that trade and for this we shall have to draw upon all sorts of evidence, literary, inscriptional and numismatic, and both Indian and foreign. For India alone has not the monopoly of these evidences and if she really had commercial connexion with the outside world it is natural and in fact necessary that they be also supplied by those countries with which she had carried on her intercourse, thus confirming the same conclusions as are reached by a study of the purely Indian evidences. And so do we find, as a matter of fact, abundant allusions in various foreign works to India's commerce, arts and manufactures, indicating the glorious position she once occupied and for long maintained as the Queen of the Eastern Seas.

Indeed all the evidences available will clearly show that for full thirty centuries, India stood out as the very heart of the commercial world, cultivating trade relations successively with the Phoenicians, Jews, Assyrians, Greeks, Egyptians and Romans in ancient times, and Turks, Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch and English in modern times. A genial climate and a fertile soil coupled with the industry and frugality of the Indian people rendered them virtually independent of foreign nations in respect of the necessities of life, while their secondary wants were few. Of the latter, tin, lead, glass, amber, steel for arms, and perhaps coral and to a small

extent medicinal drugs were all that India had need to import from Europe and Western Asia while to Arabia she was indebted for the supply of frankincense used in her temples. On the other hand, India provided Europe with wool from the fleeces of the sheep bred on her north-western mountain ranges, famous since the days of Alexander the Great; with onyx, chalcedony, lapislazuli, and jasper, then esteemed as precious stones; with a resinous gum, furs, assafoetida, and musk; with embroidered woollen fabrics and coloured carpets which were as highly prized in Babylon and Rome as their modern reproductions are in London and Paris at the present day. But the most valuable of the exports of India was silk, which under the Persian Empire is said to have been exchanged by weight with gold. It was manufactured in India, as well as obtained for re-export from China. Next to silk in value were cotton cloths ranging from coarse canvas and calicoes to muslins of the finest texture. India also supplied foreign countries with oils, brass-ware, a liquid preparation of the sugar-cane, salt, drugs, dyes and aromatics, while she had also a monopoly in the matter of the supply of pepper, cinnamon and other edible spices, which were in great request in Europe throughout.

Through the ages India thus occupied a unique position in the commercial world as the main supplier of the world's luxuries. As a consequence she throughout had the balance of trade clearly in her favour, a balance which could only be settled by the export of treasure from Europe and other countries that were commercially indebted

to her. For India desired nothing which foreigners could give her but the precious metals. Thus has she been for many centuries the final depository of a large portion of the metallic wealth of the world. Her supply of gold she obtained not as Europe obtained from America in the sixteenth century by conquest or rapine but by the more natural and peaceful methods of commerce, "by the exchange of such of her productions as among the Indians were superfluities but were at the same time not only highly prized by the nations of Western Asia, Egypt and Europe but were obtainable from no other quarter except India, or from the further east by means of the Indian trade."* It was this flow or "drain" of gold into India that so far back as the first century B.C. was the cause of alarm and regret to Pliny who calculated that fully a hundred million sesterces, equivalent, according to Delmar, to £70,000 of modern English money, were withdrawn annually from the Roman Empire to purchase useless Oriental products such as perfumes, unguents and personal ornaments.† It was also the same flow of gold into India from outside that even earlier still in the fifth century B. C. enabled the Indian satrapy of Darius, naturally the richest and most populous part of his empire (including as much of Afghanistan, Kashmir and the Punjab as the Persian monarchs could keep in subjection), to pay "the enormous tribute of 360 Euboic talents of gold-dust or 185 hundred-weights, worth fully a million sterling, and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces."‡

We shall now enter upon a relation of the facts of this trade which served to create "the wealth of Ind," a brief survey of its history which undoubtedly is an important, though neglected, aspect of Indian history, the story of her old, abounding international life.

The antiquity of this trade will be evident from the fact that it is foreshadowed even in the Rigveda, one of the oldest literary records

* C. Daniell, F.S.S., I.C.S., *Industrial Competition of Asia*, p. 225.

† Pliny, *Natural History*, XII., 18. See also Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. II, 299—300.

‡ Herodotus, III; V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, new edition, p. 34.

of humanity, which, as I have elsewhere shown, speaks in many places of ships and merchants sailing out in ships into the open main for the sake of riches, braving the perils of the deep where there is no support, nothing to rest upon or cling to. This sea-borne trade of India which may thus be said to have begun ever since the dawn of history and the beginning of recorded time is now also supposed by competent authorities to be alluded to in the Bible itself, the date of which Dr. Caldwell has roughly fixed at 1000 B. C. In the Book of Genesis* there is mention of a company of traders with their camels bearing spicery, balm and myrrh going to Egypt. In the days of Solomon there went from India ivory, garments, armour, spices and peacocks which found customers in ancient Syria. In the Book of Kings I† it is stated how the ships of Solomon came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold, plenty of almug trees, precious stones and the like. In the book of Ezekiel which dwells on the commerce of Tyre there are mentioned commodities which are undoubtedly of Indian origin.‡ Thus ivory and ebony included in them are characteristic Indian products and were recognised as such by classical writers like Megasthenes,§ Theophrastus|| and Virgil§. Besides, another

* Gen. XXXVII, 25; "Behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt."

† I Kings, IX, 26, 27, 28: "And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber which is beside Elath on the shore of the Red Sea."

And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea with the servants of Solomon.

And they came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents and brought it to King Solomon."

I Kings, X II: "And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones."

‡ Ezekiel, XXVII 24: "These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and brodered work and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords."

Ibid, 15: "They brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony."

§ Strabo XV., 37: "Ebony grows there."

|| History of Plants: IV, 4, 6, quoted by McCrindle.

§ Georg. II, 116-17: "India alone produces black ebony;" Georg. I 57: "India produces ivory."

The *Periplus* also mentions logs of ebony exported from Barygaza—Bhroach.

proof that the Bible really refers to the foreign trade of India may be found in the fact that there have been discovered some old Dravidian words in the Hebrew Text of the *Books of Kings* and *Chronicles* of the Old Testament where there is given the list of the articles of merchandise brought from Tarshish or Ophir in Solomon's ships "about 1000 B.C." Thus the word for "pea-cock" in the Hebrew text is *tuki* in *Kings*, *tuki* in *Chronicles*, while the ancient, poetical, purely Tamil-Malayalam name of the peacock is *tokei*, the bird with the (splendid) tail.* Again the Hebrew word *ahalim* or *ahaloth* for the fragrant wood called 'aloes' in *Proverbs* vii 17, etc., is derived from the Tamil-Malayalam form of the word *aghil*.

Without dwelling at any further length on the meaning of these Biblical allusions, I quote below the following interpretation put upon them by the learned bishop, Dr. Caldwell, in his monumental work *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*: "It seems probable that Aryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phoenicians and Solomon's servants in their voyages down the Malabar Coast towards Ophir (wherever Ophir may have been) or at least have taken part in the trade...It appears certain from notices contained in the Vedas that the Aryans of the age of Solomon practised foreign trade in ocean-going vessels, but it remains uncertain to what parts their ships sailed."† Bishop Caldwell's opinion is further supported by another learned clergyman and scholar, the Rev. T. Foulkes,‡ who, in a very learned essay, comes to the same conclusion and says: "The fact is now scarcely to be doubted that the rich Oriental merchandize of the days of king Hiram and king Solomon had its starting-place in the seaports of the Dakhan; and that with a very high degree of probability some of the most esteemed of the spices which were carried into Egypt by the Midianitish merchants of Genesis XXXVII, 25, 28, and by the sons of the patriarch

Jacob (Gen. XLIII, 11) had been cultivated in the spice-gardens of the Dakhan."

Thus the first trade of India which history records was with Western Asia and Palestine. King Solomon tried to appropriate a share of this trade for the Jewish people by creating facilities for his eastern traders both on land and sea-routes. On the land route he built as resting-places for caravans, the cities of Tadmor (Palmyra), Baalbec (Heliopolis) and Hamath (Epiphania) and his foresight in protecting these caravan routes bore fruit in the great trading centres of Mesopotamia, viz., Babylon, Ctesiphon, Selencia and Osis, which all flourished for a long time on the profits of their commerce with the East. The Jewish monarch was also equally interested in the sea-borne trade of the East. His fleets made periodical voyages to and from the head of the Red Sea and the ports in the Persian Gulf, and we know from Holy Writ that "Ezion-geber which is beside Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom" was the Syrian port for the arrival and departure of the fleets sent on these voyages. Their cargoes were carried by caravans to Petra and distributed some to Egypt and others to Rhinocolura, a port on the Mediterranean for transshipment to Europe. The Phoenicians also took an active part in this trade with Tyre as their headquarters. After the conquest of Tyre by Alexander the Great, and the foundation of Alexandria the Egyptians came into the field and after the successive decline of the Jewish, Phoenician and Persian powers in Western Asia, they retained with the Arabians a monopoly of this commerce for about nine hundred years between Alexander's death and the conquest of Egypt by the Musalmans in the year A. D. 640.

We have now dealt with the foreign trade of India in the age of the Bible and proceed to consider the notices left by Greek writers of the international intercourse of India. The earliest probably is that of Herodotus (450 B.C.), the father of history, whose reference to the Indian contingent* of Xerxes's army clad in cotton garments and

* Dr. Caldwell, in his *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 91. We may remember also in this connexion the well-known reference in the *Baveru-Jataka* to voyages made by Indian merchants to Babylon, in the second of which they took thither the first pea-cock for sale.

† *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 122.

‡ *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII.

* *Herodotus*, vii, 65; viii, 13, ix, 91. V. A. Smith remarks: "The archers from India formed a valuable element in the army of Xerxes and shared the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea.

armed with cane-bows and iron-tipped* cane arrows is well-known. Herodotus also speaks of the inclusion of a part of India as the twentieth satrapy of the Emperor Darius† —a fact which in the opinion of scholars accounts for the traces of Persian influence‡ on old Indian art, architecture and administrative methods. Among Indian products Herodotus notes the wool|| which certain wild trees bear instead of fruit "that in beauty and quality excels that of sheep" of which Indians make their clothing. Herodotus (and also Strabo and Arrian) speaks of the gold-diggers of the desert of Cobi who were in the habit of excavating gold from beneath the earth from whom Indian traders of the Panjab neighbourhood brought their supply of gold and enriched their country that was afterwards able to pay to Darius the tribute of 360 talents or a million sterling. In Ctesias's *Indika* (400 B.C.), the earliest Greek treatise on India, is to be found among other things the existence of a really Dravidian word which Ctesias used for cinnamon.¶ The word used by Ctesias is *Karpion* which Dr. Caldwell derives from the Tamil-Malayalam word *Karuppa* or *Karppu* to which is akin the Sanskrit word *karpura*, 'camphor.'§

We now reach the Age of the Mauryas, which may be taken roughly to begin from the date of Alexander's Indian campaigns about 325 B.C. In the accounts of these campaigns left by Greek writers like Arrian, Curtius and others, interesting light is sometimes thrown on the then economic condition of the country or some

of its features and facts. Thus it may be stated with certainty that ship-building was in those very ancient days (so far back as 325 B.C.) a very flourishing industry giving employment to many and the stimulus to its development must have come from the demands of both river and ocean traffic. Alexander's passage of the Indus was effected by means of boats* supplied by native craftsmen: a flotilla of boats was also used in bridging the difficult river of the Hydaspes.† For purposes of the famous voyage of Nearchos‡ down the rivers and to the Persian Gulf all available country boats were impressed for the service and a stupendous fleet was formed, numbering, according to Arrian,|| about 800 vessels, according to Curtius and Diodorus about 1,000 vessels but according to "the more reliable estimate of Ptolemy" nearly 2,000 vessels, which between them accommodated 8,000 troops, several thousand horses and vast quantities of supplies. It was indeed an extraordinarily huge fleet¶ built entirely of Indian wood by the hands of Indian craftsmen. Arrian also mentions the construction of dockyards and the supply by the tribe called Xathroi of galleys of 30 oars and transport vessels which were all built by them.§ All this clearly indicates that in the age of the Mauryas shipbuilding in India was a

* V.A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 55.

† *Ibid*, pp. 59-60: "He found the fleet of galleys, boats and rafts in readiness." Also Arrian, V 8.

‡ Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 87.

|| *Indika*, ch. XIX.

¶ Dr Robertson (*Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 196) has the following interesting remark to make in this connexion: "That a fleet so numerous should have been collected in so short a time is apt to appear at first sight incredible. But as the Punjab country is full of navigable rivers on which all the intercourse among the natives was carried on, it abounded with vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands so that he might easily collect that number. If we could give credit to the account of the invasion of India by Semiramis *no fewer than 4,000 vessels were assembled in the Indus to oppose her fleet.* (Diod. Sicul. lib. II. C. 74). It is remarkable that when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India a fleet was collected on the Indus to oppose him *consisting of the same number of vessels.* We learn from the *Ayeen Akbari* that the inhabitants of this part of India still continue to carry on all their communication with each other by water, *the inhabitants of the Circar of Tatta alone (in Sindh) have not less than 40,000 vessels of various constructions.*"

§ Anab. VI, 15 and Curtius IX, 9.

* C. V. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 35 n: "The fact that the Indian troops used iron in 480 B.C. is worth nothing."

† Herodotus, III.

‡ See Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 137, 153, 225, for an account of this Persian influence.

|| Herodotus III, 106, in McCrindle's *Ancient India as described in classical literature*.

¶ Ctesias, translated by McCrindle, p. 29. His *Indika* embodies the information he had gathered about India, "partly from the reports of Persian officials who had visited that country on the king's service, and partly also perhaps from the reports of Indians themselves who in those days were occasionally to be seen at the Persian Court, whither they resorted, either as merchants or as envoys' bringing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India, which was then subject to Persian rule. (McCrindle's *Ctesias*, Introduction, p. 3).

§ Dr. Caldwell in his *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 105.

regular and flourishing industry of which the output was quite large. The industry was however in the hands of the State and a Government monopoly; for, as Megasthenes* informs us while noticing the existence of a class of ship-builders among the artizans, they were salaried public servants and were not permitted to work for any private person. These ships, built in royal shipyards, were however, as Strabo† informs us, let out on hire both to those who undertook voyages and to professional merchants. A few more interesting details regarding the shipping and navigation of the period are given by Pliny‡ in his description of Taprobane (Ceylon). "The sea between the island Ceylon and India is full of shallows not more than six paces in depth but in some channels so deep that no anchors can find the bottom. For this reason ships are built with prows at each end to obviate the necessity of their turning about in channels of extreme narrowness. In making sea-voyages the Taprobane mariners make no observations of the stars, and indeed the Greater Bear is not visible to them but they take birds out to sea with them which they let loose from time to time and follow the direction of their flight as they make for land.¶" Pliny also indicates the *tonnage* of these ancient Indian vessels which is said to be 3,000 amphorae, the amphora being regarded as weighing about a fortieth of a ton.¶

The development of this national shipping made possible the creation and

* *Strabo*, XV. 46: "But the armour-makers and ship-builders receive wages and provisions from the Kings for whom alone they work."

† *Ibid.* XV., 46.

‡ *Pliny*, VI, 22, quoted in McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 55.

¶ *Pliny*, VI C. 22. The fact of mariners using birds for knowing the direction in which the land lay is also alluded to in the *Digha-Nikaya* (I, 222) of Sutta-Pitaka, the famous Pali text.

¶ *Ibid.* VI, C. 22. With regard to the equivalent of the amphora and the tonnage of these ancient vessels McCrindle says: "The amount of cargo carried by ancient ships was generally computed by the talent or the amphora, each of which weighed about a fortieth of a ton. The largest ships carried 10,000 talents or 250 tons. The talent and the amphora each represented a cubic foot of water, and as a Greek or Roman foot measured about '97 of an English foot, the talent and the amphora each weighed very nearly 57 lbs. See Torr's *Ancient ships*, p. 25."

organisation of a Board of Admiralty* as one of the six Boards which made up the war office of Emperor Chandra Gupta (321 B. C. to 297 B. C.), "one of the greatest and most successful kings known to history." Fortunately, for information regarding this Board of Admiralty and the naval department we can depend not only on foreign notices like those of Megasthenes and Strabo but also on the much more elaborate and reliable account given in the invaluable Sanskrit work of the period, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, which is undoubtedly one of the most important landmarks not only in the literary history of India but also in the history of Indian civilisation itself. The book† requires to be thoroughly studied, being a unique production of its kind in the entire Sanskrit Literature, and a most valuable historical document, conveying, as it does, a perfectly complete picture of the extraordinarily rich and varied civilisation that was developed in Maurya India over 2,000 years ago. I have therefore no hesitation in drawing largely upon the contents of this remarkable work of Chanakya and placing before the reader all such passages as tend to throw any light on the condition of the national shipping, navigation and sea-borne trade of India in the glorious Age of the Mauryas.

The naval department seems to have been very well organised. At its head was placed an officer who was called the नावध्यक्ष or the Superintendent of ships.‡ He was entrusted with the duty of dealing with all matters relating to navigation, including not only navigation on the oceans but also inland navigation on rivers, and lakes natural or artificial.¶ The matters relating to navigation were of course manifold. The Superintendent of ships seems to have been

* V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 124. Cp. also *Strabo*, XV, 52: "Next to the city-magistrates there is a third governing body which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions with five members to each. One division is associated with the admiral of the fleet."

† In using this book for my purposes I was greatly helped by the translations of Pandit R. Shama Sastry in the *Mysore Review* and of Pandit Chandra Kanta Nyayalankar, the learned Principal of the Bengal National College, Calcutta.

‡ *Arthasastra*, B.K. II, ch. XXVIII.

¶ नावध्यक्षसमुद्रसंवा ननदीमुखतर प्रचारार्थं देवसरोविसरोनदी-तरांश्च स्थानीयादिष्वेचेत् ।

something like a modern Port Commissioner and his first duty was to see that all the dues of his port were paid, and not one evaded.

The kind and degree of the maritime activity of the period will be evident from the various kinds of port-taxes that were levied. Thus, villages on seashores or on the banks of rivers and lakes had to pay regularly a fixed amount of tax.* Fishermen had to yield one-sixth of their haul as fees for fishing license.† Merchants also had to pay the customary tax levied in port-towns.‡ Passengers arriving on board the state or the king's ship had to pay the fixed and requisite amount of sailing fees.¶ State boats were also let out to those who wanted to use them for pearl-fishery or for fishing out conch-shells, and they had to pay the required amount of hire.¶¶ But they were also free to use their own boats for the purpose.§ Besides these taxes payable to the Port Commissioner, there were the various sorts of *ferry fees* which are also very interesting and equally indicative of a brisk trade and a throbbing commercial life. A man with a minor quadruped carrying some load had to pay a ferry fees of 1 Masha.** A load carried on the head, a load carried on shoulders, a cow, and a horse had each to pay 2 Mashas.†† 4 Mashas were demanded for each camel or buffalo that was transported across the river.‡‡ 5 Mashas were levied for a small cart, 6 Mashas for a cart of medium size that was drawn by bulls and 7 Mashas for a big cart.|||| 4 Mashas had to be paid for a load of merchandise whether for sale or not.¶¶ Again for big rivers involving greater risks, double the ferry fees above mentioned were charged.§§ Thus convey-

ances and beasts of burden as well as loads of merchandise were all subject to ferry fees.

But besides seeing to the realisation and collection of all proper taxes and dues, the Superintendent of ships was also entrusted with the duty of enforcing many humane harbour regulations. Thus whenever any weather-beaten, tempest-tossed ship arrived at his port his first duty was to lend her the kind and protecting hand of a father.* He was also empowered to exempt from toll any ship laden with merchandise that was damaged and spoilt by water, or to charge only half the due toll, and then allow it to sail when the proper time for setting sail approaches.† Again whenever a ship laden with merchandise is foundered owing to want of hands or on account of ill-repair it was the duty of the Superintendent of ships to make good the loss of merchandise in part or full as the case may be because presumably the loss was due not to any fault of the merchants but to defects in the state vessel and therefore must be made good from state funds.‡ But besides relieving ships in distress the Superintendent had to adopt many preventive measures to ensure safety. Thus during the period from the 7th day of Ashadha till the month of Kartika, i.e., when rivers are swollen owing to rains, the crossing of rivers by state or licensed ferries was strictly enforced.¶ Again in those large rivers which cannot be forded even during the winter and summer seasons the Superintendent of ships had to see that large and perfectly safe vessels were launched manned with all necessary officers and hands—viz. a captain, a steersman, and a number of servants who would hold the oars and the ropes and pour out water.¶¶ Small boats were launched only in small rivers that overflowed during the rainy season.§

* तवेलाकुलयासाः क्लृप्तं दद्युः ।

† मत्स्यवन्धकाः नौकहाटकं षड्भागं दद्युः ।

‡ पत्तनानुवृत्तं शल्कभागं वणिजो दद्युः ।

¶ यावावेतनं राजनौभिः सम्पतन्तः ।

¶¶ शङ्खसुक्तायाहिणो नौकाहाटकान् दद्युः ।

§ स्वनौर्भिवातरयुः ।

** क्षुद्रपशुर्नमुष्य सभारोमाषकं दद्यात् ।

†† शिरोभारः कायभारो गवात्रं च द्वौ ।

‡‡ उष्ट्रमहिषं चतुरः ।

|||| पञ्चलघुयानम । षड्गोलिङ्गम् । सप्तशकटम् ।

¶¶ पशुभारः पादम् । तेनभाण्डभारो व्याख्यातः ।

§§ द्विगुणो महानदीषु तरः ।

* मृदवाताहतां तां पितेवानुगृह्णीयात् ।

† उदकप्राप्तं पशुमशुल्कमर्धशुल्कं वा कुर्व्यात् तथा निर्द्धिष्टाश्चैताः

पञ्चपत्तनं यावाकालेषु प्रेषयेत् ।

‡ पुरुषोपकरणहीनायाससत्कृतायां वा नावि विपन्नायां नावध्यको नष्टं विनष्टवाभ्योभवेत् ।

¶ सप्ताहवत्तमाषाढौ कार्त्तिकौ चान्तरोत्तरः ।

¶ कार्त्तिकप्रत्ययं दद्यात् नित्यं चाङ्गिकमावहेत् ॥

¶¶ शासकनियामकदावरश्मिग्राहकोत्सेचकानिष्ठिताय महानावो हिमन्तयौषधार्थं महानदीषु प्रयोजयेत् ।

§ क्षुद्रिकासु वर्षासाविणीषु क्षुद्रकाः ।

To ensure safety there were also in force many strict regulations regarding the fording or crossing of rivers. Fording or crossing a river without permission was prohibited in order to ensure that no traitor or enemy could escape.* The time and even the place for fording and crossing rivers were definitely fixed so that any person fording and crossing outside the proper place and in unusual times was punished with first amercement.† And the man who forded or crossed a river at the usual place and time but without permission had also to pay a fine of 26‡ panas.‡ Exceptions to this stringent rule were also allowed in the interests of trade and public good. Thus the following|| were freely allowed to cross rivers at any time and place. :—

° (1) Fishermen, whose business will be seriously hampered by the above regulation ;
(2) Carriers of fire-wood, grass, flowers, and fruits, gardeners and vegetable-dealers who had to go far and wide to find out the things they dealt in ;

(3) Persons pursuing suspected criminals :

(4) Messengers following other messengers going in advance ;

(5) Servants engaged to carry things, provisions and orders to the army ;

(6) Persons using their own ferries : and

(7) Dealers who supply villages of marshy districts with seeds, necessities of life, commodities and other accessory things. Again Brahmans, ascetics, children, the aged, the afflicted, royal messengers and pregnant women had all to be provided by the Superintendent with free passes to cross rivers.|| There was also another regulation permitting foreign merchants who had often been visiting the country as also those who were well-known to local merchants to land freely in port-towns.§

५ * वज्रतीर्थाश्चेताः काव्याः राजद्विष्टकारिणां तरणभयात् ।

† अकालीतीर्थे च चरतः पूर्वस्माद्दशदम्भः ।

‡ काली तीर्थे च अनि-सृष्टतारिणः पादोन्नतविंशतिपणः तराव्ययः ।

|| कौवर्त्तकाश्चैव भारपुष्पफलवाटपण्डगीपालकामानस्यवस्त्राभ्या-
दूतानुपातिनां च सेनाभाण्डप्रचारयोगानां च ; स्वतरणैः तरतां ; वीज-
भक्तद्रव्योपस्कारांश्चानुपयामाणां तारयताम् ।

¶ ब्राह्मणप्रव्रजितबालहृद्व्याधितशासनहवर्गभिर्गण्यो नान्यध्यक्ष सुद्रा-
भिस्तरयुः ।

§ कृतप्रवेशः पारविषयिकाः सार्धप्रमाणाः वा विशेयः ।

Lastly, the Superintendent of ships was also entrusted with the duty of punishing all violations of harbour regulations, and miscreants that were dangerous to public peace. Thus to destruction were doomed the ships of pirates, the ships which were bound for the enemy's country, and the ships that violated the customs and rules in force in port towns.* The Superintendent had also to arrest persons of the following descriptions :—† Any persons who eloped with the wife or daughter of another ; one who carried off the wealth of another ; a suspected person ; one having a perturbed appearance ; one who had no baggage ; one who attempted to conceal or evade the cognisance of a valuable load in one's hand ; one who just put on a different garb ; one who just turned out an ascetic ; one who pretended to be suffering from a disease ; one who seemed to be alarmed ; a person stealthily carrying valuable things ; a person going on a secret mission ; a person carrying weapons or explosives or holding poison in his hand ; and lastly one who came from a long distance without a pass. The Superintendent finally was to direct the confiscation of the commodities of those who were found to travel without a pass and of those also who with a heavy load forded a river in unusual place and time.‡

We now have some idea of the organisation of the naval department, the development of the national shipping and the abounding commercial life in the India of the Mauryas. All this no doubt was due to the vast extent of the empire founded by Chandra Gupta that extended over the whole of Northern India from sea to sea including even the provinces of the Paropanisadai, Aria and Arachosia beyond even the modern frontiers of British India. The alliance of such a powerful Emperor was courted even by the potentates of the Hellenistic world of his time. The conse-

* द्विस्त्रिका निर्मातयेत् । अमिवविषयातिगाः पण्यपत्तनचारिवोप-
मातिकाश्च ।

† परस्वभाषी कान्वा वित्तं वापहरन्तं शङ्कितमाविग्रं भाण्डीकृतं
महाभाण्डेन सूभिर्भारिणावाच्छादयन्तं सद्योग्दहीतलिङ्गिनं आलिङ्गिनं
वा प्रव्रजितमलक्ष्याधितं भयविकारिणं शूद्रसारभाण्डशासनशास्त्राग्नि-
योगं विषहस्य दीर्घपथिकममुद्रं चोपायह्वयेत् ।

‡ निर्गच्छतामुद्रस्य भाण्डं हरयेत् ।

अतिभारिणावेलायामतीर्थं तरतश्च ॥

quence of this vast and varied realm was no doubt the constant stream of visitors, travellers and envoys to and from India, and the resulting growth of elaborate regulations for their care and entertainment which were framed by the Municipal Commission under Chandra Gupta. "All foreigners were closely watched by officials who provided suitable lodgings, escorts, and in case of need, medical attendance.*" As Mr. Vincent Smith remarks, "the existence of these elaborate regulations is *conclusive proof* that the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business."† So great was the growth of foreign commerce that the mere taxes on imports formed a good and expanding source of revenue. In the days

* Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 125.

† *Ibid.*, P. 125

of Asoka, whose empire embraced a much wider area than that of his grandfather, India was brought into systematic connexion with the distant Hellenistic monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus,* and she soon became through the efforts of merchants and missionaries preaching the gospel of universal brotherhood at once the commercial and spiritual centre, the very heart, of the old world.

We have now narrated some of the facts in the sea-borne trade of India from the earliest times recorded to the glorious epoch of the Mauryas, seeking humbly to unroll the ample pages of one of the many forgotten, but brilliant chapters in the early history of our beloved country.

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* Rock Edicts, II, and XIII.

ARAVINDA GHOSH—A STUDY

"Long after this controversy is hushed to silence, long after this turmoil, this agitation will have ceased, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism and as the lover of humanity. His words will be echoed and re-echoed not only in India, but over distant seas and distant lands."

SUCH were the eloquent words with which Mr. C. R. Das brought to a close his magnificent oration in defence of Babu Aravinda Ghosh at the State trial which dragged its weary length from November to March in the Court of Mr. Beachcroft, the Sessions Judge of Alipore. "Poet of patriotism", "prophet of nationalism", "lover of humanity"—what a ring of passionate emphasis there is in the words! and how fervently have they been re-echoed in the hearts of myriads of men and women, all over the country! And yet the man who called forth this remarkable eulogy in his favour, whose release has been hailed with quiet happiness even by those who are in no sense his followers in politics, whose every word is hung upon with fond and reverent enthusiasm by multitudes of admiring

fellow-countrymen, who has inspired with wholesome terror a bureaucracy, vigorous, triumphant, almost omnipotent, a man moreover against whom the police and the executive directed their whole artillery and whom yet they failed to crush—three short years ago, what was he? An obscure school-master in a far-off province of India—one who had apparently failed in life and had retired into oblivion—a man unknown, unheard-of, an altogether negligible factor in the stirring and slow-heaving political atmosphere of the time. Even in 1905, when the clouds of coming unrest were gathering upon the political horizon of Bengal, when the country was passing through the birth-pangs of that National Movement which has since had such remarkable developments, who knew, who could even dream that Aravinda Ghosh would come up from his work in the far Western corner of India and would 'ride the whirlwind and direct the storm'? Had we not leaders of our own—men of tried virtue and proved ability,—men of note, experience

and tradition--veteran helmsmen who had weathered many a storm and grown grey in the service of the country? Would we not abide by their counsel, take our watchwords from their lips, and follow in their foot-steps wheresoever they might lead? How was a young reticent stranger from distant Baroda to replace these giants of old? How was he to grasp in his young and unproven hands, the reins which were slipping from the tougher stronger hands of others? And yet these things have come to pass. The quiet and grave young man, "fresh from long years at Cambridge" (as Mr. Nevinson described him with a slight pardonable inaccuracy), with his many silences and his few golden utterances, has established himself firmly in the hearts and minds of his countrymen; and today the magic of his name has spread its spell over the whole broad continent of India, and his every word comes as a gospel of healing, a message of salvation to thousands of people living therein.

How has this marvellous change come about? What is the secret of that mysterious personality which has drawn to itself so much love, hope and reverence? What sort of a man is Aravinda Ghosh? We propose in the following pages to lay before the reader such brief glimpses of the man as we have had from time to time, and leave him to draw his inferences therefrom. We shall attempt, in this paper, no analysis of the character of Mr. Ghosh. Such an attempt will be both futile and superfluous: futile, because the personality of man is elusive and defies analysis, and superfluous, because Babu Aravinda Ghosh in his public and general capacity is by no means an unknown quantity to the world. His faith, his creed, his views and opinions--he has laid them bare before the world, for men to read them and judge him thereby. Still we admit that there is a private aspect of a man's life, some knowledge of which may help men to a better understanding of his character, and, therefore, to a better appreciation of his views. Thomas Carlyle used to say that the authentic *portrait* of a man was worth bushels of nonsense written about him. Such an authentic portrait or rather the vague outlines of one, together with some slight estimate of Aravinda's distinctive

contribution to the development of our National life--we shall attempt to present in the following pages.

II. BEFORE SWADESHI.

(a.) *Birth: parentage: education.*

Babu Aravinda Ghosh was born at Calcutta on the 15th of August, 1872. His parentage and ancestry deserve some note. His mother was the eldest daughter of Babu Raj Narayan Bose, a man of the most striking and remarkable personality, and one who realised in his life the nationalistic aspirations of our country long before they found any definite or articulate expression among any considerable body of men. He was called in his time--'the grandfather of Indian Nationalism,' and right well did he deserve that name.

He lived at a time when Western influences and Western culture were first making head-way in the country, when their glamour and fascination had laid under its spell all young, ardent, and generous minds, and when the best spirits of the land were eager to mould their national life after the models of the West. But Raj Narayan Bose, though he was himself steeped in the culture and education of Europe, though his soul burned with a generous enthusiasm to reform the social abuses of his country, yet never lost the balance and sanity of his mind nor shut his eyes to the superior spirituality of Hindu civilization. He wrote and spoke most forcibly on 'The Superiority of Hinduism' and on the sad contrast between the 'Past and Present', established societies for the conservation of the national principle, and instituted measures for improving the physique of the Bengalis. In all he said and did, there was that passionate attachment to his country and his race, that strong resentment of the spurious affectation of superiority on the part of an alien people, which form a portion of that rich heritage of intellectual capacity, moral integrity, and spiritual fervour which has come down to Aravinda Ghosh from that most remarkable and original old man who was his grandfather.

But Raj Narayan Bose was something more than the passionate and impulsive lover of his country; and certainly he was no man to cling blindly to the old, worn-

out rags of the past. His was a most complex and composite personality; and together with his intense love for India and things Indian, there was in his character a hatred of all sham and untruth, of whatever might hinder the free development of a virile manhood in the country. Thus there was realized in his character that rare and curious combination—the ardent, almost militant defender of his country and the institutions thereof dwelling side by side with the aggressive social reformer who shocked the effete orthodoxy of his time by the plainness of his speech and the directness of his action.

There was, however, little in common between this forceful and dominant old man and Aravinda's father, Babu Krishnadhan Ghosh. Sweetness, tenderness, geniality, and a perpetual sunshine in the heart which warmed and comforted whoever might come in contact with them—these were the common characteristics of both; but beyond this, their path widely diverged. Mr. K. D. Ghosh was a doctor in established practice when he married the mother of Aravinda; but afterwards he went to England to qualify for entering the Indian Medical Service. While he was still in that country, his affectionate father-in-law wrote often to him, fondly expressing the hope that he might never lose the distinctive features of his nationality in the midst of the coarse and more effective civilization of Europe. But these hopes, as the old man records with sad self-restraint in his autobiography, were destined not to be fulfilled. Mr. K. D. Ghosh came back to India more anglicised than Anglo-Indians themselves; but the veneer of English civilization never completely over-laid the real gold of the heart within. He was the same sunny, genial, sweet and tender-souled creature as before; and wherever he went in his professional capacity, the poor had reason to lift up their hands and bless him who was their friend.

He wanted to give his boys a thorough English training; and with that view sent young Aravinda, first to St. Paul's School, Darjeeling, and afterwards to England, when the lad was barely seven years old. It may be a matter of surprise to many, but it is nevertheless the literal fact, that

Aravinda never knew any Bengali, till he was 18 or 19 years of age. And then he picked up a little smattering of his vernacular for passing the Civil Service Examination, just as many an English student picks up a little Sanskrit or Hindustani for the same purpose. But whatever that may be, in England, young Aravinda was first educated privately at Manchester and then sent to St. Paul's School, London. One little fact must be slightly touched on here. Aravinda's father had a large professional income, but he had absolutely no knowledge of the world or worldly affairs. He spent large sums in charity; and so, it often happened that he had no money to send to his sons in England. Thus the boys had often to pass long months in utter destitution, and so became early inured to poverty and the hardships thereof.

(b). *C. S. Examination : Failure thereof.*

In 1890, Aravinda appeared at the Civil Service Examination, passed the literary test successfully, and stood tenth in order of merit. But, as we all know, he failed to pass the riding test and thus was disqualified from entering the service. It will be a mistake to say—as so many have said before—that this failure to enter the Civil Service altered the whole subsequent course of Aravinda's life; and that, but for it, he would have been today a complaisant member of the Civil Service instead of being the fiery patriot that he is. This, besides being an utter misconception of the man's nature is contradicted by the bare outer facts of his life. For, after his failure at the riding test, he entered a service which offered him prospects of worldly advancement almost as high as those which the Civil Service itself could offer. And yet, while there and drawing a comfortable salary as Vice-Principal of the Baroda College, he renounced comfort, position, wealth—all that men most set their hearts upon when the call of his country first sounded in his ears and smote the chord of his heart. But of this more at the proper place.

One curious fact has to be noticed in connection with this same Civil Service Examination. A young Englishman, Beachcroft by name, competed for it in the same year with Aravinda, and in the

examination for Greek Becheroff stood second while Aravinda stood first. Eighteen years afterwards, the Englishman, now Sessions Judge of Alipore, was in the seat of justice, while before him in the prisoner's dock, chained and hand-cuffed, was Aravinda Ghosh awaiting his trial on a charge of treason and conspiracy. A curious trick of fate—was it not?

Soon after his failure at the Civil Service Examination he entered King's College, Cambridge, as a scholarship-holder. His father had died in the meantime, and he had to depend for his expenses entirely upon the College-stipend. From King's College, he graduated in 1892, getting a first-class in the classical tripos.

Aravinda's educational career was now over: and he had to set about in right earnest for the adoption of a career in the world. Fortunately for him he had not to wait long. The young and enlightened Maharajah of Baroda had recently come to England for a visit. Aravinda happened to get acquainted with him in 1892, and next year took service under him as confidential personal assistant.

(c). *At Baroda.*

"We may say that a new chapter opened in Aravinda's life with his arrival at Baroda. He was now 21 years old; but the larger portion of this time he had passed in England. In speech, dress, manners, in all the external and outer aspects of his life, he was nothing short of an Englishman. But in spite of all this, he was an Indian at heart. Nay, his long, close and intimate familiarity with European life and habits had done an invaluable service to him: Western civilization had lost its gloss and glamour for him. He had penetrated behind its glittering outer shell of painted brilliance and had sounded to the depth all its baldness, coarseness, barrenness and the barbarism of its inner significance. The soulless splendour of the material civilization of Europe, its inadequate solution of the pressing problems of life and society, its failure to reconcile the respective claims of the individual and the community—all this had been forcing itself upon the attention of our quiet and heedful student of men and affairs, and his heart had long been wistfully yearning for that deep peace and

harmony, that large synthesis of conflicting claims and jarring susceptibilities which is of the essence of the ancient civilization of the East. And now, at last, the time had come when he could steep himself in the culture and civilization of the land of his fathers, when he could reconstruct that link with his country and his race which had been snapped by his too early transference to England, and when he could readjust bit by bit his relations with that complex social structure, through which, and through which alone individual life can reach its highest manifestation in India. Indeed the 12 years of his residence at Baroda form a very important portion in the life of Aravinda Ghosh. They were the seed-time of his soul in the strict literal sense of the word; and, more than that, they were absolutely necessary in order that he might identify himself with the life, thought and culture of contemporary India.

At Baroda, Aravinda Babu worked successively in various capacities. Engaged in confidential work first, he was attached to the Dewani office afterwards, and from there was transferred to the State College where he continued to act as professor for some time. Then he acted for a short while as Private Secretary to the Gaekwar and ultimately became the Vice-Principal of the College on a salary of Rs. 750 per month. As we have hinted before, there is little which calls for notice in the outer life of Aravinda Babu at Baroda. The years he spent there were years of growth and silent evolution; of study and heedful observation. This much however can be said with certainty that so far as worldly affairs were concerned he was extremely well-placed and comfortable there. He was popular among the students and well thought of by the public and held in high estimation by the Gaekwar. Still in the prime vigour of his life, he might have ascended, if he had so liked, step by step, to the highest position of trust and dignity in the princely state of Baroda. But this life of rest and ease was not for him. The God of India had other and nobler work to do for her chosen son than to rust in disuse in the cloistered seclusion of Baroda.

III. THE 'NEW MOVEMENT'.

In the meantime great deeds had been

doing in the far Eastern corner of India—in that province from whose loins, so many bards, heroes, and sages, and Aravinda himself had sprung. The New Movement—of which Aravinda was to be the chief prophet and apostle, and the glory whereof like a Pharos-light was to be the wonder and admiration of a new universe—had come; and it had made its home in that soil, hot, damp, hospitable, and fertile as much in corn as in human greatness. But to understand the genesis of this New Movement, its why and wherefore, we shall have to go out of our way a little and take various historical facts into slight consideration.

In the first place then the birth of the New Movement had been precipitated by the action of the British Government itself. A reactionary viceroy—whom it has become almost conventional to call a brilliant proconsul—not satisfied with the humdrum course of the routine-work of daily life had made things hot and lively about us. He had destroyed the Municipal Self-Government of Calcutta, and had passed unpopular land-laws in both the Punjab and Bombay. But the mere unpopularity of the measures was the least things about them. In all the steps he had taken, he had shown an insolent disregard of the wishes of the people and a callous apathy to their protest which had irritated their sensibility and goaded them to the verge of madness. Again, he had curtailed the sphere of high education in our country; had closed various avenues of useful employment to the children of the soil, by the issue of secret circulars; had sought to explain away the Queen's Proclamation as a diplomatic pronouncement not worth the paper it was written upon; and, worst of all, had insulted the manhood of the nation by accusing the people of a habitual proneness to untruth and falsehood. The cup of bitterness and humiliation which a subject people have ever to drink at the proud hands of their conquerors had thus become brimful during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. It overflowed when the Partition of Bengal—a measure of wanton outrage upon popular feelings and sentiments—was carried into effect in the teeth of the fierce, determined and unanimous opposition of the whole Bengalee-speaking community. Os-

tensibly dictated by reasons of administrative efficiency, this measure was too obviously prompted by a desire to cripple the growing solidarity of the Bengalees, and, by an elaborate show of patronage towards the Mahommedans, to set class against class and creed against creed and thus to reawaken the smouldering flames of a bitter racial and sectarian controversy. The viceroy undertook a peripatetic tour through East Bengal to reconcile the people to the proposed change by an avalanche of mellifluous oratory. One 'enormous' apostate he certainly gained over—but the rest of the people remained sullen and obdurate and only redoubled with vigour their passionate protest against the policy of the Government. But their opposition availed nothing. The measure became law in due course of time; and then the long-restrained passion of the people, baffled, outraged and mortified so often, broke forth in a flood of volcanic impatience and rage; they resolved to observe the day of partition as a day of penance, fasting and sorrow, and in the meantime to enforce a rigid 'boycott' of British goods. And thus the new movement in one of its most prominent and aggressive aspects was fairly launched at last.

But to take the New Movement as synonymous with Swadeshi and Boycott or to explain it as originating in a series of unpopular Government measures will be to put an altogether narrow, straitened and limited interpretation upon it. The New Movement is something wider than Swadeshi and Boycott, nay it is wider than Politics itself. It embraces the whole life and activity of a people. It is, if we may so take it, a necessary phase in the evolution of all States and Nationalities. Such a New Movement came to India in the time of Sankaracharyya when the effete mummeries and juggleries into which Buddhism had degenerated were swept away to be replaced by the manly and rational philosophy of the Vedanta. Such a New Movement came to Europe in the 16th Century when the cobwebs of bigotry and superstition which the Roman Church had spun during long years of ease and indolence were brushed away before the virility and vigour of the Protestantism of Luther. It came to Europe again in the latter part of the 18th Century

when the last vestiges of mediæval feudalism gave way with a mighty crash before the onflowing tide of *Liberté, Égalité* and *Fraternité*. Forty years ago, it came to Japan and raised a barbarous and primitive people to the topmost heights of power, glory, and prosperity, and within the last decade or so it has come to China and India—twin homes as they are of the oldest if not also mightiest civilizations of the world. In fact, such a movement—call it Renaissance, New Birth, new movement, whatever you like—is bound always to come, whenever a people becomes conscious of its corporate existence as a nation (or even the possibility of such existence as a nation,) whenever it becomes conscious that in the economy of the world, it also has a mission which it must realise or else stand guilty at the bar of the universe, whenever it feels an impulse to gather in its powers, to put forth its activities, and to give articulate expression to its aims, yearnings, aspirations and hopes. (As we said before, this New Movement has been coming to India within the last decade or so. It owes its origin partly to that English education and that contact with the alien civilization of the West, which, whatever we may say to its disparagement, has no doubt stirred us up from that apathy, indifference and lethargy into which we had sunk. In a larger measure still it owes its origin to a better, closer, more intimate understanding of our past—its philosophy, its poetry, its theology, above all that marvellous social polity of ancient India with its grand principle of synthesis and assimilation, the full significance of which we have not yet adequately realised. And lastly, we must mention that we owe something to Japan, to the victory and world-position she has achieved, and something also to that wide wave of enlightenment which seems to be passing over the whole land of Asia, and regarding which it may truly be said, ‘the spirit of God is moving upon the waters of the East.’)

But will it then be said that the measures of the Government have nothing whatever to do with the genesis of the New Movement? That certainly would be going to the other extreme. The reactionary policy of the Government, and especially the

‘crowning mercy’ of the Partition of Bengal, has played an important part in giving body and shape to the New Movement and in determining the channel in which it was immediately to issue and make itself felt. But the effect of the Government Policy has been even something more than that. As in the individual life, it requires the collision of the ‘not-self’ to make us conscious of ‘self’, so in politics, it requires a menace to the growing solidarity of our national life to make us conscious that such life is growing and forming within us. This menace came to us in the shape of the Partition.

The Partition made us conscious that we had a national life which was susceptible to wound and capable of expansion. Once consciousness had been awakened, the rest of the process was simple, nay it was inevitable; for with consciousness came strength; came desire to realise that new life to which we had awakened at last; desire led to action; and action multiplied our new-born strength. Thus the seed which had been sown in darkness and matured in silence, burst all at once into the broad light of day and began to shoot and sprout and burgeon with wondrous vigour and rapidity.

IV. ARAVINDA AND THE NEW MOVEMENT.

But where was Aravinda now? To him also in his loneliness, his seclusion, his aloofness, the call had come—the call to go forth and toil in the vineyard of the Lord. Aravinda has always regarded the New Movement as a special dispensation of God; and such it seemed to him in those early days of its inception and first execution. Already he had begun to take some, though but an inconsiderable, part in the politics of the country. So far back as 1894, he had contributed articles to the *Indu Prakash* criticising the methods and policy of the Indian National Congress; and in the latter part of the year 1905, he came to Bengal partly with a view to see and study things for himself.

To understand the political situation of the time, we may as well briefly recapitulate some of the events which had already taken place. The resolution to enforce a boycott of British goods had been adopted by the Bengalees on the 7th of August, 1905. The

measure for the partition of Bengal had been passed into law on the 16th October of the same year. In the interval, various circulars had been issued prohibiting the shout of "Bande-Mataram" and forbidding students to take part in political agitation. Besides many public meetings in the new province had been broken up by the police under orders from the Executive Government. These repressive measures were strongly condemned by the Congress which assembled at Benares in December, 1905, and at the same congress, a resolution was adopted declaring that the boycott movement initiated in Bengal was justified under the special circumstances of the Sundered province. This, we may notice, was the first notable victory achieved by the Reform party in the Congress. In the meantime, the Government went merrily on with its task of repression. The boycott had been most thoroughly enforced in the district of Backergunge in East Bengal; and so this district came in for the special attention of the Government. Gurkha soldiers were quartered as a punitive measure upon the small town of Barisal; and these soldiers indulged almost unchecked in a long course of licence, intimidation and petty pilage. To crown all, the Bengal Provincial Conference, which met at Barisal in March, 1906, was dispersed by the orders of the District Magistrate, the delegates and volunteers were indiscriminately assaulted by the police, with *lathies* and batons, and Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea was insulted by Mr. Magistrate Emerson, prosecuted for contempt of court and fined Rs. 200.

Aravinda Babu was present at the break-up of the Barisal Conference, and we find that on his return to Baroda, he gave a description of that scene at a public meeting held at that place. But this time his stay at Baroda was of very short duration. In July, 1906, he came back to Calcutta and definitely took up his abode there.

It was indeed high time that Aravinda Babu should return to Bengal; for here in the land of his birth work was waiting for him to do which none but he could adequately perform. And so we find that immediately on his return to this province, he became prominently associated with two

of the most notable institutions which the New Movement had called into existence. Of these one was :—

The National Council of Education.

We have said already that in the latter part of 1905, various circulars had been issued, forbidding students to join in processions or other political demonstrations of that nature. For disobedience of these circulars—a disobedience in which they were fully backed by the moral sense of the country at large—many students were expelled from Government high schools and other institutions affiliated to the Calcutta University. Thus the educational career of these boys and their prospects of future advancement seemed to be marred for ever. At this crisis, the leaders of the country felt it to be their imperative duty to provide some means for the further education of these young men. Generous donors were not wanting who offered large sums of money to assist any scheme which might be formulated for this purpose; and aided by their munificent endeavours, the National Council of Education was launched into being on the 17th of November. Such was the immediate occasion which led to the inauguration of a national system of education in our country. But the need for it was more fundamental and far-reaching than to provide a mere rest-house to those students who had been expelled from the official University. To quote from the summer number of the *Svaraj*—the fortnightly organ of the Nationalists published under the auspices of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal from England :—

"The system of officially controlled education which had been tried in India for about half a century had proved an utter failure. It had been condemned by friends and foes alike. It was shallow and rootless. It imparted the shadow but not the substance of modern culture.

It led to a fearful waste of time and energy by imposing the necessity of learning a foreign language and of receiving instruction through its medium in all the higher branches of study. It was controlled by an alien bureaucracy in the interests mainly of their own political position.

It was excessively literary, and detrimental to the industrial and economic life of the country. The movement of national education was started to counteract these evils.

It proposed to promote education, scientific, literary technical, on national lines and under national control."

It was dictated, in short, by the necessity of our people to develop for themselves a system of education which would bring them in harmony with the spirit of their ancient civilization and thus enable them to exert themselves most effectively in all spheres of national life. Its immediate practical step was to establish a National College in Calcutta; and Aravinda Ghosh became the first Principal of that College.

It will be useless, however, to deny that the National College did not offer adequate scope for the exercise of the vigorous patriotic activities of Babu Aravinda Ghosh. The new Council of Education, though owing its genesis to the endeavour of the national party in politics, passed almost immediately under the control of a timid and reactionary body. Forgetful of the fact that the movement was, by its nature, a sort of counterblast to the efforts of the Government, these gentlemen betrayed from the first a nervous fear of offending the susceptibilities of the Government. Even in their prospectus they were careful to add that their object was "not to supplant but to supplement existing systems of education." This, though a very small matter in itself, was a sufficient indication of how things were drifting. In short, as has been well-observed by the writer in the *Svaraj*, "the authorities of the National College had a real dread of the bureaucracy and no real confidence in their people." Thus the position of Aravinda in the new institution was slightly anomalous; and he was hampered in the carrying out of his cherished educational ideals—not so much by any measure of actual opposition as by the chill and ungenial atmosphere of the place. This was a matter of singular misfortune, not simply for the infant institution of Calcutta, but for the progressive advancement of the country at large. For the educational ideal which Aravinda had set before himself was a lofty and comprehensive one—its aim being nothing less than "to actualise the deepest God-consciousness of human life in the outer life and appointments of man."

But though thwarted in one of his endeavours, Aravinda was not disheartened;

and a wider field of activity soon presented itself before him. The

'*Bande-Mataram*' newspaper—

had been started some little time before by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal with material assistance from the late Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya—than whom a more striking and forceful personality was never brought to the fore even by the New Movement, rich as it has been in the discovery of latent talents and hidden forces of character. Immediately on his arrival at Calcutta, Aravinda was invited to contribute to its columns; and soon practically the sole editorial charge of the paper passed into his hands. A joint-stock company was floated to conduct the new daily paper and Aravinda became a director of the company and the leading spirit thereof. (The *Bande-Mataram* leaped into popular favour almost in a day; and soon achieved for itself a remarkable position in the field of Indian journalism. The vigour and energy of its style, the trenchant directness of its tone, the fearless independence of its attitude, the high and inspiring ideal which it held up before the people, its passionate faith in the genius of the country—all combined to root the new paper in the hearts and affections of its ever-widening circle of readers. Moreover, the people knew that 'Bande-Mataram' was their very own—no organ of any clique, set or faction, but wide as Indian nationality itself. No newspaper that we know of has ever evoked such passionate personal enthusiasm as the 'Bande-Mataram' did during its short tenure of life.)

From the very first, the hand of the master was visible in the writings of the 'Bande-Mataram', and that master the world tacitly agreed to accept as Aravinda Ghose. And yet it will be a mistake to suppose that Aravinda did all or even much of the writing for the new paper. He was assisted in this undertaking by a fine band of co-adjutors, chief among whom must be mentioned Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, since deported to Burma—a man of infinite sweetness and tenderness of nature and one, moreover, whose self-effacement in the cause of the country was complete and absolute. In one respect, however, the judgment of the public was sure and unerring. (Whoever the actual contributor to the 'Bande-Mataram' might

be—the soul, the genius of the paper was Aravinda. The pen might be that of Shyam Sundar or who not—the world did not care about it; but the voice was the voice of Aravinda Ghosh: his the clear clarion notes calling men to heroic and strenuous self-sacrifice; his the unswerving, unfaltering faith in the high destinies of his race; his the passionate resolve to devote life, fame, fortune, all to the service of the Mother.

It was the 'Bande-Mataram' which first brought Aravinda into wide and intimate connection with the large majority of our people. Hitherto he had been a fleeting and wondering voice, 'a mere name and a shadow'—but now he had become a definite entity, a recognised leader of the New Movement. And this position was further confirmed by his trial in the Police Court on a charge of sedition. The trial ended in his acquittal and its only palpable effect was to increase the popularity of Aravinda ten-fold in the country. Two very unfortunate things happened at this time; but unfortunate as they were, they had a material influence upon the position of Babu Aravinda Ghosh. One was the imprisonment of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal for the offence of contempt of court; the other was the death of Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab, while still undergoing trial on a charge of sedition. The removal of these two notable personalities was a great blow to the cause of the New Movement, but, at the same time, their removal left Aravinda the undisputed leader of the Nationalist Party in Bengal. It was as leader of the Nationalists that Babu Aravinda Ghosh took part in the Midnapore District Conference of November, 1907,—a Conference made memorable by the first open rupture between the Moderates and Extremists of our Province. And it was as leader of the Nationalists again that Babu Aravinda Ghosh went and took part in the unfortunate Surat Congress of the same year. It cannot be said that in the bitter and acrimonious controversies which followed the break-up of the Surat Congress some little dirt was not thrown at Aravinda too. But, as I have said before, passions ran high in politics in those days; and what wonder, if in the rapier-play of controversy, the buttons should,

once in a while, come off the foils? Still it can safely be said that even in the midst of these bitter and heated polemics—no whisper was ever breathed against the personal honour and good faith of Aravinda Babu.

After the dissolution of the Surat Congress, Aravinda made a long tour in Bombay and the Central Provinces, speaking at all important places on Nationalism in its manifold aspects. From this tour he returned to Calcutta in the latter part of January, 1908. And a little more than two-months after, he was arrested and dragged to gaol on a charge of treason and conspiracy. Before, however, I come to deal with that, it will be convenient to indicate what precisely was the nature of the service which Aravinda rendered to the cause of Nationalism. What was the character of his teaching which distinguished Aravinda Ghosh in such a remarkable degree from the other exponents of Nationalism? What was the quality and value of his contribution to the development of the principle of swadeshim?

(a) *Loftiness of his ideal.*

In the first place, note the loftiness of the ideal which Aravinda has so consistently and courageously held up before his countrymen. This ideal is neither 'loyal co-operation with the Government', nor 'obtaining for the people a larger share in the administration of the country', nor even the 'attainment of Colonial Self-Government'; it is nothing more or less than the fulfilment of our life as a nation. Note by the way that this ideal is not only broader and loftier than the other so-called ideals which have been dangled before us time and again; it is the only adequate satisfaction of our legitimate aspirations, the only logical ideal which seems to be worth striving after. Alone among his compeers Aravinda Ghosh has boldly declared that it is as a nation that we claim to live and to perish. But Aravinda has not been satisfied with merely stating the demand; he has placed it on a rational and philosophical basis. Intensely spiritual by nature, he holds that man's mission in the world, the task which he has been set to accomplish, is to realise God, to fulfil Him in our outer appointments. This

realisation can be effected only by fulfilling ourselves—in our individual life, in the family, in the community, in the nation, and lastly in humanity at large.

But how is this 'fulfilment of our life in the nation' to be effected? Obviously it can never be done so long as all national life remains crushed and smothered by the perpetual domination of a virile alien civilization, nor can it be done by quietly merging our identity in the identity of an alien race and alien people. To quote the words of Aravinda himself: "We seek this fulfilment by *realising our separateness* and pushing forward our individual self-realization." And the readiest and most effective way in which this can be done is by Swadeshim—"Swadeshi in commerce and manufacture, in politics, in education, in law and administration, in short, in every branch of human activity." This then is the creed of Aravinda Ghosh; and observe how closely it hangs together:—To realise God is the mission of man; we can realise him only by fulfilling ourselves in our individual and national life, in order to fulfil our national life, we must realise our separateness as a people and we can best realise our separateness by being Swadeshi in all departments of human activity. Observe also that this creed of Aravinda is not merely political, behind it there is a comprehensive world-philosophy, a philosophy which leads us back to the dimmest days of Indian antiquity, to the time of the Upanishads.

(b) 'CLAIM OF FREEDOM'.

(But it may be asked—the fulfilment of individual and national life, does it not presuppose freedom? No doubt it does; and this we take to be the special merit of Aravinda that alone among Indian politicians, he has displayed no nervous hesitation to claim 'freedom' in the widest sense of the word, as the goal of all true national progress. To quote his language again.

"There are some who fear to use the word 'freedom'; but I have always used the word because it has been the *mantra* of my life to aspire towards the freedom of my nation. And through the mouth of my counsel, I used these words persistently: if to aspire to independence is a crime, you may cast me to gaol, and bind me with chains. If to preach freedom is a crime, I am a criminal and let me be punished. But freedom does not mean the use of violence, it means only the fulfilment of our separate national existence."

(c) FAITH IN HIS COUNTRY.

It may be asked—how is it that this man has preached what no man has dared to say before him? How is it that he has dared to claim freedom for his country and people? The secret of Aravinda's boldness lies in one thing and one thing only—it is his fervent and passionate faith in his country. 'Love of country'—how common the words are! how oft bandied about from lip to lip! and yet how hollow, how false, how utterly meaningless with most of us! We have had patriots in plenty, who have worked for the country sure enough, but have done so with an air of lofty and condescending patronage. But with Aravinda it has been far otherwise. Love of country is for him no mere phrase of conventional mockery, no tarnished homage to be laid at the feet of an exploded deity—it has been the one over-mastering passion of his life. This people, poor, sick, impoverished of hope and heart; this country, scourged, beaten, down-trodden—he has seen behind their wretchedness and misery and has closed them to his heart of hearts. For him the Mother has cast off the weeds and tatters in which she appears before a scoffing and unbelieving generation; to him, as to a favoured child of the goddess, she has revealed her form in all its pristine beauty and majesty—radiant in glory and clad with strength and terror, strength for the weak and terror for the wicked.

(d) NEED FOR STRENGTH.

But it may again be said—has Aravinda rested content with merely preaching the ideal? Has he not shown us the way for its attainment? The way, it may be answered, is involved in the statement of the ideal itself. "We can realise our separateness," Aravinda has said, "by means of Swadeshi." Swadeshi then is the way whereby national wellbeing is to be secured. (But to be Swadeshi in all matters, one thing is supremely and absolutely necessary—strength, courage, manhood. The great words of the Upanishad have ever been toning in the ears of Aravinda Ghosh—

"नयमात्मा बलहीनः लब्धः—

"the self is not to be realised by the weak." "Hold fast to your faith," he says, "and act upon your convictions; and if in so acting you are met with repression, suffer it

with resolute patience. But whether acting or suffering, always be strong." To quote again the noble words of his Jhalakati speech, "*Feel your strength, train your strength in the struggle with violence, and by that strength, hold down the roof of the temple.*"

V. THE BOMB CASE AND AFTER.

In the foregoing pages, we have tried to give an indication of Aravinda's special contribution to the development of the principle of Nationalism. But the path of the reformer, of the man of ideas, is never smooth in this world; and Aravinda has not been without his fair share of the trials and tribulations of life. Of his prosecution on a charge of sedition, we have already made slight mention; and it only remains to give an account of his more memorable trial on a charge of treason and conspiracy. On the 30th of April 1908, there was a bomb explosion at Mozzafferpore resulting in the death of two European ladies. On the 2nd of May while Aravinda Babu was still in bed, his house was raided by a *posse* of constables headed by Supdt. Creagan and Inspector Benode Behari Gupta. They pointed—the cowards!—a revolver at the breast of Miss Sarojini Ghosh, the sister of Aravinda; placed irons on his hands, put a rope round his waist, and then haled him to the Central Police Office of Calcutta. It may be mentioned here that from some time before Aravinda had received mysterious hints concerning a calamity which was impending over his head; but with the confidence born of innocence he had disregarded them all. Be that as it may, on Monday, he was presented before Mr. Thornhill, the Police Magistrate of Calcutta, and afterwards before Mr. Birley, the Joint-Magistrate of Alipore.

The preliminary trial before Mr. Birley commenced on the 18th of May. By that time the list of the accused had swelled to 39—many of them being youngsters and mere slips of boys, with nothing very revolutionary about them, at least in their looks. There were some interesting features about the trial. For one thing none of the usual law officers of the Crown appeared on behalf of the prosecution; and the case was entrusted to Mr. Eardley Norton—that "Demosthenes from the

benighted province," as a Bengali barrister described him with irreverent wit. Again, unusual precautions were taken for guarding the prisoners as well as the precincts of the Court-house; but these precautions, as we shall presently see, did not prove to be of much avail. The course of the trial was marked by many dramatic and tragic incidents. In the first place, one of the accused turned approver and, in his confession, he incriminated all sorts and conditions of men. The approver,—Narendra Nath Gossain,—was murdered by two of his fellow-accused, Kanai Lal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose. Both of them were subsequently hanged, though at different dates—Satyendra having appealed against his sentence. The dead body of Kanai Lal was allowed to be cremated outside the gaol compound; and the procession that followed the body was probably composed of a larger number of persons than any funeral procession that Calcutta had ever seen.

In the meantime, the preliminary trial before the Magistrate came to an end. Of the original accused, one had been murdered, two had been hanged, and one was discharged. The rest were all committed for trial at the sessions.

The trial in the sessions court commenced on the 23rd of October. One interesting feature of the proceedings, namely, the previous accidental relation between judge and accused, we have already touched on before. But this trial too was not without a tragedy of its own. Babu Asutosh Biswas, who was assisting Mr. Norton in the conduct of the prosecution, was shot dead on the 10th February, 1909. The trial came to an end after Mr. Norton had spoken for 16, and Mr. C. R. Das, Counsel for Aravinda, for 8 days. Perhaps this is not the place to make any comments on the speeches of the counsel; but this we may say without fear of contradiction that the address of Mr. C. R. Das was a masterly specimen of forensic eloquence—nervous, compact, closely argued and with that touch of genuine passion which is the essential characteristic of great oratory.

The Assessors delivered their opinion on the 13th of April. They unanimously declared Aravinda Babu not guilty on all the charges; and Mr. Beachcroft, who did

not deliver his judgment till a month later, agreed with the Assessors in this finding. On the 6th of May, more than twelve months after the day when he had been sent to



ARAVINDA GHOSH.

(Latest Portrait)

Photograph by Sukumar Mitra.

gaol, Aravinda was released from captivity; and on the same evening, he returned to the house of his uncle, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, where he has been putting up since then.

And here, when one chapter of his life has come to a definite close, we think it is time to part company with Babu Aravinda Ghosh. For a brief while, we have accompanied him in his toilsome pilgrimage through the weary ways of the world. We have tried to give an outline of the short outer history of his life, and we have tried with the help of his speeches, writings and actions to get at a right understanding of the sort of man that he is. Since his release from gaol, Aravinda has gone about from place to place giving eloquent discourses on the doctrines of Nationalism, and wherever he has gone, he has been greeted with fervent and affectionate enthusiasm. The people have drunk in his words with avidity and have lifted up their hands and blessed him for his message of strength, hope and consolation. His one year's seclusion in gaol has deepened the strength of his faith and has brightened, not quenched, the fire of his zeal. He is like gold, thrice tested in fire. There are who call him in mocking derision, a visionary—a dreamer. We shall not quarrel with them to-day; nay, we shall accept their phrase and bind it as a crown of glory on his head. Yes, Aravinda Ghosh is a dreamer—but he has dreamed golden dreams for his country and people—visions of glory and triumph, yet visions as they are, not untouched by a gleam of far-off prophecy.

JITENDRA LAL BANNERJI.

HAVELL ON HINDU SCULPTURE*

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA.

THERE will always be some who feel that too much attention has been given, for a work of this kind, to the semi-political question of the influence exerted, or not exerted on Indian art by Greek. Such persons will tell us that the whole history of art is told in the history of patterns, following the lines and appearing at the crossing points of ancient trade-routes. They will assure us that the type of the Buddha in a Lorian Tangai sculp-

* Indian Sculpture and Painting. By E. B. Havell.

ture is a vague and intangible factor, but that the commonplace ornament of the throne and pedestal, the bole of a date-palm laid across, instead of the beautiful lotus-seat of true Indian art,—and the badly executed forms of the pious beasts in their caves, are all very much more important as establishing data for the origin of the work. Such persons will beg us therefore to abandon the somewhat degrading dispute, and will advise us to analyse the patterns and designs we find

about us, and can trace in historic ornament, by way of laying sure foundations for a future history of the origin of Indian art. It may be that these critics are right. Yet in a popular history, like this which is before us, the question could not have been evaded, since it is bound up with that supreme incident, the story of Buddhism. How great was the power of an idea which could dominate and synthetise the cosmopolitan whirlpool of Taxila and its neighbourhood, immediately before the Christian Era! How great was the power of Buddhism, and how far it travelled, and in what forms it has appeared later, are all secrets, indeed, that have not yet been worked out in full. When he begins to deal with Hinduism, however, Mr. Havell is as helpful as when he is speaking of the better-known Buddhist sculpture. Indian men and women of today need a key to the understanding of their own religious art, even more than to the appreciation of that of a great past epoch.

We cannot too clearly realise that Buddhism is Hinduism dominated and organised by a single master personality. It claimed only to be the system accepted by a religious order, and perhaps for this very reason, it exerted an overwhelming attraction upon all parts of the nation, and created arts, literatures, and nationalities. It was long senior to either of the other two world-faiths which have gained coherence and rationality by being man-led and disciplined. But whatever we may find to say about Buddhism, we have always to come back, sooner or later, to the fact that it was Hinduism. It was Hinduism working at its highest potentiality, of unity, purpose, and organisation; but the miracle of all miracles would be the finding of elements in it, which had not first existed in the mother system. And what is true religiously, is true also artistically. Even the sculpture of Buddhism, supreme in quality as that undoubtedly is, springs out of the soil, and stands out against the background of Hindu Sculpture, and often cannot be disentangled from it. The impulse that we call Buddhism reaches its noblest, largest and most distinct expression in the temple of Boro Budor in Java, between 650 and 750 A.D. But even this expression cannot be under-

stood, without reference back to the world that had already produced the rails of Sanchi, Bharhut, and Amaravati, and the temple of Elephanta. For the great Rails represent Hindu art, holding up the Buddhist ideal to an admiring world. The Sculptures that we find on them, rendered in stone, have already been familiar for ages to wood-carvers, image-makers, and plaster-decorators. Buddhism, springing suddenly to the throne of the world, and dreaming



DURGA SLAYING MAHISHA.

(From Java).

of eternal memorials, in 250 B.C., seized for its purpose the means that lay to its hand, which had been provided for it, by the great Indian civilisation to which it belonged. Only gradually does the daughter-faith disentangle itself, emerging as a triumphant and wholly individualised entity at Boro Budor. Undoubtedly it was enabled to do this, by the presence on the throne of Java of a prince who belonged to one of the Rajput, or royal organising tribes of

North-Western India. This sovereign, desiring to make a Cathedral, could imitate no better model than the ancient Indian abbeys of the motherland. But, apart from this personal preference of one man or one family, or even of a throne supported by a powerful religious order, the civilisation of Java was Hinduistic, and this fact is well indicated in her art, from 950 to 1500 A.D. To this period belongs the statue of Durga slaying Mahishasur, (xx p. 62), of which Mr. Havell Says:

"Judged by any standard, it is a wonderful work of art, grandly composed, splendidly thorough in technique, expressing with extraordinary power and concentrated passion the wrath and might of the Supreme Beneficence roused to warfare with the spirit of evil."

It is Hinduism, again, which has produced the great literatures of the whole Indian world, and therefore the arts that illustrate them. The sculptured Ramayanas and Mahabharatas of Javanese, Cambodian, and southern temples, are all equally the creation of Indian workers and Indian ideals. In the cave-temple of Elephanta, Hinduism reaches the same isolation and detachment as Buddhism in Boro Budor. Of this Sculpture Mr. Havell says:

"In the cave-temples of Elephanta, Ellora, and Ajanta, Indian sculptors played with chiaroscuro in great masses of living rock with the same feeling as the Gothic cathedral builders, or as Wagner played with tonal effects, hewing out on a colossal scale the grander contrasts of light and shade to give a fitting atmosphere of mystery and awe to the paintings and sculptures which told the endless legends of Buddha or the fantastic myths of the Hindu Valhalla."

It is the vastness and power of Indian conceptions that makes the skill of their sculptors so impressive. Nothing greater has ever been carved in stone than the Siva as Bhairava, at Elephanta.

Hindu sculpture has a wonderful capacity for grand portraiture. As examples of this, we have two fine stone-heads of Bhima taken from Java (p. 142). Of these we read:—

"At first sight the suggestion they give of ancient Egyptian or Greek art is almost startling. There is the greatness of line, splendid generalisation, and profound abstraction of the best Egyptian sculpture, and all the refinement of Greek art. But the similarity comes only from the kinship which exists between all truly great works of art, for these types are wholly Indian."

Mr. Havell has, in a high degree, the conviction that is essential to all writers



TWO HEADS OF BHIMA.
(From Java).

on things Indian, namely, that behind the children exists the mother, behind the detail, India herself. It is this conviction

that enables him to use, with free hand and unerring instinct, the fine bronzes of Southern India and Nepal, the painted banners of Thibet, the stone of Java, and everything from any part, that comes in his way, as an illustration of the truth he is seeking to convey. It is this which



TARA.

(From Tibet).

makes his work so valuable in its catholicity. Of the beautiful Tibetan Tara from the Calcutta Art Gallery, given above, (p. 52) he says

"The gracious expression and movement are full of fine feeling, and the dignity of sentiment is fully sustained by the exquisite technique. The very difficult position of the feet and lower limbs is treated with consummate skill and knowledge of anatomical structure, showing that the artist was by no means deficient in the science of his art".

It is in the great Javanese Prajñāparmitā, however, (p. 51) that our author finds the Indian statue which might well be taken as the supreme effort of human art.

We are familiar with this concept in India. There is a similar statue, taken doubtless from North Bengal, and made under the Pal Dynasty, in the Calcutta



PRAJNAPARAMITA.

(From Java).

Museum. But in Bengal, the figure itself could not be detached from its theological background, and beautiful as it is, it is less overwhelming in its beauty, for being loaded with Dhyanī Buddhas and other conventional symbols. In the Javanese example we have an added instance of that great selective and discriminating genius which is so constantly at work in the art of that country. All superfluous details have been discarded. "Seated on a lotus-flower, the symbol of purity and divine birth, in the pose of a *Yogini*, Prajñāparmitā is making with her hands the *mudra*, or symbolic sign, of spiritual instruction. Her face has that ineffable expression of heavenly grace which Giovanni Bellini, above all other Italian masters, gave to his Madonnas. Prajnaparamita, as the consort of the Adī Buddha, was regarded as the mother of the universe."

Thus a people who had almost forgotten

that sculpture was possible to them, are shown their own efforts in this art at their highest and best. Sculpture is like architecture in requiring the protection and encouragement of a throne for its highest development. It is unlike architecture in having little or no domestic necessity, to keep it living and strong, in the absence of

such a power. The only possible substitute for this is a high standard of education common to rich and poor alike in order that great patrons may arise, for the discovery and sustenance of new Indian sculptors who shall renew the triumphs of the Indian past, and prove that the motherland is one in genius as she is one in time.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The social conquest of the Hindu race

I have not essayed this rejoinder in the futile hope of being able to convince Mr. Har Dayal of his various errors of reasoning and fact, in the article entitled "The Social Conquest of the Hindu race," but in the hope of showing to the readers of the *Modern Review* that most of Mr. Har Dayal's remarks are wide of the facts as they are. Whatever I may have to say, will have absolutely no weight with Mr. Har Dayal, for he is sure to classify me with those who have accepted the so-called "social conquest". If the article had been more temperate and better balanced and had not disallowed all good motives it might have had some useful influence, which I am afraid, it can, in its present form, scarcely exercise among any right thinking and sober people. He has allowed full sway to his anti-English prejudices and has never stopped to find out whether all his insinuations have any basis in actual fact.

May I begin by pointing out an elementary fact of history over which Mr. Har Dayal has strangely blundered? His second sentence, "The social conquest must in the nature of things, follow the political subjugation of one race by another", asserts with great confidence the truth of an idea whose correctness is very doubtful. Did not the conquered Greeks make a "social conquest" of their conquerors the Romans? Did the discipline of the Romans, their skill in arms, avail them in resisting this "slavery" to their "slaves"? How does he know that Hindu thought is not destined to conquer its conquerors and through them the West? As it is Eastern philosophy is steadily making a home for itself in the West. Would the isolation so strenuously preached by Mr. Har Dayal make such a phenomenon possible? Could Mr. Har Dayal himself have written the article but for his English education? How many would have understood him even if he had been capable of preaching in Sanskrit? Could a Sanskrit education pure and simple ever have put ideas of freedom and liberty in his head? It is the contact with the West that has generated these Nationalistic ideas in the breast of the Indian.

With regard to the three stages of "Social Conquest" defined by him in his article, I may point out that as regards the first, there is very little of fact to back up his assertions.

To cite as instances of "Social Conquest" the introduction of Western education and Western medical science into the country is to misuse the English language. When the English succeed in bringing about a change in the relations of the people with each other in their daily intercourse and behaviour then only Mr. Har Dayal can justifiably talk of "Social Conquest". But if he means that Indians should boycott European education and sciences as well, then we may be pardoned for asserting with all the emphasis we are capable of that such a course would be simply suicidal. The weapon of boycott is a double-edged one, and I would earnestly call on all my countrymen to calculate carefully, deliberately, before wielding it. It is the presence of the English in the country, of Western civilisation, that is making possible for people here to dream of an Indian Nation. It is not those who refuse to co-operate with the English that are the real well-wishers of India, but those who under all difficulties continue to co-operate and to bring to the notice of our rulers the many grievances of the people and try to get them remedied. It is not by starving himself under the delusion of a false self-respect, that a youth can grow big and strong, but by casting aside such pernicious sentiments and unhesitatingly asking for more and more food as he grows older and stronger, from him who has this power to give, will the youth reach a lusty manhood. Let Mr. Har Dayal study the history of Feudatory India and the present-day law, or rather want of law,* in those Native-ruled portions of India and the aspirations of their subjects, before he casts stones at the English and the English-educated. To make a social conquest, far more ruthless methods are imperative than the poor English can command. They are not "civilised" enough for those "methods of barbarism" which are being practised to-day by the Amir of Afghanistan over the people of Kafiristan and were practised by the old Vedic conquerors over the aboriginal population of India, as stated by Mr. Har Dayal himself. To make such a conquest complete it is essential that Christ be enshrined in the hearts of 300 millions of the Indian people to the exclusion of every other saviour. Strenuous efforts should certainly be made to avoid even the ghost of a chance of such a stupendous catastrophe. Every Hindu ought to under-

* It is not a fact that there is not the reign of law in all Native States.—Ed. M. R.

stand the essentials of his religion and guard against the superficial attractions offered by others.

If the destruction of the Hindu religion is going on from the outside from the inability of the religious leaders to promote conversions and reversions, how does the blame for this lie on the English? Or is it the proverbial case of the cat, which must shoulder the burden of every breakage in the household?

With regard to our author's second point, namely, a common platform on terms of *in*-equality, there is much truth in it, which I freely admit. But it may be seasonably pointed out, that unlike Sanskrit education, it is English education and the vistas of self-culture it opens up that is making us realise keenly this feeling of in-equality, and the first step towards the remedying of such an undesirable state of affairs is the recognition of such in-equality being an evil. It is not by boycotting that it can be remedied. If the people at large had real grit and backbone and character, this condition of things would disappear. We may also point out here that there is no such ethnological entity as a Hindu race, as our author posits. There is a Hindu polity, yes, but no such thing as a Race Unit.

But granting for an instant the truth of Mr. Har Dayal's contention about the social conquest, is it not to a great extent due to the misuse of his powers and privileges by the Brahman? The fiat has gone forth, of the Deccani Brahman and of the Bengali, that there are 2 and only 2 castes in India; the Brahman and the non-Brahman. With such a degrading, short-sighted social system in existence even in the 20th century, where is the wonder that the people at large are not enamoured of that polity and have no heart to resist the so-called social conquest of the Englishman? It may perhaps in this connection be new knowledge for Mr. Har Dayal (unless he knows his Sanskrit as well as he does his English) that the very common words *Das* and *Dasi* which mean a slave in modern usage originally meant something very different, namely, an enemy. Gradually by the process of attrition of the social position of the enemy, the word steadily changed its connotation, from indicating an enemy it came to be an appellation of a conquered enemy, a slave. In Bengal every non-Brahman man and woman is bound to use these adjectives when announcing his name to a Brahman, even his manes have to be summoned to shraddhas by these degrading epithets.

I may now come to the main purpose of this rejoinder, namely, the pointing out of the many errors of fact into which Mr. Har Dayal has fallen and the consequent wrong deductions into which he is betrayed by his false premises. I am not concerned here with Mrs. Besant as the leader of the Theosophical Society, with its undoubtedly noble aims and objects and as head of its Esoteric Section with its astralism, its fairy tales, its Mahatmic messages and its teaching by Europeans of the correct pronunciation of "Om" to Brahmans, neither am I concerned here with the attack on the National Congress, but I may be allowed in passing to point out that unless the deep-seated scorn of manual labour and one may say almost the hatred towards the labouring castes of the high caste Hindu is eradicated root and branch and is replaced by a full realisation of the dignity of all honest labour and a feeling of brotherliness towards the working classes, the canker in the bud of nationality will grow and for a surety make impossible its fruition. We see how terribly deep-seated is the evil when even a gentleman of Mr.

Har Dayal's culture cannot resist a bitter gibe against shoemakers, blacksmiths and coolies. This attitude of the higher caste non-Brahman has no less to be modified than that of the Brahman towards the higher caste non-Brahman. He must be as willing and as ready to concede freely the dignity of common humanity to these poor down-trodden and despised pariahs as he is strenuous in demanding a like concession from the high-placed and privileged Brahman. Here, however, I am concerned only with Mrs. Besant's connection with the Central Hindu College. To begin with, the insinuation unblushingly made by Mr. Har Dayal that Mrs. Besant is an English spy is as false as it is ungenerous. We who have known her so intimately for over 15 years, know this assertion to be absolutely false. All Indians who are not blinded by prejudice and who have impartially watched her efforts not only to impart an education of the best Western type combined with all that is best in the East but to build up a truly national spirit based on the firm foundations of law, freedom and liberty, tempered by brotherly love, tolerance, charity and finally untainted by racial hatred, all such know that her work has been inspired by the pure motive of uplifting India, and even those who do not agree with her ought to be grateful for the splendid self-sacrifice which has reared up this institution.

The idea of starting such a college is a purely Hindu one. Over 12 years ago a small band of young men fresh from their colleges and alive to the dangers of a purely secular and western education came together and began to devise means for materialising this idea. But soon they saw that their unaided efforts were not equal to the task and they approached Mrs. Besant and succeeded in persuading her to accept their leadership. But for her constant help and guidance the idea would have been still-born and there would have been no Central Hindu College to-day with its nearly 1000 students and numbers of highly educated honorary workers. The English help over which Mr. Har Dayal is so bitter has been simply invaluable, apart from the fact that it was indispensable. It was Dr. Richardson's magnanimous offer to be the honorary Principal, which induced the University to grant us affiliation and it was the co-operation of large-hearted Englishmen and Englishwomen which in time wore down the suspicions with which the officials regarded the enterprise and made it possible for us to get an institution where the Englishman and the Hindu meet on a platform of equality and thus be an object lesson to other colleges with regard to the relations that should exist between European professors and their Indian students. The former do not feel their pride hurt or their prestige lowered in taking orders from a Hindu when necessary. We have been waiting for an honorary Hindu Principal of the requisite calibre all these years, but so far in vain, be it said to our shame. We are more fortunate in the school, the honorary Head Master is a Hindu and has three European Mistresses under him, and a fourth one is coming out, thanks to Mrs. Besant's influence; one of these is Miss Arundale, the self-sacrificing aunt of the Principal. The head of all the three Boarding Houses is again a Hindu, giving his work free, and commanding universal respect.

We do not know whence Mr. Har Dayal has got his names of the Executive Committee office-bearers. Mrs. Besant of course is the President of both the

Board of Trustees and the Managing Committee, but the Vice-Presidents, the Secretaries, the Treasurer are all Hindus and have been Hindus from the very beginning; and it is these Hindu officers who are charged with the duty of seeing that the policy of the Board and of the Managing Committee is carried out in the daily work of the College. With regard to the gibe thrown out against the College Parliament, is Mr. Har Dayal blissfully ignorant of the Risley Circular? And further with due respect to the opinions of many thoughtful men in the country, we cannot but regard, and have always so regarded, the inoculation of students still having examinations to pass with an interest in the burning political questions of the day as of more than doubtful wisdom. Our College Parliament is simply meant to initiate our young men into the ways of debate and oratory and methods of handling bodies of men, and so to fit them for their future lifework.

With regard to the onslaught on the personnel of the girls' school, it is needless to point out that the committee which controls the policy, the teachings, and even the text-books used, is orthodox, nay, even ultra-orthodox in the eyes of many. If India could produced Hindu lady teachers there is no fear that they would be in want of employment, and supersession by Europeans need not be apprehended.

Finally with regard to the Parthian shot discharged by our author, may it not be possible that the Rev. Mr. Farquhar has, seeing that direct methods of alienating the Hindus from Mrs. Besant have proved woefully abortive, lighted upon this all too common expedient of raising up a wall of suspicion between her and the Hindus and thus attempting to nullify her work, by claiming her as a disguised worker in the cause of Christ? Such a transparent subterfuge ought not to deceive any one.

BENARES.

JNANENDRANATH BASU.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. Volume I. Upanishads Part 3. Katha Upanishad, translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Basu at the Punini office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. vi+82+iv. Annual subscription:—Inland Rs. 12. Foreign £1. Single copy Re. 1-8.

The Book contains—(i) an Introduction, (ii) the Sanskrit Text of the Katha Upanishad in Devanagar character, (iii) the English meaning of every word in the text, (iv) the English translation of the text, (v) the English translation of the Madhva Bhashya, (vi) copious notes in English and (vii) an alphabetical index of the Mantras.

Our theological literature has been enriched by the publication of the above book and we hope our readers will patronise the publication by subscribing to it.

The Upanishad consists of a dialogue between Nachiketas and Yama. Yama offered him three boons. Now the question is "what was the third boon?" Mr. Vasu writes—"It has been taken implicitly by all translators, that the third boon asked by Nachiketas was regarding what is now called the survival of human personality after death. Whether man has a soul and whether it survives death are no doubt questions of primary importance; and all religions (except perhaps Judaism) give a decided answer in the affirmative to these questions. As regards the Jews, it is said that the immortality of the soul was not revealed to them. Be that as it may, in India, however, the existence of the soul, its pre-existence and survival of death were taken as axiomatic truths; and no doubts seem to have been ever raised on these points. It is not therefore likely that Nachiketas should have asked, as his highest boon, the answer to the question, "whether the soul of man was immortal or not." Mr.

Vasu then gives four reasons in support of his contention. "Even according to the western interpretation of the Vedas" continues our author, "the scholars are unanimous in admitting, that the Vedic Rishis, in spite of all their worship of the elemental forces of nature, had a firm conviction of an after life. The Upanishads which represent an advance on the Vedic age could not have, therefore, asked such a primary question. Nor do we find, in any other Upanishad this question asked. The interpretation, therefore, of Madhva and Ramanuja is more near the truth *i.e.*, that the third question does not relate to the survival of soul after death but to the far more transcendental question—the survival of the individual consciousness in the state of *Nirvana* or *Mukti* and whether the Released are within the government of God or transcend that even."

According to the classical Upanishads, there is but one substance called 'Self' or Brahman. What is called 'the Soul' is nothing but that Universal Self. The soul, when liberated, loses its name and form (*nama-rupe*) *i.e.*, its individuality, loses its consciousness, becomes merged in the Universal Self. But Madhva's view is diametrically opposite to this.

According to him, "the Indestructible Brahman is called Visnu" (page 32). "The Jiva is the body of Visnu. But Visnu has a body of His own; how is it then that the *Jiva* is said to be the body of Visnu? It is called His body because it is under His control (just as the human organisation is under the control of the *Jiva*; so the *Jiva* organism is under the control of the Lord). Let one realise that the Lord presides over the *Jiva* and is separate from him (Just as the *Jiva* presides over the physical organism but is separate from him). The unchangeable Visnu should be distinguished from the *Jiva* called '*Sva*' and the differences between the *Jiva* and Brahman should thus be realised" pp., 80-81. Every *Jiva* is in its essential nature, unborn, eternal, unchanging, and

dwelling in the body. . . . No Jiva is in its essential nature, born but is said to be born when it assumes a body and is said to die when it leaves the body. The wise, however, have not this sort of birth and death, because they never come in relationship to any body, (nor get embodied) because they have no *Karma*." p., 34. "By knowing *Hari* who is within one's self, the man becomes liberated undoubtedly. But he who meditates on Him as identical with the *Jiva*, verily falls into blinding darkness." p., 66. "The *Brahman* is known rightly when He is known as separate from the *Jiva*" (p. 49). "The *Mukta* having attained Him, who is the source of all joys, rejoices constantly, having also realised that *Visnu* dwelling in the *Mukta* is separate from the *Jiva*." (p. 31).

We give below Madhva's interpretation of some of the texts of the Upanishad :—

(i) Katha. IV 15. Padapatha.

"Yatha' udakam suddhe suddham asiktam tadrik eva bhavati. Evam muneh viganatah atma bhavati Gautama." Its meaning is:—As pure water poured into pure water becomes verily, (*eva*) the same (*tadrik*) thus, O Gautama, is the self of the thinker who knows." But it has been translated as follows :—'As pure water poured into pure water becomes like that, (But the question is—"were they ever UNLIKE?)" O, Gautama, so the Atma of the Muni who knows becomes like that (with Brahman)". Here '*tadrikeva*' has been taken to mean "'like that' (but not identically that: because we see that the bulk of the water is increased)."

(ii) Katha IV 10. Padapatha. 'Yat eva iha tad amutra yat amutra tat anuiha; mrityoh sah—mrityum apnoti yah iha nana iva Pasyati' It has been translated thus:—"That which is even here, the same is there; what is there, that verily is here. From Death to Death he goes who beholds even the slightest difference in these two".—Madhva's commentary is—"that Lord *Visnu* who exists in the manifested form (*Avatara*) and in organised bodies on this earth is verily the Root Form, and the entire Lord *Nara* ana Himself. The Lord as the Root-form in Heaven is verily also the Lord as existing in the manifested form (*avataar*). He who makes the slightest difference between these two (the Lord in Heaven and the Lord on Earth), whether as regards their attributes or essential nature, undoubtedly goes to blinding darkness after death. So also undoubtedly to darkness they go, who are *bhedabhedavadins* (who hold that the *Avatara* is different from as well as identical with the Lord.)"

iii Katha III, 16. 'Mahatah param'—On this Madhva writes—"Beyond Mahat is *Sri-Tattva*, how is then the Lord said to be beyond Mahat? There is no contradiction in it. Since *Sri*, the wife of *Visnu*, is higher than Mahat, He also is higher than that, because He is higher than His spouse *Sri*."

To import these Pauranic ideas into the Upanishads is nothing but anachronism.

(iv) Katha VI, 12 and 13.

According to Madhva '*Asti*' = '*a*' (=great) + '*sti*' (existence or goodness or reality); or '*a*' = greater than '*sti*' (=all beings). Therefore '*asti*' = 'greatest of all beings'. This meaning is highly artificial.

(v) Katha II, 20. Madhva says—'*Akratu*' = '*a*' (= *Visnu*) + '*kratu*' (=faith). Therefore '*Akratu*' = A firm believer in *Visnu*.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Narada-Bhakti-Sutram with explanations by Parivrajak Sri Krisnananda Swami (translated into English.) pp., 22. Kasi-Yogasram, Benares city. For free distribution.

This book is attributed to Narada and is one of the best books on the Philosophy of Devotion.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT

Tinanta-Pradipika by Srimati Kalavati Devi; pp., 242+12. Price twelve annas. To be had of Babu Fugal Behari Seth C/o Babu Kunja Behari Seth, Sub-Judge, Lucknow.

It is a book on Sanskrit verbs, printed in Devanagiri character. All the roots found in the *Laghu-Siddhanta-Kaumudi* have been fully conjugated in this volume. It will prove useful to Sanskrit students.

We are very glad to note that a lady is the author.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

URDU.

'The stories of their gaol life as told by the political prisoners,' compiled and translated by L. Lalchand Falak.

Published by the Bandemataram Book Agency, Lahore. Pages 80, price 4 as.

During the last few years of increased political activity quite a number of our countrymen have suffered imprisonment.

In this book a collection of the experiences of some of them has been made. *Sjts. Tilak, Pal, Gandhi, Lajpat Rai* and others have been laid under contribution.

Books of this kind can at best be but melancholy reading. But they serve a great purpose; they excite in us sympathy for the suffering and they inspire us with a greater determination to cling to the Cause.

Our sacrifices at the altar of '*Bhumia Devi*' are insignificant as compared with those that other nations have made.

So we need not mope, murmur and calculate; we should rather rejoice that we have been considered fit and allowed to offer our sacrifices to the goddess.

Such is the message the book has for us, and we doubt not that readers will derive considerable strength from perusal of it.

'The Swadeshi movement, edited by L. Lalchand.

Published by the B. M. Book agency, Lahore. 144 pages—8as.

It is a symposium of speeches and writings on the Swadeshi movement.

Among others it contains the views of Mr. Tilak, L. Lajpat Rai, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. A. S. Desai and Sir. P. C. Chatterjee.

It is too late in the day to expatiate on the virtues of Swadeshi, the fact has already taken hold of the minds of the people. The Swadeshi movement has come to stay, it has outlived the scoffs and jeers of its opponents and even direct and indirect persecution has failed to smother it.

Its advantages are patent and no amount of misrepresentation can overturn the logic of facts. Already the imports of cloth have been reduced by a lump, already a large number of mills and factories have been opened and hundreds of starving weavers given employment.

People realise the import of these facts and know that in the success of Swadeshi lies their deliverance.

In spite of the familiarity of the subject the book is interesting reading. It affords us a peep into the minds of the leaders when they were in the first flush of a new idea. We see here their first efforts for capturing the minds of the people. And the first efforts always breathe an exhilarating freshness.

'Garibaldi', written by L. Nawab Rai Benarsi; to be had from the Bande Mataram Book Agency, Lahore, pp. 16, Price. 2 annas.

It is a very short sketch of the life of the great Italian patriot Garibaldi. Born and bred in the school of adversity, he had from his very days of infancy learnt to help the suffering, and so he not only fought for his own country but was instrumental in saving the colony of South American settlers from the tyranny of its governors. The life of this great man is an ideal of self-sacrifice and devotion to a wronged cause. The story has been written in idiomatic Urdu but the clerical and printing mistakes have reduced the usefulness of the book. We hope that this defect will be removed in the next edition.

Maharana Partap, written by L. Nawab Rai Benarsi; to be had from the Bande Mataram Book Agency, Lahore, pp. 15, price 2 annas.

From beginning to end it is a most thrilling tale of the highly patriotic and heroic deeds of Maharana Partap. The prodigies of valour performed by this lion-hearted Rajput in the war against the greatest of the Moghul Emperors; King Akbar, and especially on the memorable field of Haldighat will be remembered with pride by all Hindus in ages to come. He shines forth as an embodiment of the most patriotic and self-sacrificing virtues, while his unswerving fidelity to his cause even in times of the greatest dangers and difficulties will serve to inspire even the votaries of Bharat Mata and keep them from all temptations and allurements.

The book is written in choice language and breathes an air of intrepidity and boldness. We wish the publication every success.

GUJARATI.

Sati Mandal, Parts I and II, by Kishanlal Vishwanath Trivedi of Dhral in Kathiawad. Printed at the Ahmedabad United Printing Press. pp. 424 and 507, Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2-8-0. each. Fifth and Second Editions. (1909)

These two substantial volumes embody some of the best chapters in the life and life-history of Hindus. The lives of nearly 150 *satis* divided into separate Sections, of *Daivi Satis*, *Vir Satis*, *Maha Satis*, furnish most interesting and instructive reading. Nor are the heroines of the other communities ignored. Sarah Martin, Mary (Mariam), &c. duly find a place in this collection. All the lives are written in simple Gujarati, and we are of opinion that the book is so well written that it should be in the hands of every Gujarati-knowing Hindu, male or female, boy or girl. The very fact that it has run into five editions in 12 years testifies to its popularity and worth. Its usefulness is further enhanced by having embodied

in it, as its supplement, dissertations on some of the subjects, which touch the life of the fair sex most intimately. Indeed, we think we should not be far wrong if we were to place it on a level with that excellent series of *Bhamini Bhushan* books turned out by the late Shriman Nrisinhacharya, years ago.

Stri Sadupadesh by Chimanlal Patel, Clerk Naib Suba Kacheri, Baroda. Printed at the Baroda Vatsal Printing Press. Thick boards: pp. 66. Price 0-6-0. (1909),

The easy work in a Kacheri at Baroda seems to have left some leisure to the writer, who has utilised it to good purpose. As its name implies, the book contains useful pieces of advice to girls and grown up women. It is indeed of use in its way, although it cannot be compared in range of comprehension and instruction with the works mentioned above but its ideal is modest, and so far it has succeeded well. It is sure to do good to those who would care to read it.

Madhukar, by Sumitra of the Bandhu Samaj, Ahmedabad, Published by Somal Mangaldas, Editor of the Gujarati Panch, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 191. Price. Rs. 1-8-0. (1909).

We only a short time ago reviewed two novels, written by Sumitra and the good points about style language, &c., noticed in them, have also been continued here. This novel we find superior to the above two in one or two respects. The descriptions given of the holy places in and about Nasik, the place where Rama stopped in his exile, are both accurate and such as would give peace to the reader's mind, and furthermore the caricature chapters, where parodying the methods of work of the so called modern writers and critics fun is made of the rival chairman of a literary meeting, the ignorant Patel, and the equally illiterate Bania Sheth of the Village of Virpur, are really deserving of credit. It shows the faculty of humour in its nascent stage in the writer. There are many good stories of genuine humour in the book, and we have read it from start to finish with great pleasure and interest. The purpose of the novel is to shew the good side of Indian widowhood; and it narrates the humane work done by a young widow, rich and cultured, in founding a widow's home, and rendering the lives of her unfortunate sisters, useful, and cheerful.

Putra Dharm, by Jivan Durlabh Dhruva published by Vaidya Kavi Durlabh Shyam Dhruva & Co., Bombay; printed at the Jagadishwar Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. pp. 70. Price 0-10-0. (1908).

We had an occasion to look through the advance sheets of this book brought to us by the young writer, who is hardly yet out of his teens. All the wisdom, displayed in the work, the many precepts on filial duty, the large number of quotations from Sanskrit, and the enlivenment of such a dull subject by means of interesting stories, point to the precocity of the author's genius. We need not say the book is well written, and but for one's knowledge of the writer's age, which strikes a note of incongruity, we are prepared to give it the certificate of a commendable performance. We are sure, as his pen gets more practised, Mr. Jivan Durlabh Dhruva, will turn out much better work.

- (1) *Shrimad Bhagvadgita, translated into simple Gujarati, Second Edition, pp. 251. Cloth bound. Price 0-2-0. (1909).*
- (2) *The Dasham Skandh, pp. 502, Cloth bound. Price 0-9-0.*
- (3) *The Ekadash Skandh, 2nd edition, pp. 428. Cloth bound. Price 0-6-6. (1909). Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Kalbadevi Post, Bombay.*

The three works noted above form the pabulum of Hindu religious thought and the more they are in the hands of the people the better. The translations are tolerably accurate and simple in style. An attempt has been made to explain the inner or esoteric meaning lying behind the incidents narrated in the Bhagavat translations, but it is necessarily of a limited character and its very circumscription has made it unsuccessful. But to us the chief recommendation of the above books lies in their marvellously cheap prices, which have enabled them to be sold off by tens of thousands. The aim with which the society is started is laudable, and we find it is meeting with assistance from charitably disposed ladies and gentlemen in the publication of religious works.

Rajbodh, Published by Lakhamsey Hirji Meisheri, B.A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, and Dr. Punsu Hirji Meisheri. L. M. & S., Printed at the Kalbadevi Printing Press. Pp. 166. Cloth bound. (1909) Illustrated with three Photographs.

On all sides we find signs of our Jaina brethren waking up. This work consists of suitable extracts collected together from the writings, religious and philosophical of the Modern Jaina Saint, Raj chandra. Mr. Gandhi of South Africa fame has placed him higher in religious perception than even Tolstoy, and a perusal of his work, therefore, cannot but be profitable. Barring the special passages which are taken up with matters solely relating to the Jaina religion and theology, there are many others, which are of universal application from an Indian point of view, and the taste of both these brothers, is to be commended, in so far, as they have found time and money, from the pursuits of their profession, to present in an abiding form, the best work of one of their best men. The preface is a particularly readable part of the book.

K. M. J.

Pravas. Pushpanjali by the late Dr. H. H. Dhruva. B.A., LL. B. Ph. D., edited by Sumanas H. Dhruva Ahmedabad. Printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. pp. 100. Paper bound. (1909). Illustrated.

This is an elegant little brochure, which has many points of recommendation, in its get up. It follows

the fashion of English publications in having an illustrated cover, finely executed by the Bombay Art Printing Works. A beautiful English lady, such as the late Dr. Dhruva would have loved to look upon with his ideal taste in these things, holds out a bouquet of roses before his circular bust, and serves to visualise some of the sentiments which lie beneath the cover. The paper is also good art paper, rarely used by publishers here. Mr. Sumanas has indeed done his filial duty admirably in getting together these poetical pieces. Harilal Harshadrai Dhruva was a delegate to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm in 1889 on behalf of H. H. the Gaekwar, and the poems are the fruit of the inspiration which came upon him at seeing the various interesting scenes in Europe, scenes on the Ocean, in beautiful Switzerland, in Belgium, &c. A facsimile of the verses jotted down on odd pieces of paper shews that they were all *impromptu* productions. The editor, we regret to see, has not performed his duties well. Beyond merely getting them put into type he acknowledges he has done nothing. He gives a list in the preface of those services, which he could well have done to give a presentable form to his father's work, but which he has omitted to do, for what reason he does not say. A disregard in revising the pieces has greatly detracted from their value. Dr. Dhruva was a wellknown *litterateur*, and his poetical effusions have been over and over again discussed and their value assessed. Some of his poems no doubt contain the vital spark, while others lack any of the admirable traits which go to make up good poetry. The poems here are no doubt readable and instructive and Mr. Sumanas has done well in bringing them to light from the obscurity of a manuscript.

K. M. J.

Lagna, by Dahyabhai Balkrishna B.A. Printed at the Prajatandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Pp. 75. Paper bound. (1909)

It is an essay on marriage, which treats of the institution of marriage from a medical and historical point of view, and points out in effective language the evil results of unsuitable matches, child marriages, and consummation at an immature age. The system in vogue here is one which runs counter to the laws of nature, where you will always see mature pairs, whether in the vegetable or animal kingdom, coming together for the purposes of procreation, and never immature ones. The essay also strengthens this position by citing the instances of Sita, Damayanti, Mahashweta and other well known Hindu ladies, who are conclusively made out from internal evidence to have been married at full age.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Will the Anglo-Indians help us in Social and Religious Reform ?

There are many educated Indians who sincerely believe that if we leave politics alone, and take to social and religious reforms, the Anglo-Indians will sympathize with us and help us in our endeavours to carry out those reforms. They are mere day-dreamers who believe so. Mr. R. H. Elliott in an article published in *Frazer's Magazine* for March 1872 wrote :—

"But, to say the least, it is pretty certain that the people are naturally sick of us and our government, and I cannot but look upon it as a singularly unfortunate circumstance that, at such a juncture, the spirit * * * should be rapidly extending. That spirit is an inquisitorial and sceptical spirit. Its first step has been to march to the attack of religion, its second will be to march on to a consideration of the justice of our Government in India.

And here, for the benefit of those who have had neither time nor inclination to think on such subjects, it may be as well to make some remarks on the fact of the spirit of religious enquiry being naturally followed by an enquiry into the policy of the state; or, in other words, on the fact of a religious rebellion being generally followed, where the need and opportunity exists, by a social rebellion. Nor have we very far to go for illustrations of this natural sequence. We have one in our own English history, a second in the history of our nearest neighbours. The briefest allusion to both will suffice for my purpose here. As for the first, the reader will remember that the early Reformers insisted much on the right of private judgment; that the right of private judgment upset the Church; and that in England the same spirit which produced the Puritans induced the Puritans to war against and overturn the Government. And Clarendon, it may be added, notices in one closely-packed sentence, the connection between 'a proud and venomous dislike against the discipline of the Church of England, and so by degrees (as the progress is very natural) an equal irreverence to the Government of the State too.' In France, too, the spirit which produced religious scepticism proved equally troublesome to the State. These mere allusions are perhaps sufficient to indicate the necessary connection that exists between reform in religion and reform in the government of a country." (p: 368).

After this no educated Indian need be surprised that Sir Lepel Griffin and many

other Anglo-Indian men and women advise Hindus not to break the institution of caste but to remain loyal to all the superstitions and prejudices of their society and religion. What men of Sir Lepel's stamp want is stagnation in all spheres of life in India.

Self-government in India.

The morning papers of October 5, contained the following telegram :—

The "Pioneer's" London correspondent wires :— Sir Charles Crosthwaite, in addressing a meeting on Saturday, said that we were introducing into India a system of election far in advance of the state of the country and the result must be a deal of trouble.

There are many Anglo-Indian "authorities" possessed of extensive ignorance of India who hold that Indians have never been a self-governing people. We have always held a contrary opinion and stated the facts on which our opinion is based in many articles and notes. We add a few more.

The late Dr. Leitner wrote :—

Above all would I venture to draw your attention to a consideration of the circumstances which serve to prove that the constitution of native society in India is emphatically autonomous and republican (whether aristocratic as with the Hindus, or democratic, as with the Sikhs and Sunni Muhammadans), and that this autonomy has ever been respected under the most despotic governments that preceded the advent of British power.

* * * * *

"There is, indeed, scarcely a domain of human knowledge in which we cannot learn as much from, as we can impart to, 'the East'. The careful study of the caste-system of India will suggest thoughts that may throw light on problems in the solution of which we are still engaged in Europe. The more we know of the politics of Muhammadanism, Hinduism and Sikhism, the better must we be able to co-operate with our fellow-subjects of those faiths in measures of public utility and in the administration of India. Certainly, in education, they ensure its dissemination more by treating piety and knowledge as one and indivisible, than by the dualism which threatens to dissociate religion from science in Europe,*" (Indigenous Elements of Self-Government in India; Introduction, pp. v and vi.)

"The Republican, if aristocratic, instincts of the province (Punjab) are subdued under a practically irresponsible bureaucracy of aliens in measures, feelings,

interest and knowledge, although ennobled by good intentions. For say what one may, the traditions which have maintained Indian society for thousands of years, are Republican. If its fabric, shaken to its foundation, is to be consolidated in a manner worthy of British rule it must be by the spread of Republican institutions. That these are not a novelty may be shown by a brief reference to the three great communities that inhabit the Punjab.

"I.—The Sikhs

from whom we took over the responsibilities of rule, * * *. All their affairs, secular and spiritual, * * * were regulated at the four great 'Takhts'—literally Boards, Platforms, or Thrones—of Akhalghar, Anandpur, Patna, and Abchalnagar, where every Sikh, great or small, had a voice, for did not Guru Govind himself, after investing four disciples with the 'pahal,' stand in a humble attitude before them to be invested in his turn? Again whenever Sikhs meet in the guru's name there is the *fifth* Takht, and it is not long ago that at one of them the idolatrous practices, justified by the Durbar of Amritsar, were condemned by the consent of the faithful assembled at Akhalghar. * * * Men and women, clergy and laity, of sacred and profane descent, all is merged in the one standing of '*Sikh*'—learner or disciple."

"II.—The Muhammadans,

in so far as they are Sunnis and people of the congregation (Ahljama'at), have no *raison d'être* if they do not acknowledge the elective principle in political matters, the ground on which they separated from the adherents of the hereditary principle, the Shiah. Indeed with the latter the Sovereign has sunk below the priesthood, whilst with the former the greatest ruler is only acknowledged if he rules theocratically. The experience of their institutions, the absence of class or caste in pure Muhammadanism, and the partial success of the "Umuma" Turkish Parliament, so long as it lasted, not to speak of the Council of all races of the revered Al-Ma'mun and other Khalifas, the autonomy of every race and creed under Turkish rule, are the examples, if not proofs, to be held out for *our* encouragement in the noble task which the Government has undertaken, if not for the guidance of our Muhammadan fellow-citizens.

"III.—The Hindus

are an agglomeration of innumerable common-wealths, each governed by its own social and religious laws. Each race, tribe and caste, cluster of families and family, is a republic in confederation with other republics, as the United States of Hinduism, each jealous of its prerogatives, but each a part of a great autonomy with Panchayets in every trade, village, caste, and subsection of caste invested with judicial, social, commercial, and even sumptuary authority discussed in their own public meetings. What did it matter who the tyrant was that temporarily obscured their horizon and took from them the surplus earnings which his death was sure to restore to the country? Even now, if the bulk of the lower castes did not settle their differences at the Councils of their Boards, and if the respectable and conservative classes did not shrink from attendance at Courts of Justice, we might increase the area of litigation a

hundredfold and yet not do a tenth of the work that is still done by the arbitration of the 'Brotherhoods'." [Do. pp 1-3].

The Military Occupation of India.

Lieutenant-General Sir Sydney Cotton in his *Nine Years on the North Western Frontier of India*, from 1854 to 1863, published in 1868, wrote:—

"Military government should not only prevail, but must be paramount. The civil officers of government must act in concert with the military, and they must yield implicitly to military necessities. Financiers in India must be made subservient to the all important requirements of the troops, and not the troops to the views and desires of the financiers." (P: 287).

India is governed on the above-mentioned principle, and it was therefore that Lord Kitchener triumphed over Lord Curzon.

Christian Philanthropy and Indian Factory Acts.

The English manufacturers having set their hearts on the destruction of Indian industries are trying to do this under the guise of philanthropy. The factory laws which are enacted from time to time are an instance in point. The manufacturers compel the Indian authorities to make laws which are certainly not called for in India and which do not benefit those in whose interests they are ostentatiously undertaken. The repeal of a low duty on the manufactured cotton goods of Manchester, the coercion of the Indian Government to impose an import duty on the American long-stapled cotton which was necessary for the Indian spinners to mix with their short-fibred one, the forcing of the Hindus and Mussalmans to observe the Christian Sabbath for the laborers in their factories, although the number of their own festivals on which they stop work is more than that of the Sundays observed in Christian countries, are a few of the long list of measures inflicted on India. The cry is, more factory acts are still to come.

Have those philanthropists of England whose hearts bleed for the so-called hard lot of the Indian factory hands and who are, therefore, leaving no stone unturned to make them happy, ever turned their attention to the lot of the clerks and those servants who are on the ministerial and menial establishments of the British Indian Government and done anything to remove their

grievances and better their condition of existence? Why, the subordinate judicial service—composed of Graduates who understand and administer law and justice better than the members of the Indian Civil—the Heaven-born—service as it is called, is very badly paid and is overworked, with the result that many fall victims to various ailments—most notoriously diabetes, and yet nothing has been attempted so far to inquire into their state of affairs or ameliorate their condition. The employees of the subordinate medical, postal, and telegraph departments are not treated so well as their comrades are in other civilised countries,—it would not be a strong expression to say that they are regularly sweated—and yet the hearts of the philanthopists are bleeding for the Indian factory hands and not for others.

The laws in operation in the tea gardens of Assam are such that even the late Babu Kristo Das Paul, C. I. E., was obliged to refer to them as legalising slavery. The coolies work under conditions which are hardly better than those of slaves. Yet because these gardens are mostly owned by Englishmen, therefore the philanthropists of England will not raise their little finger to have those laws repealed or altered or make the lot of the coolies happy. It is an open secret that Sir Henry Cotton did not get the office of Lieutenant Governor that was his due because he tried to ameliorate the condition of these coolies.

In a country where millions have to thank their stars if they can get even one scanty meal a day, regulating the hours of labour in the case of the mill-hands, whose long hours are voluntary, is entirely uncalled for and can by no stretch of language be called philanthropic.

Federation Day.

Writing this note on Federation Day we feel its sacred influence. This is the day on which the attempt to divide Bengal failed, because the external partition enabled the people immediately to discover their inner unity. At 2 A. M. to-day the sound of hymns and patriotic songs reached our ears. We have begun the day with prayers. The inspiring patriotic demonstration is still to come. May the God of all nations enable us to realise our high destiny, may He eradicate from our

hearts all selfishness, all love of ease, all absence of brotherly feelings, all racial, religious and caste animosities! May He fill our souls with faith, hope and courage! May the day be a day not only of an inspiring demonstration, but also of silent self-examination, deep meditation, and intense self-realization!

England's last Shilling.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, B.A., C.I.E., in the course of the speech which he delivered in Poona a few months ago, advised his countrymen not to cherish and preach the ideal of independence, because he quoted Lord Curzon as having said that England would spend her last shilling to keep India under the yoke of that country. Lord Curzon's threat has unhinged the mind of and, as it seems, unnerved the eminent politician of the Deccan. The Hon'ble gentleman was a professor of history in one of the Indian Colleges and as such should have known the full significance of England's threatened last shilling. Should he be reminded of language and expressions similar to those of Lord Curzon of Keddlestone which were made use of by some eminent English Statesmen on the eve of the War of American Independence? Why, in a debate on the Boston Ports Bill, in 1774, Lord Mansfield said:—

"What passed in Boston is the last overt act of high treason, proceeding from our over-lenity and want of foresight. It is, however, the luckiest event that could befall this country, for now all may be recovered. The sword is drawn, and you must throw away the scabbard. Pass this Act, and you will have passed the Rubicon; the Americans will then know that we shall temporize no longer. If it passes with tolerable unanimity, Boston will submit, and all will end in a victory without carnage."

(Bancroft's History of the American Revolution).

In a debate, in the House of Lords, on the German treaties for the hire of troops to act against the Americans, Lord Carlisle said (Parl. Hist. Vol. XVIII. p. 1199).

"If, viewing the map, we see the figure Great Britain cuts in respect of territory, if we collect the whole into one focus, and connect the ideas of their strength and our own native imbecility, should America be torn from us, the prospect is, indeed, dreadful. It is, therefore, in my opinion, a measure not only necessary to the vindication of our honour, but essential to our very existence as a people. It calls upon us to strain every nerve to bring America back to her duty, and to secure to us her subordinate dependence."

The Earl of Sandwich, in a debate in October 1776 said :—

"As a friend of my country, I must dissent from the extraordinary proposition made by the noble duke (Richmond) who spoke last, recommending a reconciliation with America upon any terms, even upon grounds of admitting their independence. As an Englishman and a friend to my country, I cannot endure the thought; I will never consent to a doctrine so derogatory to the character, and so destructive to the interests of this country. I would risk everything rather than accede to it; I would hazard every drop of my blood, and *the last shilling of the national treasure*, sooner than Britain should be set at defiance, bullied and dictated to, by her ungrateful and undutiful children." (Parl. Hist. Vol. XVIII. p: 1382).

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale certainly knows that the last shilling of the national treasury was not hazarded by the English people in keeping the Americans under subjection.

Volunteering in India.

At a time when every Anglo-Indian and Eurasian residing in this country is requested to enroll himself as a volunteer,—and if he is not inclined to do so, he has to state his reasons for refusal,—when one Provincial Government, namely, that of Madras, has, in addition declared that these volunteers should have prior claims to Government service, will it be too much to ask the Indian Government to raise corps of volunteers for pure-blooded natives of this country? This will go a long way to cure much of the unrest that prevails in India. No one could have accused the late Rev. Dr. Murdoch of being a Pro-Indian. As a compatriot of the Marquess of Dalhousie, he saw nothing good in Indian society, Indian literature and natives of India generally. Like that "Laird of Cockpen" he would have been only too glad to see the end of the few Native States still existing and all Indians thoroughly placed under the heels of the British. Even he favored "volunteering" for Indians. In his pamphlet on "India's Needs" published from Madras in 1886, he wrote :—

"*Volunteering.* There should be no restriction here. The only candidates are likely to be young men acquainted with English. Their number would not be large; and a grievance would be removed."

The author of the pamphlet "Ought natives to be welcomed as volunteers?", who preferred to be known as "Trust and fear not," and was presumably an Anglo-Indian, wrote some quarter of a century ago :—

"The offers to be enrolled as volunteers have pro-

ceeded entirely from the new and progressive school of educated natives. * * If the Government is afraid of the movement overflowing its banks and spreading among the people at large to such an extent as to be embarrassing, it would cause no appreciable dissatisfaction were it to limit the privilege to those who have passed some university examination or are studying at some recognised Anglo-Vernacular school. No such restriction is advocated here, as no such distinction is necessary, for volunteers must be men with a certain amount of leisure and with a moderate competency, and after the first burst of enthusiasm is over, and they are confronted by the inconveniences of drill and discipline, without the sustaining power of political excitement, the number, instead of increasing, would, after a time, fall off considerably

"But still, if the Government thinks it necessary to limit the concession to the class from which the desire has emanated any fair and justifiable restriction would be accepted and even welcomed, when compared with the very invidious and antiquated distinction now drawn in favor of Christians. * * Permission to educated Natives to volunteer would, for practical purposes, meet all aspirations.

"This class is numerically small, but politically, day by day, becoming more powerful. It is a class which, by its political instincts and by its power of setting in motion the hostility of other classes, can do the British Government great harm, as it can also render it great service. * * Educated Natives, by instinct and interest, belong to the party of order, and the great majority of them know that they would lose more than gain by such *emeutes* and risings in India as we have to apprehend. The chance that any large number of Educated Natives who might be enrolled as volunteers would turn their weapons against the British Government is, indeed, remote, and if they did so, the injury would be insignificant. * * * *

"The premises which have to be proved then are the following :—

(1.) That the educated class of Indians exercises and will hereafter exercise, great, even predominant influence in India;

(2.) That their future attitude towards the British Empire depends on the wisdom and justice with which they are treated;

(3.) That from this point of view, great importance attaches to the volunteer question."

The author proves his premises in the most logical manner possible and in his conclusion says :—

"Moreover, with nations, as with individuals, a generous policy is sometimes the best. The great Anglo-Saxon races are spreading over the world everywhere, taking with them free political institutions and trust in the popular good-will. May it not be wise to make India no exception to this rule? * * * Let the world be satisfied that India is being administered in the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation, that the truest and best interests of the people are being looked to, that they are being trusted, and that they are reciprocating this trust by sincerely supporting their rulers, * * And if, after all, the end of the

Empire is looming in the future, if the powers of dissolution are to prevail, if our days in India are numbered, if the dream of a renovated India is to remain a dream, which is to be dissipated by a new inroad of Central Asian freebooters—how can our Government meet its end better than in striving to realize a noble ideal? Better, far better, aim at the moral and political regeneration of the two hundred and fifty millions of India, and fail in the attempt, than fall back upon a policy of distrust and repression, turn every man's hand against us and be expelled from the country, with the verdict of humanity that we have richly merited our fate. If we cannot command success, let us at least deserve it."

The truly, stastemanlike views of the above author deserve the very careful consideration of the Indian authorities and no time should be lost in enrolling Indians as volunteers. A measure like this will considerably allay the unrest which is visible everywhere in this country.

A cure for the present Unrest.

Lecky in his "Democracy and Liberty" wrote:—

"The true beginning of wisdom, is the desire of discipline; and it is probably on this side that modern education is defective. Military service at least produces habits of order, cleanliness, punctuality, obedience and respect for authority; and unlike most forms of popular education, it acts powerfully on the character and on the will." (Vol. I. p: 253).

"No reasonable man will deny that a period of steady discipline is, to many characters, an education of great value—an education producing results that are not likely in any other way to be equally attained. It is especially useful in communities that are still in a low stage of civilisation, and have not yet attained the habits of order and respect for authority, and in communities that are deeply divided by sectional and provincial antipathies." (Vol. I. p, 266).

It is the complaint of the members of the Anglo-India bureaucracy that Indian students have hardly any respect for authority and that they lack in the spirit of obedience. Admitting for the sake of argument that such is the case, that these defects exist in the character of our students, have the detractors of our youth ever tried to find out the causes of these defects and how these are to be cured? Modern education is in no other country of the world so defective as in India, because nothing has so far been attempted to instil the spirit of discipline into the minds of the inmates of our schools and colleges. This is not to be attained by the Risley Circular and other repressive measures, which in the plenitude of their wisdom, the bureaucrats are adopting. No.

there is only one way of attaining this end and that is by enlisting our youths in the military service—by raising corps of volunteers in all schools and colleges.

The system of conscription which prevails in the countries of Europe makes the youths of those lands learn discipline and produces in them habits of obedience and respect for authority. Introduce the same system in India and like results will follow.

The cure for the present unrest then consists in the imparting of military education to our youths, and training them in steady discipline by military service. Then in the cause of the Indian Empire, they might be expected to do as did those whose spirit of obedience has been glorified by the poet in the following verses.

"Charge" was the Captain's cry;
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs but to do and die.

Self-rule in French Algeria.

"The whole of Algeria was not, in fact, brought into subjugation (of France) until 1847. Under the Republic which upset Louis Philippe, Algeria was treated as if it had been simply an outlying portion of France. Napoleon III recognised that European methods of self-government were not adapted to the population. One after another, a series of experiments in the form of military governments, governments more or less modelled on that of the British in India, were attempted, culminating, in 1879, with a reversion to parliamentary methods."

(Harmworth History of the World, Vol. III, p. 2213).

It has taken France exactly 32 years to give Algeria representative government. According to British Imperialists even 32 decades will not bring self-rule to India.

Destruction of Indian Cotton Industries.

India was not only an agricultural but a great manufacturing country. She was famous throughout the world for her cotton industries. But when England obtained political supremacy over this country, out of a policy of "enlightened selfishness," she left no stone unturned to destroy India's thriving cotton industries. The manner in which this was done has been so frequently

described that it need not be repeated here again.

England became a great manufacturing country. Lancashire contributed to the national wealth of England by becoming the seat of cotton industries. Spinning jennies and power looms were employed in those industries, and with these it was impossible for even the cheap labour of India to successfully compete. But then could not India have built factories like those of Manchester? No, because the "enlightened selfishness" of the philanthropists of England did not permit the importation of cotton spinning and weaving machinery into India until 1850. Between the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1813 and 1850, laws were enacted which had the effect of completely destroying Indian cotton industries, and hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of weavers were thrown on the over-assessed land to eke out a miserable existence.

Mr. Tierney in the course of his speech in the House of Commons observed, the natives of England spoke to those of India

"Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you."

It was understood that India was to monopolize the supply of cotton to England. But it was soon found out that the Southern States of America where slave labour greatly flourished could supply England cotton on better terms than India. The English cotton spinners demanded the free import of the long-stapled American cotton, which was secured to them. So the market for cotton in England was closed against India and this meant ruin for the Indian cultivator.

It was at this time that the orator, Mr. George Thompson, commenced delivering lectures to large audiences in the industrial towns of England on various topics connected with the history and the existing state of the British dominions in India. To these audiences he appealed that England should give up its connection with America which employed slave labour for the growth of cotton, and patronize India for raw materials. But the merchants of England only sought profit and were not to be moved by sentiment.

It was after the outbreak of the Civil War in America in 1863, that England had

to turn her attention to India for cotton. But after the termination of the war, England again began to import that commodity from America.

It is the crushing of India's cotton industries and the dependence of the millions of her population for their subsistence on the soil which should be looked upon as one of the chief factors in the causation of the recurrent famines desolating numberless households and spreading ruin and disaster throughout the length and breadth of this country.

Does foreign trade benefit India ?

Syed Mohammad Hossain, M. R. A. C., in his very valuable pamphlet on "Our difficulties and wants in the path of the progress of India" published in 1884, wrote :—

"It is a pity that our well-wishers, without considering the circumstances of the people and the density of the population, conclude that the encouragement of trade (in its present state), and increasing the means of communication will do good to India. They ought to consider that England, with a population of only 390 per square mile, cannot produce enough for the consumption of its people, and has to depend upon the produce of other countries. In 1882 of wheat alone (omitting grain of all other kinds and meat) no less than 64,171,622 cwts. were imported from other countries into England, and of these 8,477,479 cwts. came from India.—*Journal of Royal Agricultural Society*, 1883, page xix; while India, with a population of 416 per square mile, is expected to enlarge her trade by exchanging her food for mere fancy articles and luxuries. We should go further in detail on this point, and contrast briefly the agricultural condition of both countries. According to the Census Report, the North-Western Province (which we have taken for our illustration) contains a cultivated area of 540,420 square miles, which is equal to 34,586,880 acres; and the population being 44,107,869, the average cultivated area per head is .78 (From xxi., page 2). The cultivated area of the United Kingdom is 50,432,988, and the population is 35,278,999 (the Financial Reform Almanack, 1882, pages 76 and 135), or 1.42 acre per head. Now, with all her improved and scientific agriculture, with the outlay of large capital, with artificial manures and the aid of machinery, with an average yield of 30 bushels per acre England cannot support her people; yet India, with her miserable modes of farming, with such insignificant farms and implements, with a scarcity of measures and means of irrigation, with an average yield of only 13 bushels (as per famine Report) or 18.7 bushels (per "Oudh Gazetee") per acre, is expected to prosper by her trade, viz. exportation of grain and by the increase of the means of communication. The result of this trade is that when a bad year comes, or if in any year there is a falling off in the quantity of rainfall, famine threatens the country, thousands of people helplessly die, and the whole affairs of the country are disturbed. In ordinary seasons, during four months of the year—

May, June, December, and January, the lower class of peasants support their existence by living on wild herbs and wild grass seeds, the Mango and Mohwa fruit, or taking loans of grain from grain dealers. * *

"According to the Famine Commission Report, (Part I, p 50) in a season favourable throughout India, that is, if there be no local requirements in any part of the country, owing to famine or a bad year, India has a surplus of 50,000,000 tons of grain for exportation from her produce. To make up this amount, Bengal is estimated to contribute the largest quantity, i.e. 1,200,000 tons, and the other eight provinces an average of less than 30,000 tons. Of these our Province (N. W. P., which is taken for our example), can send from its produce, after the consumption of its population, 660,000 tons. Now we can calculate how much the Province could enrich its population simply by exporting its surplus food. It has been proved above that the Province has nothing from its manufactory and industry to send abroad; and, as a matter of fact, besides a little opium and indigo, it does not grow any more valuable thing, such as tea, coffee, or even cotton to such an extent that the produce need be taken into consideration. After all, then, there is nothing else left but grain for our trade. Now, for the sake of example, suppose that the Province yields, in an average year, a surplus of 660,000 tons, and that there is no increase of population to affect the surplus quantity, and that the whole quantity consists exclusively of wheat, and that it is sent to the market of extreme profit, say to London. Suppose further that our wheat is, in quality and in price equal to the American and Russian wheat in the market, and that the demand for and the price of wheat (which has an inclination to fall) also remained as it is at present, and let the rate of exchange be taken as not worth considering, then I say, under all these favourable circumstances, our 660,000 tons of wheat, which are equal to 1,478,400,000 lbs., at the present average rate of (round number), 27 Rs=45s. 1d. per quarter (or 500 lbs.), would be worth in round numbers 79,900,000 Rs. Excluding all other charges, such as commission on both sides, local freight, &c., the mere carriage of this quantity from India at the rate of 40s. or 24 Rs. per 2000 lbs. amounts to Rs. 17,740, 800. Now after deducting this sum from the total value of the wheat, our net income is 62,159,200. The population being 44,107,869, therefore income from this trade per head per annum including cost and profit, is, at most, 1 rupee and 7 annas=2s. 4d."

"N. B.—The question of the charges of local carriages need a full discussion in two respects:—

"(1.) The heavy rate, which is fully treated by Major Baring in his resolution, in which he proves that carrying 1 ton of wheat for 600 miles costs in India as much as it costs in America for carrying the same quantity more than 1000 miles, &c.

"(2.) Owing to the railways being made with foreign capital our country derives very little benefit from what we pay for carriage. * *

"The reader should judge for himself, and consider whether this sort of trade has a tendency to increase the material prosperity or to cause the underfeeding of the people." [pp 59—61.]

A Christian Missionary's Estimate of the Bengalees.

Are there many educated Indians who are not acquainted with the name of the late Rev. M. A. Sherring? If there be such, it is necessary to tell them that that reverend gentleman came out to India and spent the best years of his life at Benares and was connected with the Christian educational institutions of that sacred city of the Hindus. He was a man of great culture and wide literary repute. His works on the sacred city of the Hindus, and on Hindu tribes and castes in 3 vols, are well-known to every student of Anglo-Indian literature. The amount of research and labour which the production of these works entailed on him was very great. Perhaps he was one of those exceptions among Anglo-Indians who are above race-prejudice and so are not blind to the good qualities of the children of the Indian soil. Regarding the much maligned Bengalees, he wrote:—

"Bengalees occupy the van in this movement (Social Reform). To their honour, be it said, they have long been the leaders of public opinion in India. It is they who first formed it; it is they who chiefly sustain it. In them we perceive an amount of active patriotism and genuine earnestness not met with in any other Indian nationality except perhaps the Parsees. Sometimes their enthusiasm becomes excessive, and they are apt to indulge in statements respecting their rulers, and their relation to them, by no means honorable to their judgment, * *. But their inquisitiveness and outspokenness are infinitely preferable to a condition of lifelessness and dulness. And the buoyancy and zeal arising from the quickening influences of education on acute and intelligent minds, producing occasionally strange errors of opinion and singular hallucinations, if not to be admired, are nevertheless to be excused, for it is quite certain that time and fuller knowledge will correct them.

"Many, perhaps, I should say most, educated Bengalees have the courage of their convictions. Their thoughts wander rapidly over the broad fields of politics, religion, philosophy, and social economy, which subjects they discuss with keenness and ability, searching eagerly into the latest results of European investigation and criticism. * * * * *

"Unquestionably, at the present time, the educated classes of Bengal, especially those persons who having imbibed the true spirit of knowledge have been anxious faithfully to follow its leadings, are in a state of extraordinary mental excitement and restlessness. Englishmen looking on are very apt to suppose that much of this mental state of the Bengalee arises from, and indicates, presumptuousness and conceit. Hence he is commonly spoken against and misjudged, his faults are exaggerated, his motives are distorted, and the very efforts he is making to improve himself are held up to ridicule. Now all this is most unfair and

reprehensible. Considering the entire revolution which he is undergoing, intellectually and socially, it would be a miracle if the Bengalee did not make many mistakes, and did not otherwise place himself in a ludicrous position in the opinion of hypercritical and fault-finding Englishmen. * * * * The Bengalee has a glorious future before him—a future in which, if I mistake not, he will shine conspicuously as the leader of public opinion and of intellectual and social progress among all the varied nationalities of the Indian Empire. When he attains to the full stature of himself,—when his mind has become thoroughly matured,—when he perceives the true bearings of the knowledge he has acquired, and in his person and life exhibits that advanced civilization which he only now hears about, and reads about, but which has not yet, except to a very meagre extent, passed into his being,—when he has thus been refined in the crucible of wisdom, and has become a genuine lover of virtue, and a sturdy champion of the truth, then he will occupy that exalted position in India, as a counsellor and guide to its teeming inhabitants, which his talents already indicate to be that which he ought to fill.

"I have dwelt upon the character of the Bengalee in order to show, that being at the head of the party of progress in India he has set an example of independent thought which it would be to the interest and honour of the other nationalities to follow."

[Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. III. pp. 279—282].

The above was written more than a quarter of a century before the Partition of Bengal and the birth of the boycott and Swadeshi movement.

The ending of the Covenanted and Imperial Services.

In the course of a speech delivered in the House of Commons on June 3, 1853, the late Mr. John Bright said :—

"With regard to the question of patronage, I admit, so far as that goes, that the plan proposed by the right hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Wood) will be an improvement on the present system. But I do not understand that the particular arrangement of the covenanted service is to be broken up at all. That is a very important matter, because, although he might throw open the nominations to the Indian service to the free competition of all persons in this country, yet, if, when these persons get out to India, they are to become a covenanted service, as that service now is constituted, and are to go on from beginning to end in a system of promotion by seniority—and they are to be under pretty much the same arrangement as at present—a great deal of the evil now existing will remain; and the continuance of such a body as that will form a great bar to what I am very anxious to see, namely, a very much wider employment of the most intelligent and able men amongst the native population".

Although the above was uttered more than half a century ago, the evil of the

covenanted service continues as much to-day as it did when the quaker statesman regretted its existence. Nay more, in several other branches of the Indian public service, imperial departments have been added from which "intelligent and able men amongst the native population" are scrupulously excluded. This is a state of affairs which should be at once mended. Not only does this produce discontent and thus propagates the present "unrest," but it is detrimental to Indian progress and prosperity. Mr. John Slagg, M. P., in his article on the first National Indian Congress, published in the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1886 rightly observed :—

"Resolution 4 demands that greater facilities should be granted the people of India for admission into the Covenanted Civil Service. I regret this resolution. The time seems to have arrived for the gradual extinction of this exclusive service and the breaking down of the walls of partition which divide what are called 'subordinate' services from the higher. The urgent need of economy, apart from all other considerations, imperatively demands that the civil service, as a separate body, should cease to exist, because not until this has been done will it be possible to proportion the salaries of public servants to the resources of the country which they govern. And not only in the Covenanted Civil Service do sound policy and equity require a larger introduction of the native element: the need for it is much more urgent in the subordinate services, and, what may be described as the 'non-political' branches of the Administration. * * * * * the proportion to be found in various branches of the Administration, * * is highly instructive as showing the manner in which state patronage is distributed in British India. * * The Bengal Opium Department is one to which no political character belongs, and where Indians, one would think, could hardly fail to be more efficient than Englishmen, and yet in this department no native can be nominated to an office with a salary beyond 100 rupees a month; and as a matter of fact, no native is in it at all. In the Postal Department the highest salary attached to the service is 2,000 rupees a month: the highest which a native of India can get is 600 rupees. In the Preventive and Salt Department, the highest salary attached to the service is 1,000 rupees a month: the highest which a native of India can get is less than 100 rupees. In the Jail Department, the highest salary is 2,000 rupees a month; the highest which a native of India can get is less than 100 rupees. And so on through all the departments. It is manifestly absurd to pretend that this profoundly unjust allotment of state patronage is occasioned by the lack of fit men among the children of the soil."

Although a few Indians have been appointed to the higher posts in the above mentioned departments still there has been no material improvement in the state of

affairs as depicted by Mr. Slagg. In no other civilized country of the world is there anything like the partition dividing the higher from the "subordinate" services. No, instead of breaking down the walls of partition, more new ones are being erected. Twenty years ago, there was nothing like the Imperial and Provincial Services in the Educational and Public Works Departments. These have been created of late. So in other departments also. All these walls of partition should be as soon as possible pulled down, pure-blooded Indians should be eligible to the highest posts which are now reserved for the foreigners only. If that is done there will be some allaying of the unrest visible amongst the educated public of this country.

"Good intentions".

Mr. Donald Macdonald in his *Gum Boughs and Wattle Bloom* writes:—

"The reason we know so little about these (Austrian) aborigines is, that instead of studying them we shot them. Old colonists say that some reformers of the old days were rather less ceremonious in shooting an aborigine than a wild dog. Indeed the latter incident was more rare—the *dingoes* (wild dogs) had not the same confidence in our good intentions."

Condition of the people of Mysore under their own rulers.

Mr. H. Stokes of the Madras Civil Service in his report on the Nugur Division of Mysore, dated Bombay, 19th May 1838, wrote:—

"As might be expected in a simple, unenlightened, and almost exclusively agricultural community, possessing considerable industry and skill in husbandry, favored by remarkable natural advantages, the people of Nagra possess in abundance the means of subsistence, with little wealth in the shape of money. The soil and climate are so well adapted for the production of all the necessities of life, that famine is unknown, and scarcity very rare. Most of the gowdas and many rayets are rich in grain and agricultural stock. The facility with which the revenue was collected in Durumkhi 1836-37, when many rayets did not recover a single grain from their fields is a gratifying proof of the extent of their resources. * * The cheapness of provisions is remarkable. It is no uncommon thing for 117 pukka seers of ragi, or 50 of rice to sell for a rupee.*"

Alas ! the above is not applicable to the condition of the people of any part of India today.

Iron industry in India more than a century ago.

Dr. Benjamin Heyne in his *Statistical Fragments on Mysore*, wrote:—

"Since my arrival in England I have endeavoured to obtain information of what is known here of Indian steel, and of the result of experiments which have been made with it; and I am happy in being permitted to lay before my readers a letter from Mr. Stodart, an eminent instrument-maker, to whom I was recommended for the purpose by Dr. Wilkins, which equally proves the importance of the article, and the candour and ingenuity of the writer. The letter is as follows—

"Agreeable to your request, I herewith transmit to you a few remarks on the wootz, or Indian steel. I give them as the results of my own practice and experience.

"Wootz, in the state in which it is brought from India, is, in my opinion, not perfectly adapted for the purpose of fine cutlery. The mass of metal is unequal, and the cause of inequality is evidently imperfect fusion: hence the necessity of repeating this operation by a second and very complete fusion, I have succeeded in equalizing wootz, and I now have it in a very pure and perfect state, and in the shape of bars like our English cast steel. If one of these is broken by a blow of a hammer it will exhibit a fracture that indicates steel of a superior quality and high value, and is excellently adapted for the purpose of fine cutlery, and particularly for all edge instruments used for surgical purposes. * * * I find the wootz to be extremely well hardened when heated to a cherry-red colour in a bed of charcoal dust, and quenched in water cooled down to about the freezing point.

"It is worthy of notice, that an instrument of wootz will require to be tempered from 40 to 50 degrees above that of cast steel. For example, if a knife of cast steel is tempered when the mercury in the thermometer has risen to 45°, one of wootz will require it to be 49°; the latter will then prove to be the best of the two, provided always that both have been treated by the workman with equal judgment and care.

"Upon the whole, the wootz of India promises to be of importance to the manufactures of this country. It is admitted, by the almost universal consent of intelligent workmen, that our English steel is worse in quality than it was some thirty or forty years ago. This is certainly not what one would expect in the present improved state of chemical science; but so it actually is. The trouble and expense of submitting wootz to a second fusion will, I fear, militate against its more general introduction. If the steel makers of India were made acquainted with a more perfect method of fusing the metal, and taught to form it into bars by the tilt hammers, it might then be delivered here at a price not exceeding that of cast steel. * * I am of opinion it would prove a source of considerable revenue to the country. I have at this time a liberal supply of wootz, and I intend to use it for many purposes. If a better steel is offered me, I will gladly attend to it; but the steel of India is decidedly the best I have yet met with."

✓ A new definition of the term "Fanatic."

Mrs. Annie Besant's remarks on Aurobindo evoked adverse criticisms from almost the entire section of the native Indian press. She was asked to prove her allegations that Aurobindo is a "fanatic" and that he is a dangerous man who would adopt any means to subvert the British rule in India. She has made the *Central Hindu College Magazine* for September, 1909, the vehicle to communicate the messages of the Mahatmas regarding Aurobindo. But unfortunately the Mahatmas have not vouchsafed any proofs of the dangerous character of Aurobindo. They have through her found that Bengalee gentleman to be a "fanatic" because of "his refusal to work with any Englishman." That is the queer definition of a "Fanatic" given to the ignorant world by the Mahatmas through the lady-president of the Theosophical Society.

But do they or rather does she not know that it is impossible for any self-respecting Indian to work with her compatriots if they do not treat him as he ought to be treated? Indians are not treated as their equals. They have always to be their subordinates who may be patronised but never considered as their equals. An Englishman or Englishwoman will not generally consent to work with Indians unless he or she is given the place of honor in any institution meant for the benefit of the natives of this country. (Take the case of the Central Hindu College. When a few months ago there was the question of appointing its principal, Mrs. Annie Besant threatened to sever all connection with it if a native were brought in to occupy that post and in the confidential letter which she addressed to the members of the Managing Committee of the College, she distinctly stated that any agitation against Mr. Arundale, who was her nominee to the post, would be looked upon as "Anti-British".)

By this time, perhaps, every Indian has become fully acquainted with her political opinions. She would like to see Indians under the leading strings of her own countrymen and countrywomen and therefore never their equals. (On the occasion of the last anniversary of the Central Hindu

College, in addressing the visitors and students of that institution, she said :—

"We know that it is a greater destiny to be partners in a mighty world-embracing and therefore impregnable Empire than to be the citizens merely of a single separate State, liable to invasion and conquest."

The note of Imperialism could not have been struck more distinctly than in the speech an extract from which has been quoted above. Better for Indians to be partners of a world-wide Empire rather than citizens of a small State liable to invasion and conquest! What do these words mean? She did not say that it is better for Indians to be citizens of the world-wide Empire than those of a small State. She knows fully well that England unlike Rome will never confer on Indians the right of citizenship of her world-wide Empire and therefore she advises them to be content with their present lot and tries to hypnotise them by saying that they are the partners of the Empire. Partners, forsooth! partners to be exploited, partners to give their money and lives to build up the Empire in which they will never have the right of citizenship, because the Mahatmas whose mouth-piece Mrs. Besant at present is, do not consider brotherhood to mean equality of man. ✓

An Englishman on Christian missionaries and their Mission.

Some Christian missionaries do not come out to India from any philanthropic or altruistic motives, some do. Regarding Christian Missions generally writes an unprejudiced Englishman :—

"I have often heard the function of missionaries hinted at, in the way of their opening up countries to our trade; but never did I quite realise the true inwardness of the thing till some twenty years ago, when by chance I found myself one Sunday at church in Sheffield. The minister was preaching on Livingstone, and after enumerating the good works done by such men, he said :—

"And last but not least they open up countries to our trade. This was well understood (he went on to explain) by Stanley. One of the first things Stanley did when he returned from the Congo basin was to address the Chambers of Commerce in Manchester. He pointed out to the assembled merchants that in that region there were so many million natives entirely ignorant of the use of day-shirts or nightshirts. All that the Manchester people had to do was to send out copious missionaries to these parts, persuade the people to adopt decent clothing, and see what a demand there would be for Manchester cotton-goods! Similarly (continued, the minister, turning to the manu-

facturers of Sheffield) *you* have only to send out teachers of the gospel to the Congo basin and other regions and induce the natives to abandon the nasty habit of eating with their fingers, and to use knives and forks instead—and think what a brisk trade there would be in Sheffield cutlery!

"These are positively the words, without sensible addition or diminution, which I heard that day—and since then I have not doubted that the function of the missionary is, in interested quarters, well understood.

"The missionary goes first; individual traders follow the missionary; the flag follows the individual trader; and national trade follows the flag. That is the process."

[*Empire in India and Elsewhere* by Edward Carpenter, pp. 4-5].

The Rise of Germany

It is good now and then to listen to continental opinion on current political questions. English opinion we are quite familiar with, and unless it is corrected by what other people have got to say on the subject, our views are likely to be coloured by the special prejudices and preconceptions of the insular English race. 'On the Tracks of life' by Dr. Leo G. Sera (London, John Lane, 1909,) an Italian writer, is a book from which we get occasional glimpses of the contemporary political tendencies of Europe. We do not agree with the author's heterodox views on morality and allied questions, but we approve of his remarks on certain aspects of the political progress of European nations. The learned doctor has a deep admiration for India, as the following extracts will show:

"India, that wonderful laboratory where all kinds of human experience are commingled, in whose religions, political institutions, philosophies, and books—thousands of them as yet almost unknown and unread—are to be found so many treasures of human wisdom." Chap. III.

Again,

"...those unknown psychical forces which we are now but beginning to catch a glimpse of, and which were so largely employed by the Indians, our forerunners in the matter of psychological experience, whose level we have not yet been able to reach." (Chapter VII).

Dr. Sera gives the following summary of the present political position of some of the principal European states:

"...there are nations almost without a history, although possessing an inner intellectual life and strict morality. They may, indeed, be preparing a great future for themselves, although they are now in an undeveloped state: consider, for example, the present condition of Finland and Scandinavia. There are others which are passing from one phase to another. Germany being the finest example. Others

again, have reached the height of their splendour, and have now entered upon a period of stagnancy, if not of actual retrogression, England, for instance; others which are almost performing miracles in order to preserve their greatness, but which, in doing so absorb all their energies in the battle of life, such as France; others which have for sometime been in a decadent condition without the hope of early recovery—Spain and Greece; and, finally, others in which we may note the first signs of a new period of youth—Italy" [the author would have probably added Turkey, if he had been writing in 1909 and not in 1907]. (Chapter IX.)

Dr. Sera's observations on the rise and progress of Germany may prove instructive:

"The Germans...are not a warlike nation, and yet they are the premier military people of modern times. How does this come about?...The truth is, that Prussia is now the most military nation because it was formerly the most advanced intellectual nation, and after having given to Germany and to the world its greatest thinkers, it had in the course of things to pass from thoughts to acts.

"Militarism is the first step towards a wider field of action and a more noble life, for the first necessity of the man who has reached a higher stage of existence is to defend himself from the greed of others....

"...Conscious or unconscious imitation is quite a natural process....Imitation is the process by which all social advancements take place in customs, habits, thought and feeling.

"Madame de Staël is wrong in thinking that the imitation of one nation by another is a grave error on the part of the latter. It is certain that imitation is the first step towards attaining an individual strength and arriving at originality. The imitation of forms of culture is a natural fact of which hundreds of examples could be adduced.....

"To confine our attention to Germany still, we see that this country, previously to having a really national literature, had to pass through a period of coarse and tedious French imitation,...and another period, immediately following, of English imitation.

"Between imitation and originality there are all the other stages of progress, and if the first imitative attempts always show traces of the borrowed forms—awkwardness and discordance—we cannot, on the other hand, omit mentioning that, in more original work, no imitation whatever is to be seen....

"As the first attempts to imitate the French failed in literature, they failed also in politics, and all the genius of Frederick the Great was not equal to the task of introducing French culture into Germany, a culture which was the final product in the life of a race with a long history.

"It must also be recognised, however, that all the designs of Frederick the Great were realised in less than a century after his death.

"To make Prussia a military state, to put her at the head of Germany; to make the German nation active rather than speculative; to make Berlin a capital similar to Paris: all that this monarch with so much genius thought out, has been realised...."

The Deportees and the 16th October.

Today we feel our nearness in spirit to the deportees, and pray with them for the

good of the Mother-land. They are not alone. The Holy Presence of God fills their narrow cells, as It fills the starry sky, the open mountain tops and the billowy ocean. All bliss is theirs who feel their unity with Him, all power is theirs who feel that they are only channels through which His energy flows.

The Malaria Conference.

It is only proper that the Malaria Conference which is holding its sittings at Simla should not contain a single representative of the Indian private medical practitioners: for as they monopolise almost all the practice and the fees, it is nothing but equitable that the white medical men should monopolise all the knowledge. Some Indian lawyers and ex-officials are members of the Conference. We hope, on the principle of 'one good turn deserves another', when a Law Commission is appointed at some future date, Indian medical men will be adequately represented on it. For the rest, we are thankful to Government for sparing us the trouble of anxiously awaiting the results of the deliberations of the Malaria Conference. For the Conference will very probably discover the root of the evil in the Mosquito, for does not that luckless being possess a name beginning with the same letter as Malaria? Neither "British administrators" nor "British exploiters" have appellations beginning with "M". The Nationalists have a name which goes dangerously near to having "M" for its initial letter. But fortunately neither Swadeshi nor Boycott runs any risk of that sort.

The Transvaal Indians.

That our sisters and brothers in the Transvaal have not yet gained their object does not in the least lessen the value of their heroism and self-sacrifice. The fire of persecution has proved the stuff of which they are made, and we recognise it with pride as the genuine Indian metal. How they stand shoulder to shoulder, men and women of various Indian races, creeds and tongues!

We are only sorry we have not yet given them all the moral and material help which we ought to and can give them.

Students and Politics.

In a recent speech the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale said:

"A crying need of the present situation is the provision in colleges of facilities for the efficient training of what may be called the political sense of our young men. The present policy of treating politics and specially current politics, as dangerous, and in some respects, even a forbidden subject has only resulted in depriving students of that guidance to which they are entitled at the hands of their teachers in forming sound views on important questions. To leave them thus to their own devices, amidst the perplexities of a difficult situation, is to neglect a plain duty towards them at a critical period in their lives, and the consequences of this neglect have been and are bound to be, serious and far reaching. They should be encouraged to discuss such matters freely in the college and publicists whose opinions are entitled to weight, should from time to time, be invited to take part in the discussions. They should be at liberty to attend public lectures and addresses on political subjects, and they may even attend political meetings with advantage, provided they are there only as spectators. But when it comes to active participation in what is called political agitation, I think, we must draw a line."

We hope Mr. Gokhale does not think that subsidiary work like that of the Congress Volunteers which our students have always rendered to the *United Congress*, or like that which Bathing Festival and Famine volunteers do, or like that which Temperance Pickets or Swadeshi Pickets have done, is active participation in political agitation. We also hope that carrying flags and singing patriotic songs in patriotic demonstrations are acceptable to him. We think all these activities have great educational and moral value.

We think our senior University students, such as graduates, should take an active part in politics to the same extent as Western University students do. At a gathering of University students recently held at the Hague, Mr. Stead asked them to take the initiative in organising in all countries a great international boycott against any State that may not abide by the decision of the International Parliament in international quarrels. Well, if Western University students are thought good enough to influence international politics, why are our University students to be considered so worthless?

Curiously enough those officials who denounce and would prevent, if they could, the presence of students at political meetings and their participation in

political demonstrations, on the ground, among others, that these distract their minds and waste their time, encourage school and college theatricals, which divert their attention from their studies far more and for longer periods and which when held at night, as is sometimes the case, also injure their health.

Another "Samiti" crushed.

Here is a Government notification :

Whereas the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the Calcutta Anusilan Samity interferes with the administration of the law, in exercise of the power conferred by Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, the Governor-General in Council hereby declares the said Association to be unlawful."

Question.—Where are the proofs to show that the Anusilan Samiti interferes with the administration of the law?

Answer.—In our inner consciousness.

Q.—Can they be revealed to mortals, i.e., non-Olympians?

A.—No.

Conclusion.—British bureaucrats are probably members of the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society, as they believe in (Police) Mahatmas and occult evidence.

The uninitiated public only know that the Anusilan Samiti had for their objects physical culture, famine relief, rendering help to pilgrims during Bathing Festivals, and the like.

The Congress Presidentship.

The nomination of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to the presidentship of the ensuing Lahore Congress still continues to arouse discussion and admiration in the papers. *The Indian World* was right in its surmise that Sir Pherozeshah's nomination would not evoke any enthusiasm in Bengal. That was our reading, too, of Bengal feeling. We only thought that its semi-prophecy that Bengal might entirely abstain from going to the Lahore Congress was rather risky, and we stick to that opinion still.

The War between Morocco and Spain.

In the words of the *Review of Reviews*, this war began thus :

Now Spain, which has hitherto fortunately avoided

burning her fingers in Morocco, seems to have been drawn into the fatal circle, and she has got the bear by the ears in the attempt which she is making to subdue the Riffian mountaineers, who have for centuries preserved a rugged independence close to the Spanish coast town of Melilla. The story of how it has come about is almost painfully familiar. Some concessionnaires obtained from El Roghi, the malcontent chief of that region, who was in open feud with the Sultan of Morocco, a concession to work mines of lead and iron which are believed to exist in the Riffian mountains. The concessions were invalid until the Sultan ratified them, and this the Sultan refused to do. Nevertheless, the concessionnaires attempted to exploit their concessions, and as a beginning began to construct a railroad from Melilla to the mines. This proceeding was resented by the mountaineers, who tore up the rails, killed some of those employed in its construction, and acted, in short, precisely as savage and independent tribes always act when they see the railway invading their territory. Fighting followed, the Spaniards suffered a serious reverse, and war between Spain and the Riffian mountaineers is in full swing.

So justice is on the side of the Moors, though so far they have had the worst of the fight. Their King Mulai Hafid sent a note to "The Powers" asking for an intervention against Spain. These Powers have unanimously replied that a settlement of all the questions raised is exclusively a matter between Morocco and Spain. Of course. But if Spain were worsted in the fight, would "The Powers" have given the same reply? And such a contingency is not unimaginable. The Moors have still some old world heroism left among them, as witness the following true story narrated by Kaid Belton, the Englishman who was appointed to the command of the Moorish troops sixteen months ago.

"On the last official parade which I attended in Fez," he said, "93 human heads were held up before the Sultan on the ends of rifles. Later in the same day twenty of El Roghi's officers had their right hands cut off at the wrist. The hands were taken to Mulai Hafid on a tray, as a proof that his orders had been carried out. The stumps when the hands are cut off are steeped in a cauldron of boiling oil—not, you understand, by way of further torture, but simply to stop the bleeding. Well, I never heard so much as a whimper from a single one of those twenty men. That in itself was hardihood enough; but that is not all. One prisoner, having stretched out his right arm and suffered the mutilation, walked over to the cauldron of oil, which was placed on a fire. The man had a cigarette between his lips, and while the stump of his arm was plunged in the boiling liquid he calmly stooped and lighted his cigarette at the flames! Later on 300 more heads were brought in. I tried to see the Sultan again but in vain."

Given modern weapons and a knowledge

of modern strategy, these old world heroes can work wonders.

Frontier outrages.

The N.-W. F. frontier outrages against the Hindus should receive the serious attention of the Indian Press. *The Panjabee* has been crying itself hoarse over these outrages. It would-be scandalous if we remained indifferent to the subject longer.

Students and Finger-prints.

It seems no indignity is too bad for our students. In Madras students who obtain the school-leaving certificate must give their finger-prints! Are they criminals or would-be criminals?

If finger-prints be needed for scientific purposes, why choose our students alone for making experiments? Experimenting in this fashion is European in origin. Let Europeans, therefore, from the highest to the lowest, dwelling in India, first set the example. Let the system be tried in European schools first.

A Swadeshi Professor resigns.

Professor Lalit Mohan Das of the Calcutta City College is a staunch

Swadeshi worker. Therefore the officialised University had been trying for some time past to make his profession miserable for him. It seems at the bidding of the Bengal Government, the Calcutta University *practically* gave him one of two alternatives to choose from: (1) giving an undertaking not to address any political meetings in future, and (2) severing his connection with his College. As a self-respecting patriot he has chosen the latter course. All honour to him! May the Motherland be blessed with plenty of such sons. We do hope our countrymen will show their appreciation of such self-sacrifice by an increasingly determined adherence to the cause for which he suffers.

We have listened to a good many Swadeshi speeches of Mr. Das, and know him to be a pious man who has constantly preached a resort only to legitimate methods. He has been a staunch upholder of law and order. It is such a man that our "honest Swadeshi" Government has driven to give up his professorial work in sheer disgust.

Our Holiday Message.

Fraternise with the people, as you are one of them.



Munda bridegroom and bride returning home after marriage.

Photo by Mr. A. T. Dutt.



BUDDHA & DEVADATTA.

From the original water-colour by Priyanath Sinha. By the permission of the Artist.

Three colour blocks by U. Ray.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VI
No. 6

DECEMBER, 1909

WHOLE
No. 36

THE PROGRESS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

By J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

IT is usual to speak of the most marked characteristic of the 19th century as being its progress in science. Certainly the century's advance in scientific directions was very great, and immensely beneficent in results. And yet we may well question whether its progress in human liberty was not quite as great, and even more important to the world. It should not be forgotten that without liberty science itself can accomplish little or nothing. Indeed it was not until after conditions of human freedom had become widespread that science made any of its most important advances. Freedom is the indispensable condition of all growth and all attainment. But give men liberty and sooner or later all other good will follow. It seems probable, therefore, that not the scientific discoveries of the 19th century, splendid as these were, but the extension of human liberty by the wide-spread establishment of popular constitutional governments, will be set down by future historians as the century's crowning contribution to the welfare of the human race, and therefore as its highest achievement.

Few who have not their attention especially called to the subject, are likely to understand how little popular government there was in the world at the beginning of the 19th century, and how much at its close.

Look at Europe. The only important

European nation which when the century opened had a constitutional government or a government in which any considerable number of the people had a voice, was Great Britain. She had a Parliament through which, not indeed all the people, nor even a majority, but through which an important minority of the British people could make their wishes felt in shaping the laws under which they were to live. On the Continent, two very small nations, Holland and Switzerland, enjoyed a measure of freedom. But everywhere else, and among all the strong nations, absolutism reigned. The king, the emperor, or the czar was everything, the people were nothing. When the century closed what was the condition of things? Not only had Great Britain greatly extended the franchise, and righted many wrongs, but every important country in Europe except Russia and Turkey had obtained a constitutional government giving representation to the people; and since the present century opened even Turkey has set up a representative government and a parliament, while Russia has been given at least a semblance of a parliament.

Can we realize how great a change all this means,—to be effected in a single century? Can we realize how great is its import to humanity? At the beginning of the 19th century the will of the people a negligible matter! At the close of the century the will of the people the ruling

power, which no government dared to disobey! To be sure most of the nations of Europe are still nominally monarchies. But the monarchs in most cases are not much more than ornaments,—sometimes convenient ornaments, sometimes mischief-making ornaments, always costly ornaments. Seldom do they possess very much importance except as ornaments; for every one of them, even the Emperor William of Germany, who likes so well to talk as if he owned the whole German people, body and soul, knows very well that if he seriously opposed and alienated his people, he would immediately lose his throne.

Leave Europe and pass to America, and what do we find? Take the case of Canada. At the beginning of the century she was a colony of Great Britain; at the end she was the same. But what a different thing does it mean to be a British colony now, from what it did a hundred years ago! Then colonies were regarded as the possessions of the mother-land, to be ruled and managed for her benefit. They were thought of as "a national asset, which should be made to yield as much profit as possible to the mother-country." Says Green in his *History of the English people*: "Of the right of the mother country to monopolize the trade of her colonies . . . no Englishman had a doubt." Says Lecky: "England made it a fixed maxim of her commercial policy to repress the prosperity of her colonies by crushing every industry that could possibly compete with the home market."* That was the condition of things at the beginning of the 19th century. At the end, all had changed. Canada was virtually as free as the mother country herself. She managed her affairs in her own way. Her own people were her rulers. She retained her connection with the mother-land; but it was not a connection of subjection on the one hand and domination on the other; it was a voluntary connection, prompted by the love and honor of a daughter to a mother. During the period of one hundred years or a little more England had learned a great lesson in the treatment of colonies. She had learned

it in part at least from her experience in connection with those American colonies, now known as the United States, which had broken off from her to form a government of their own, but which might have been kept as her loyal daughters still, as firmly allied to her as is Canada, if only, a century and a third ago, she had treated them with the same fairness and the same consideration for their interests, which she now shows to her Canadian and Australian colonies. Thus we see what an advance Canada made in freedom during the 19th century.

Turn to the Republic of the United States. At the beginning of the century the United States was a constitutional representative government, based wholly upon the will of the people. It was the same at the end. It had made little advance in popular freedom, because there was little room for advance. However, one very great result for the cause of popular liberty in the world had been achieved. At the beginning of the century there was very general doubt among the nations of Europe regarding the permanency of the government of the United States, or indeed regarding the permanence of any government based wholly upon the popular will. But by the end of the century that doubt had largely passed away. The world had been shown in America an object lesson of a republic—a government resting wholly upon the will of the people, without king, emperor or hereditary aristocracy—enduring more than a century, meeting successfully nearly every kind of trial and strain that a government is ever called upon to meet, including wars both foreign and domestic, and growing from a nation of four or five millions occupying a little strip of territory along the Atlantic sea-board, to a nation of seventy-five or eighty millions, occupying a territory that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and yet at the end of the century stronger as a government than ever before and having a far more assured future than it had when the century began. Thus a demonstration was given to the world such as it had never seen, that popular institutions are safe, that men can be trusted to rule themselves, that no governments are so stable or can pass through crises so

* This view still obtains regarding dependencies, such as India; but it is no longer entertained regarding colonies, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

securely as those that are "broad-based upon the people's will."

Pass from Canada and the United States to other parts of America, and what do we find? When the 19th century began, nearly the whole of the rest of the Continent—North America and South—was in subjection to Spain or other foreign powers, and was ruled tyrannically for the benefit of those powers. Nowhere was there freedom, nowhere was there self-rule, nowhere was there popular government. When the century ended Spain with her oppression had been driven from the Continent, and self-governing republics covered nearly the entire area from the United States on the north to Patagonia on the south. Many of these republics, it is true, had passed through troubled experiences. But it was because their populations were extremely heterogeneous, and to a very large extent unintelligent; and because they had been under foreign rule and therefore had been able to obtain little or no training in self-government. But they have been growing in intelligence, and learning by experience; and their governments have become steadily more stable, more wise, and more efficient, showing that even peoples who are not very far advanced in civilization can govern themselves at least better than others can govern them; and that by governing themselves they rise far faster and more surely than would otherwise be possible. Thus we see that the 19th century ended with all America, as well as most of Europe, under popular constitutional government.

Nor may we stop with Europe and America. Australia is now self-governed, like Canada. So is New Zealand. So are the British colonies in South Africa. Until they were destroyed by the Boer war there were in South Africa two republics. Even into Asia the spirit of liberty has penetrated. The old empire of Japan has transformed herself into a constitutional monarchy with popular representation. China is soon to have a constitutional government and a parliament. Persia is struggling for the same. The Philippine Islands are urgently asking for self-rule, and if the United States' people are true to the principles for which they have always stood, there will be ere long a republic in Asia. What a record of

progress in popular government is all this, for a single century!

We should remember that popular government means not only new power put into the hands of the people, but power which may be used, is being used, and more and more will be used, for human betterment. It is immensely significant, that in nearly every land in the world where popular government has been established, popular education has been provided for. That is what giving power to the people means. The people see the value of education; therefore they want education for their children. Put legislation into their hands and they proceed at once to secure what they desire.

But government in the hands of the people means much besides education. It means freedom of speech and of the press. It means better laws of a hundred kinds. It means reforms of a hundred kinds. It means protection to children, protection to women, protection to the poor, protection to labor, protection of the interests of the people generally.

Still another very important thing it means. It means much in the direction of the promotion of religious freedom and equality. The 19th century saw almost as much advance in religious liberty as in civil and political. Note the steps of such advance that were taken in England. At the beginning of the century no person was allowed by law to hold any civil or military office who was not willing to take certain religious oaths and to partake of the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. Of course this cut off dissenters, and nearly all persons except members of the Church of England. The injustice of such a requirement was plain to all except those who would not see. It took long struggles to effect a reform; but in 1828, 1845 and 1858 laws were enacted granting their rights, first to Protestant dissenters, then to Roman Catholics, and finally to Jews. The struggle was most prolonged in Ireland. A large majority of the Irish people were Roman Catholics. But notwithstanding this fact, the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was the established church of Protestant England, was made also the established church of Catholic Ireland, and Irish Catholics were

taxed to support it. This flagrant injustice was done away with in 1869.

Strange to say, the greatest strongholds of bigotry and tyranny in England were the Universities. Until far on past the middle of the century the great national Universities of Oxford and Cambridge restricted their full privileges of education to persons who could subscribe to the creed of the Established Church. This wrong to the English people was righted in 1871.

Perhaps these that have been enumerated are the most important cases that occurred in Great Britain in which ecclesiastical tyranny was restrained and religious freedom and equality were advanced by legal enactments during the 19th century.

But the spirit of religious freedom was at work everywhere, outside of Great Britain as well as inside, and it manifested itself in many ways. There was a steady tendency throughout the century, among the leading nations of the world, to give freedom to all forms of faith, and to place the adherents of all on an equality before the law. This has not everywhere been fully accomplished; and yet the general movement has been unmistakably in this direction.

Throughout Canada, the United States, and I believe Australia, there is no state church. As regards the United States, the Constitution guarantees religious freedom to all the people. The constitutions of most of the individual states do the same. All the states guard themselves against religious, ecclesiastical, and sectarian entanglement. Everywhere in the nation public education is established on a strictly non-sectarian basis.

It is worthy of notice that during the 19th century two such important events occurred in connection with the Roman Catholic Church, as the final suspension or death of the Inquisition, and the loss of temporal power on the part of the Pope. Of course both these events are signs of marked growth in the spirit of religious liberty, and marked decline in the spirit of ecclesiastical tyranny, among Christian peoples.

From all these examples we see that the progress of the last century in religious liberty kept pace with its progress in civil and political liberty.

I do not mean that there were not here and there arrests of progress, and even retrogressions. I do not mean that the

century did not commit crimes against liberty. On the contrary, under the head of such crimes, it is easy to call to mind many of a very dark hue, such as the dismemberment of Poland; the overthrow of the Republic of Hungary; the persecution of the Jews in Russia; the treatment of inferior races by more than one of the Christian nations; King Leopold's brutalities in the Congo States; England's forcing of the opium trade upon China at the cannon's mouth; America's conquest of the Philippine Islands, and her so long withholding of self-rule from the Filipino people;—and Englishmen might profitably consider whether their absolutist rule in India could not be included in this list. These and not a few other 19th century deeds against liberty make one hang his head in shame. And yet, relatively speaking, these are scarcely more than spots on the sun. They are only ugly blots and marks on what in many respects is a great and splendid picture. Beyond question the 19th century was the greatest in modern times, if not the greatest in human history. And in nothing was it greater than in its achievements for human liberty—civil, political, and religious.

Opponents of liberty declare that liberty is dangerous, that it leads to anarchy and overthrow of all government. Men could not be more mistaken. Absolutism is what breeds anarchy, as the case of Russia shows, and as the situation in India is beginning to show. It is in the freest lands that men are the most gladly and heartily law-abiding. Laws made by tyranny and oppression, men hate, and will violate them whenever they think they can do so with impunity. Laws made by liberty and justice, men learn to love, and therefore have no desire to violate them.

All the progress of the past has been the child of liberty. From liberty must be born all the progress of the future. Only the free mind discovers new truth. Only the free mind advances beyond its fellows. Only the free mind can ever carry the world on and up to new intellectual and moral attainments. Therefore if humanity is to advance beyond its present stage, liberty in every form is simply indispensable, liberty of thought, liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, liberty of the press, political liberty, religious liberty.

If there is anything that we may be sure of, if there is anything that the 19th century settled, it is that liberty, both political and religious, is in the world to stay. The cause of liberty is not going backward; it is certain to go forward. Liberty will make mistakes. But by its very mistakes it will learn wisdom. It was long ago said, "The cure for the evils of liberty is more liberty." The saying is eternally true. The mistakes will be corrected. Political liberty will march on until all the governments of the

world are constitutional governments, until it is everywhere confessed that the only power which has the right to make laws for any people is that which resides in the people themselves. Religious liberty will march on, until toleration is everywhere; until freedom of thought and conscience is universal; until there is fraternity and goodwill between all the sects of Christendom and all the religions of the world.

HARTFORD, U.S.A.

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB

(Translated from Persian MSS).

SECTION IV.

ABOUT THE SHIAHS AND THE HINDUS.

§ 68. Sunni refuses to marry Shiah's daughter.

RUHULLAH Khan at the time of his death made a will in the presence of Qazi Abdullah. One clause of his will was this: "I am a Sunni, and have withdrawn from the practice of my [Shiah] ancestors. Please wed my two daughters to Sunnis." The Qazi reported this matter to the Emperor, who wrote, "Hypocrisy is practised in lifetime; but it is a novelty to play the hypocrite on the death-bed! Probably [he has acted so] out of regard for his sons and surviving relatives. This hypocritical step will benefit him if only his sons also assent to it. At all events you ought to act according to his last will. Give his elder daughter to Prince Muhammad 'Azim and the younger to Siadat Khan, the son of the late Siadat Khan." Next day Siadat Khan submitted, "This house-born slave is unwilling [to marry Ruhullah Khan's daughter]. How do we know that she too holds the creed of the Sunnis? In case she perseveres in her own faith, what can be done?"

Text.—Ir. MS. 10a, MS. N. 4a incomplete at beginning.

Notes.—Ruhullah Khan I, the son of Khalilullah Khan and Hamida Banu, was *Bakhshi* or Paymaster from Jan. 1680 to his death (about June 1692). In September 1686 he was appointed Subahdar of Bijapur in addition. One of his daughters was married to Prince Azim, a son of Bahadur Shah, on 26th June 1692. (Life in *Masirul-umara* ii, 309-315. His death is described in *M.A.* 3488 *Khafi Khan* ii. 407). The title of Siadat Khan (the younger) was given to the son of Siadat Khan Syed Ughlan, in 1698. Khawajah Abdullah (son of M. Sharif) was appointed Qazi of the Imperial Court in May 1685; died 1698.

§ 69. Ruhullah Khan's death and funeral.

When the Emperor went to visit Ruhullah Khan in his [last] illness, he was insensible. On regaining consciousness he made a *salam* and recited the following couplet:

With what pride will this supplicant leave the world,
As you have come to his head at the time of his
giving up the ghost!

The Emperor burst into tears and said, "In no condition whatever should one despair of God's grace. Recovery and hope are not remote from His mercy (*i.e.*, beyond His power). But as death is inevitable to every man, tell me your heart's wish, and I shall certainly grant it." Ruhullah Khan stretched out his hand, rubbed it on His Majesty's feet, and said, "Through the blessing of these feet all my wishes in my lifetime were gratified. I now pray for this only that your Majesty may not mind the incompetence of my sons, but keep them under the shadow of your training, appoint those that are fit for any office to

that post, and, in the case of those that are incompetent, remember the services of their forefathers." The Emperor replied, "I agree with all my heart and life." Then the Khan submitted, "Concerning the marriage of my two daughters, I have already sent a petition to your Majesty through the *nazir*, stating that I had been spiritually guided to the Sunni creed, and given up the practices of my [Shiah] ancestors and requesting that both of them might be married to well-born members of the Sunni sect. I now orally pray that your Majesty may order Qazi Muhammad Akram to come and carry out the washing and shrouding of my corpse." The Emperor bowed his head down, smiled, and said, "Verily love for his children has rendered this man helpless. There is no falling off in your wisdom and power of contrivance. Most probably you have made this plan in the hope that out of respect for the pure soul of a Sunni I shall look graciously at and show kindness to your children. But this plan can do good if only every one of them too says the same thing (*i.e.*, accepts the Sunni creed). There is no probability at all that they would lay this shame (*i.e.*, apostacy) on themselves. However, I ought to carry out your will ostensibly, according to the Canonical Law." Saying this he repeated a passage of the Quran (*fatiha*) and came away. After the Khan's death, the Qazi came according to the will of the deceased. One Aqa Beg, a confidential servant of Ruhullah Khan, showed the Qazi a letter written by the Khan and sealed with his own seal, which stated, "If at the time of washing and shrouding my body, the Qazi comes according to the will of this humble person and the order of the Emperor, Aqa Beg should be appointed the Qazi's deputy for doing this work. This poor man does not venture to give trouble to his Holiness the Qazi. The mere fact of the Qazi coming to my house will be the cause of the salvation of this sinner."

This Aqa Beg had outwardly assumed the titles of Aqa and Beg, but he was [really] one of the expert Shiah theologians. The Qazi had discovered his scholarship from his having often at parties entered into discussions fearlessly and promptly when face to face with learned men. The Qazi, on reading the letter, became aware of the

truth of the case, *viz.*, the invitation of the Qazi and the delegation of the work [of washing] to Aqa Beg was a mere form of pleasantry (*shakl-i-khush-tabai*). So, being displeased, he told Muhammad Ghaus, the news-writer of the Qazi's court, to put it at once in a letter and send the letter to the Emperor quickly by means of a slave (*qul*), so that an answer might be brought.

When the sheet of the news-letter was presented to the Emperor, he wrote, "At the time of his death he has cast disgrace on the whole of his past life, and spread a covering over the face of his work. It is not necessary for the Qazi to stay there. The late Khan during his lifetime had made deception his characteristic. And at his death, too, he pursued this detestable habit to the end! What concern have I with anybody's faith? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own. The proposal for the marriage of his daughters to Sunnis was also a kind of stratagem, [employed in the hope] that the poor simple-witted young nobles who would be involved in this misfortune (*i.e.*, would marry these Shiah girls) would necessarily out of love for their wives withdraw their hands from the long-standing faith of their ancestors and become new converts to Shiahism. **God protect us from the wickedness of our passions and the sinfulness of our actions**".

Text.—Ir. MS. 13a—14a, MS. N. 13b—16a.

§ 70. Hindu prisoners of war executed.

During the siege of the fort of Satara, in the blessed month of Ramzan, four Muslims and nine Hindus out of a party that had made a sortie from the fort, were taken prisoners. The Emperor ordered Qazi Muhammad Akram, the Court Qazi, to investigate the question with the help of the *muftis* and report as to what should be done. After examining [the Canon Law] he told the Emperor that if the infidels accepted Muhammadanism it would be a ground for releasing them, and that the Muslims should be kept in prison for three years.

Across the sheet of the [legal] problem His Majesty wrote, "This decision is according to the Hanafi school; decide the case [in some other way,] that control over the kingdom may not be lost. Ours is not the rigid Shiah creed, that there should be only

one tree in an entire village.† Praised be God! there are four schools [of Sunni theology] based on truth, [each] according to its age and time."

After he had written this, the Qazi and *muftis* pronounced another decision, saying, "From the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* we derive the sentence that the Hindu and Muslim [prisoners of war] should be executed as a deterrent." The Emperor wrote, "I agree to it. They must be executed before I break the fast [of Ramzan, at sunset], for I shall not break my fast till I see the [severed] heads of the rebels." So, Muharram Khan with the help of Sarbarah Khan *kotwal*, about sunset brought the heads and placed them before the Emperor in the Court.

Text.—Ir. MS. 8a & b, MS. N. 35b-36b.

Notes.—Satara was captured by Aurangzib after a siege extending from 8th December 1699 to 21st April 1700. Muhammad Akram was appointed Qazi of the Imperial Court in May 1698 and died shortly after October 1705. There are four schools of Islamic law accepted by the Sunnis, *viz.*, the Hanafi, the Shafi, the Hanbali, and the Maliki. The *mufti* is an officer who expounds the law, and assists the Qazi or judge by supplying him with *fatawas* or decisions. The *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* is a code of the decisions of former Islamic lawyers selected, harmonised and arranged by order of Aurangzib by a syndicate of scholars under the presidency of Shaikh Nizam, at a cost of nearly two *lakhs* of rupees. It was a mere compilation, with none of the originality and value of the *Code Napoleon*.

§ 71. The Jazia to be inexorably levied.

The Emperor learnt from the letter of Firuz Jang Khan, who was appointed to take care of the base-camp (*bungáh*) at Islampuri and to guard the road from Burhanpur to the place of the Emperor's stay,—“The tomb of the old slave-girl, the mother of [this] hereditary servant, is on the

† The reading of MS. N. Its meaning is supplied by Ir. MS., which reads ‘that only one decision can be extracted from it.’

other side of the river Bhima. It is necessary to increase the population of the grain-market of the place, and thereby cause much provision to arrive at the Imperial camp. But this [peopling of the place] cannot be effected without abolishing the poll-tax (*jazia*) on the Hindu residents of the place. Please order that Inayatullah Khan may send a letter patent (*sanad*) of exemption [from *jazia*.]”

The Emperor wrote, “**I do not take helpers from among the worshippers.** Your wish for the colonising of the grain-market at the tomb, and your upsetting the command contained in the text of the holy Quran concerning *jazia*,—which is ‘[Chastise them till they pay *jazia* from the hand because] they are disobedient’, by substituting for it the words ‘they deserve to be excused’,—are a thousand stages remote from the perfect wisdom and obedience to the august Religious Law which are possessed by this trusted servant aware of my sentiments. Evidently, a group of your companions,—the habit of which party, more **despicable than sweepers, is to create suspicion in the hearts of men**,—have made you blind and go astray, and have, through immature greed, given to this worthless idea a place in your heart which is **receptive of allurements**. How can this old man, stricken in years and experienced in affairs [i.e., Aurangzib] be deceived?” *Verse*

Go away! and set this trap for another bird,
As the nest of the phoenix is built high.”

Text.—MS. N. 5b. 10.—6b. 6.

Notes.—Firuz Jang was sent in October 1701 to guard the Imperial base-camp at Islampuri, on the Bhima river. (*M.A.* 445.) For Aurangzib's strictness in collecting the *jazia*, see *Khafi Khan*, ii, 279, 378.

(Concluded.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A REVIEW OF THE MODERN WORLD

II.

THE SITUATION IN EUROPE.

AMONG the last of the subjects discussed in the previous paper was that of the new forces at work in the Islamic lands of Western Asia. It will be well to

approach the modern European situation from that starting point, and consider first of all the new Turkish Constitution and its possibilities.

It may be said, with some confidence, that no greater shock of surprise has come

to the chancellories of Europe in modern times than the peaceful revolution by which Turkey passed in a few short months from a despotism, under which no progress was possible, to a constitutional government, under which progress on modern lines has become an assured hope. Even the shock which followed the astonishing results of the Russo-Japanese War was inferior to this; for this was an event in Europe itself, taking place at the very doors and closely affecting every European nation. But in History it is always the unexpected that happens, and the twentieth century, though not yet a decade old, has been rich in surprises.

There were two forces which made the Turkish Revolution a success. First, there was the Young Turk Party, which had been educated in the Universities of modern Europe, many of them having been condemned to years of exile under the ban of the late Sultan. Secondly, there was the Army, recruited from the peasantry, one of the finest fighting forces in the world, though continually under-paid and under-fed. The ease with which the revolution was carried through was due to the fact that the Army, almost to a man, sided with the young Turks.

Austria, to the disgrace of a Christian Power, seized the moment of the Revolution for the annexation of two provinces. These provinces were much nearer by race to Servia than Austria, and akin also to Russia. Servia was prepared to go to war with Austria, and called upon her kinsman Russia to join her. Then followed a diplomatic crisis the secret of which has not yet been fully disclosed to the world, but of which the main facts are fairly certain. The Russian people were as eager to go to war on behalf of their own kinsmen, as they had been unwilling to go to war against Japan a few years before. A fight with Austria on behalf of Servia would have been extremely popular among the Russian Slavs. Germany at this crisis offered her aid to Austria, and it was accepted. Secretly, under the pretence of army manoeuvres, two hundred thousand troops were moved to the most vulnerable point of the Russian frontier. Then, without any previous *pourparlers*, Germany declared her ultimatum. Russia must abandon Servia. If she did not, the Ger-

man Army would cross the Russian frontier. Russia was taken unawares, and submitted in silence to this exhibition of the 'velvet glove' combined with the 'mailed fist.'

It has been necessary thus to go into the complex situation, which followed the rise of the new Turkish constitution, because it reveals on the one hand the meaning of the often repeated phrase, that Europe is an 'armed camp', and on the other hand because it explains the new grouping of the greater Powers. Austria has now been brought into the closest alliance with Germany—an alliance sealed by this latest *coup-de-main*. Russia on the other hand has been forced to realize her own weakness and is now busy cementing friendships with France and England. England, in her turn, has been led to open her eyes widely to the danger of German invasion, and to realize that, if a struggle comes with Germany, there will be no previous warning or interval for preparation.

The great factors which make war between Germany and England a serious possibility in the near future are the commercial rivalry between the two nations and the rapid increase of German population which causes her to seek to found an Empire beyond the seas. This rivalry between the Powers has led to feverish activity in warship building, carried on at reckless expense. Such a strain on resources, as this involves, is only less destructive and depleting than an actual naval war with all its bloodshed and horror.

This commercial rivalry between the two leading countries of modern Europe has brought into existence a new economic school of politicians within the British Empire itself. This new school bids fair to be as powerful and historical in the twentieth century, as the Free Trade Party was in the Victorian Age. Their programme of Tariff Reform leads directly to Protection, and they couple their Protection policy with a vigorous Imperialism.

To India the rise of this new school of politicians is of doubtful value. While it is true that the principle of Protection would by itself lead logically to economic justice being done to India, and the Cotton Excise duties being rescinded, yet on the other hand the Imperialism, which is bound up with Protection, may lead to a sacrifice

of India for the colonies. For it is likely to produce in England itself a noxious growth of the colonial principle of the 'dominance of the white'. If a Liberal Free Trade Government can only make a feeble and ineffective protest against the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal, the prospect is not hopeful under a Conservative and Imperialist regime.

But it would be an incomplete and altogether onesided picture of modern Europe, which described it merely as the arena of 'armed camps' and 'commercial rivalries'. These, after all, are but two of the aspects of the intensity of the modern struggle for existence. That struggle cannot be escaped in the progressive strivings of humanity, and along with it come the compensations of the strenuous life,—strenuous in original thought, strenuous in scientific enquiry, strenuous in new discovery, as well as strenuous in the more material sphere. If there are great and glaring vices in modern civilisation, there are also high virtues. *Corruptio optimi pessima* is true; but it is something to have striven for the *optima* and not been content merely with the *bona*.

Europe to-day, especially in her more active northern regions, is working out problems of social organisation, of scientific research, of higher education, of moral and spiritual truth—problems whose solutions will ennoble humanity long after the time when

The war drums beat no longer
And the battle flags are furled.

It is therefore a mistake to picture Europe to-day as given over to materialism and lacking altogether in spirituality. It is one of those cheap contrasts between East and West which should either be avoided altogether, or else be qualified by saving clauses. For behind all the rush and hurry, the glare and glamour of modern European life, which must appear to the Eastern so frivolous on the surface, there sits an army of patient, persistent thinkers and workers,—men whose minds and hearts are set on the discovery of truth; men who are ready to sacrifice all traditions and preconceptions in the search for truth; men who are increasing the domains of truth and pursuing fresh, untrodden roads. They may not all be definitely religious, in the

orthodox sense of the term, but they cannot be called un-spiritual; for they 'endure as seeing the invisible' and they work on in faith.

It is this spirit of strenuous enquiry, this determination to reach results which 'are true and are no lie', that is the mark of the Modern Age. It has led to the establishment of Science and to the 'Historical method'. There is a Renaissance,—a Revival of learning in Europe to-day, no less than a Renaissance in Asia. The 'Revival of learning' in this Modern Age of Europe is not that of Latin and Greek, but of Science and History. This is Lord Acton's statement, and those who have felt the power of European Universities will recognise its truth. The same factors have led to a liberalising of religion, which has not diminished, but rather increased its earnestness and devotion.

We turn from these high themes to a consideration of Europe as a whole, and its marked racial divisions. It has been said by a great modern statesman, that when a real crisis comes, which compels men to take sides, then the separate European nations will be merged, and races will be the only units. He went on to describe his meaning by declaring that, ultimately, the races of Europe (as moulded by their different civilisations) might be divided roughly into five,—the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, the German, the Ottoman, and the Slav. The division is clearly a very imperfect one (it omits the Celt and the Greek and the Norse); it depends also more on the moulding of civilisation than on ultimate physical origins (physically the Anglo-Saxon and the German are the same): but it well portrays in large masses the many varieties of modern European life, and gives a useful and serviceable picture of its diversity in unity.

Religious differences tend to follow the same line as racial. The Latin countries of Spain and Italy and France are, with Austria, the stronghold of the Roman Catholic Church; the Ottomans are Muslims; the Slavs of Russia, Servia, Austria and Bulgaria are adherents of the Greek Church; all the countries of the North, except Ireland, are supporters of the Reformed Churches. It will be seen that Austria cannot be placed under a single

head ; for Austria is at the centre of Europe and as such forms the central meeting-point of races. She is partly German, partly Slav, partly Magyar.

When an attempt is made to define further the characteristics of each racial group, the work of discrimination is more difficult. The Anglo-Saxon is more sluggish by nature, with a talent for practical compromise and political organisation. In religion he is practical, unspeculative and puritan. The Latin is more quick and sensitive, with a talent for artistic and emotional expression in life. He is conservative and traditional in religion, except where a revolt takes place and he becomes a free-thinker. The German is more thorough and plodding, with a talent for method in life. In religion he is radical and speculative. The Ottoman is simple and frugal (except in the large towns) with a talent for hard endurance. His religious nature is strong and somewhat fatalistic. The Slav is passive and enduring, with sudden outbursts of volcanic passion and great powers of devotion. In religion he is still medieval, displaying often a beautiful form of the mystical ascetic life.

As the traveller passes over Europe he can note, even with the outward eye, these changes in race and civilisation. The quick eager gesture of the French is replaced by the silent, somewhat stolid, stare of the Englishman. The Russian peasant, again, is like nothing in Western Europe. He seems scarcely to have changed outwardly since the time that he passed from the table-lands of Central Asia. The Turk even more clearly belongs to Asia. His dress and manners are eastern rather than western. The German character is more difficult to describe. It is marked with a strong military tone among the men, while, among the women, there is no one more domestic than the German Haus-frau.

Within the same groups the changes are much less noticeable. The Latin Races have singularly marked characteristics of their own. Southern Europe is homogeneous. The Germans of Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland and Prussia have common traits. The Scotsman and Englishman are closely allied. So are also the Dane and the Swede in the North, and the Russian and the Serb in the East.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his *Western Civilisation*, imagines a state of Europe in the future, when a great German Confederation will stretch from Holland to beyond the Danube, a Slav Federation meeting it from the East and a Latin Federation from the West. Such divisions are impossible to predict with any certainty. The womb of the future may have a different fate in store for Europe. Some Napoleon may arise and change in a generation the map of Europe and upset all calculations. But the fact remains that federations seem likely to develop as time goes on, and that kindred nations, while living their individual life, will also be merged in a larger whole. Such a process has been rapidly taking place among the younger civilisations of the world. We shall meet with it in America, Africa and Australia. In this connexion the question is sometimes asked, will India ever become a 'Nation'? Will it not rather develop into a group of nations? The sudden rise of Bengal itself, with its individual national consciousness, has made this question of practical consequence. The answer is really in the affirmative in both cases. India can become a nation in the larger sense of the word, just as the United States is a nation, and yet at the same time ample room may be left for the separate parts of India to develop a distinct nationality of their own. This would be wholly in accord with the lines of modern progress.

It may be asked, what of the Anglo-Saxon in his tiny group of islands? With whom will he federate? The answer lies across the sea. Anglo-Saxon federation will be found in the colonies rather than in the continent of Europe. England may have an *entente cordiale* with France, but she will federate with Canada, South Africa and Australia. At present the difficulties of sea-distance makes such federation somewhat unpractical. But this barrier is every day becoming less formidable owing to the speed of modern travel. The language barrier is not felt at all, for English has been from the first the ruling language.

It will be noted that India has not been mentioned in this Anglo-Saxon federation. India can never be treated as a colony. Unity of race can alone make this colonial relation

possible, and India is racially distinct. She may be a dependency or an ally or a rival: she cannot be a blood connexion. She may acknowledge England as a conqueror or a friend or a foe: she cannot own her as a mother. For Indians there can be but one mother and one motherland and that is India herself. This truth should be realized frankly when 'colonial' self-government is put forward as an objective. In the case of a smaller population, such as that of the French in Canada, absorption within a larger whole is possible; but here again India with her three hundred millions is far too vast to be absorbed. She stands and must ever stand as an entity by herself, one of the largest racial units of the world. She is linked to England by the closest ties, but these ties are not, and never can be, racial.

What, it may be asked in conclusion, will be the effect of the new situation in European politics on India herself? The rivalry between England and Germany is here the most important factor to be considered. We have already noticed the growth of the new Tariff Reform Party in England and the strength it draws from the German peril. If the triumph of this Party bring with it a reaction and a distrust in England of Indian Reform measures by Act of Parliament, there should be no despondency among Indians themselves, but rather a stronger determination than ever to press on with social and educational work which will remove internal evils. Such work has within itself the element of permanency which is lacking in party politics.

But another aspect of the German rivalry cannot be over-looked. Germany has for a whole generation been pressing strenuously forward in Turkey and the Nearer East.

The Baghdad Railway is only one example of her policy in this direction. But to have German influences prevailing in the Nearer East would be a constant source of danger to Great Britain; for it would mean the insecurity of her passage to India. At the present time the young Turk party is all in favour of England and adverse to Germany; for England gave them the strongest moral support in the late crisis, while Germany sided with Austria in her act of annexation. This Turkish *entente cordiale* is of the utmost importance to England, and she will try hard to maintain it. She can do this most effectively by generous treatment to her Muhammadan subjects all over the world. India, therefore, with her seventy million Musalmans will enter in this way most intimately into the political situation.

There is one feature in modern English life which should call for India's fellowship and sympathy on grounds where Indian sympathy has never been wanting. The younger generation in Great Britain, especially in her Universities, is more deeply religious in its spirit, more seriously engaged in works of love and service to the poor, more practically interested in social amelioration and redressing human wrongs, than any previous generation within human memory. (Those who are the fittest and best able to judge are clear on this point). Young India to-day is learning the same lessons and cultivating the same spirit. This should do much to form a bond of fellowship and sympathy, and to draw the newer forces of the two countries more closely together. It should dispel prejudice and increase mutual respect.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

GARRISON, THE LIBERATOR

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnished and mean,
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

ONE hundred years ago, there played in the streets of quaint old Newburyport, Mass., and sold molasses candies from door to door, a dark-haired,

dark-eyed boy whose name was destined to be written on "Fame's eternal bead-roll,"—William Lloyd Garrison, the lover of mankind, of liberty and of justice.

His early days were spent in humble circumstances. His father deserted the little family when Lloyd was but a child, and his mother, a beautiful woman of great

ability and strength of character to whose influence much of Lloyd's love of truth and of justice must be attributed, was obliged to work hard early and late to support herself and her three children.

Young Lloyd was early initiated into the arena of the world's competitive battle. Before he was thirteen years old he was twice apprenticed, once to a shoemaker, and once to a cabinet-maker, but for neither of these trades did he show any aptitude. At the age of thirteen, through some happy fortune he secured a position in the office of the "Newburyport Herald" to learn to set type. This work appealed to him from the first. He learned readily and quickly, became a rapid compositor. The taste for study awakened now and he read everything he could find of history, politics and the classics. The creative instinct aroused also and found vent in anonymous contributions to the paper. Great was the joy of the boy of sixteen when his first article was accepted, and this was followed during the next few years by many others covering a wide range of topics.

His apprenticeship in the Herald office came to an end when he was twenty years of age, and he celebrated his freedom by becoming the editor and publisher of a newspaper of his own, the "Free Press." From the outset he adopted an independent tone, refusing to solicit patronage or to cater to the interests of any subscriber, and this attitude he maintained uncompromisingly for the six months of the paper's existence. During this time he discovered the poet Whittier, who had sent an anonymous poem to the paper which was of merit so unusual that Garrison immediately hunted up the author, and thus began a friendship between him and the shy quaker lad which was to last through life.

When forced to abandon his newspaper enterprise he turned his face towards Boston to seek his fortune, and for many months eked out a hand-to-mouth existence there setting types first in one printing office and then another. His interest in politics still kept up. All questions of the day, particularly those dealing with public wrongs and injustice aroused in him fierce indignation. He was a lover of fair play and any form of oppression stirred him deeply. The temperance cause found in him a strong

champion, and in 1828 he again became a newspaper editor, this time conducting the "National Philanthropist", the organ of the temperance party, advocating total abstinence.

But as yet no glimpse of the great life-work had been vouchsafed him. This dated from his meeting with Benjamin Lundy, the quaker editor of a Baltimore paper called the "Genius of Universal Emancipation", devoted entirely to the cause of the slaves. Besides this man and the few who supported his journal, there were none interested in this question and no anti-slavery movement of any kind in the country. The eyes of men were blinded, their ears deaf to the anguished cries of their brother-men in chains. Lundy had come to Boston to try to induce the clergy to take up the cause of slavery. He called a meeting for this purpose but met with no encouragement. Garrison attended the meeting and was indignant at the cowardly attitude of the few clergymen present. He himself was profoundly moved by Lundy's vivid picturing of actual conditions in the slave-holding states, and, acting with his customary bravery and energy, took up the cause of the Negro with fervid enthusiasm. From then on he fought the triple battle of abolition of slavery, intemperance, and war.

In 1829, acceding to Lundy's earnest wish, Garrison went to Baltimore and united with him in editing the "Genius". Here the sights which met his eyes roused him to white heat. Negroes stored in jails to be sold at auction to the highest bidder; mothers and children, husbands and wives mercilessly torn asunder. The shrieks of helpless victims as the cruel cowhide descended, the sight of backs bleeding from the terrible gashes, strengthened his determination that injustice so horrible should be put down, and this position he held unswervingly and unflinchingly through all the bitter trials and persecutions that followed. He shrank from nothing. With indomitable courage he exposed every case of wrong-doing that came to his notice, openly naming and rebuking the offenders in his paper. Hearing on one occasion that a prominent citizen of Newburyport was allowing slaves to be shipped in one of his vessels from Baltimore to New Orleans, Garrison immediately denounced him in the "Genius",

printing his name in capitals. This resulted in a suit for libel. Garrison was tried, found guilty, fined 50 dollars and costs, and, being totally unable to pay, was sent to jail. The seven weeks spent here were passed in preparing a pamphlet giving a report of his trial, which was afterwards circulated broadcast and attracted wide attention. He also wrote letters to the Newburyport Herald and other papers, calling attention to the fact that he, an American citizen, was denied freedom of speech. These, too, were published widely and gained for him much sympathy.

The liberality of a New York Philanthropist finally brought about his release. The "Genius", meanwhile, through lack of financial support had ceased to exist and Garrison, returning to Boston, began the issue on his own responsibility of a weekly which he called the "Liberator." The first issue of this tiny sheet, which was to be a veritable bombshell in the enemy's country, came out on January 1, 1831. Only four columns of printed matter, 14×9 inches in size, but each word a pointed barb that tore and rankled in the public mind. The motto heading the columns was, "Our Country is the World; our Countrymen are Mankind," and for ornamentation it bore a woodcut representing an auction block where slaves and horses were together exposed for sale.

This little sheet, born in poverty and obscurity, printed with borrowed types on paper procured on credit, and without the financial backing of a single subscriber, was destined to awaken the deadened consciences of Northern men and rouse them to effective action. For eighteen months, Garrison and his partner, a fellow-townsmen who had assisted him also in the office of the Genius, worked fourteen hours a day living on bread and milk—and very little of that—in order to continue this publication. The object of the paper was to make known in clear, uncompromising, unmistakable words, the real facts about the slaves and their masters; the cruelty, the tyranny, the unutterable wickedness were pictured with relentless courage. Before this fiery onslaught public apathy and indifference melted like mist before the morning sun. From North and South alike came bitter denunciations. Abusive and

threatening letters reached him from all sides, and the Legislature of Georgia went so far as to offer a reward of \$ 5000, for his capture.

Utterly unmoved by all the clamor, calmly and remorselessly Garrison continued on his determined course. In January of the following year, 1832, he founded the new England Anti-Slavery Society of Boston out of which grew many similar societies all over the country, and a year later he was sent by the Board of Managers of this society to England in hopes of interesting people sufficiently to procure funds wherewith to establish a Manual Training School for Colored Youth. Here he was cordially received, and hospitably entertained, and succeeded in securing the friendship and co-operation of many prominent men. On his return to New York he found the situation unchanged. His arrival was the signal for the gathering of a mob which threatened to tar and feather him, but which was finally dispersed.

The violent temper of the Northern people towards the Abolitionists increased steadily. In 1833, in Connecticut, a young Quaker woman sought to establish a school for colored girls. Not only was she unsuccessful, but she met with the most shameful treatment. She was boycotted by the shops, refused admittance to churches or conveyance in public vehicles, denounced and misrepresented in town meetings and in the newspapers, forced into court, and finally her house was burned to the ground. In Boston a lady was excluded from the Athenaeum library because she was an Abolitionist. At Harvard University, a professor of known Abolition sentiments was forced to resign. Whittier was stoned at Concord. Garrison was burned in effigy in Charlestown, S. C., and a gallows erected before his house in Boston.

In 1835, a distinguished English Abolitionist, George Thompson, whose acquaintance Garrison had made abroad, and who had been for some time the guest of the latter, was announced to speak at a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. The wrath of the people burst all bonds. A mob of thousands of angry men assembled, demanding that Garrison be produced. "We must have him! Out with him! Lynch him!" went up the cry. The mayor

of the city tried to protect him and urged him to escape through the rear of the building, but he was seen, seized, dragged to a window and lowered to the ground by a rope. Here fortunately he was received by two men who were friendly to him and who succeeded in getting him out of the crowd and to the mayor's office, where for the sake of his safety, the mayor committed him to jail. Bareheaded and half naked, he was finally safely locked in a cell, though the people threw themselves before the carriage, clung to the wheels and tried to stop the horses. The next day he was obliged to leave the city secretly by request of the authorities, and Thompson was forced to flee the country. The next issue of the *Liberator* contained a full account of this outrage in the forceful words of Garrison, who spared no one connected with it, neither participator nor sympathizer.

The culmination of this period of anarchy came in 1837, when the Rev E. P. Lovejoy, of Illinois, was murdered by a mob for editing an anti-slavery journal. This together with similar acts in the South, served to quicken Abolition sentiments and was the means of bringing Wendell Phillips into the ranks. Following this came the burning of Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia, by a wild mob, during a convention of Abolitionists, and an attempt at a similar crime in Boston, which was frustrated only by calling out the militia.

For the next twenty years Garrison's life continued to be one of unrelenting, strenuous toil. The fire of popular resentment still smouldered and occasionally, when pretext offered, broke forth into flame again. As late as 1850, meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society were broken up by mobs. The life of Wendell Phillips was threatened, and Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church was guarded by the police.

When the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, abolishing slavery, was adopted in February, 1865, Garrison felt that his great life purpose had been accomplished. Through the long years he had never once despaired of the ultimate triumph of truth and justice. Now the glory of victory was his. Popular sentiment was now wholly on his side. In April of this same year, by invitation of the United States Government, he was a guest at the occasion of raising

the flag over Fort Sumter on the fourth anniversary of its capture. His reception at Washington was in the nature of an ovation. President Lincoln and others high in authority accorded him marked respect and consideration, and the negroes, thousands upon thousands of them, showered upon him every possible evidence of love and gratitude. Men, women and children, struggled to get near enough to touch his coat reverently. This was on the eve of the assassination of President Lincoln. In the morning came the sad news which cast a great nation into mourning.

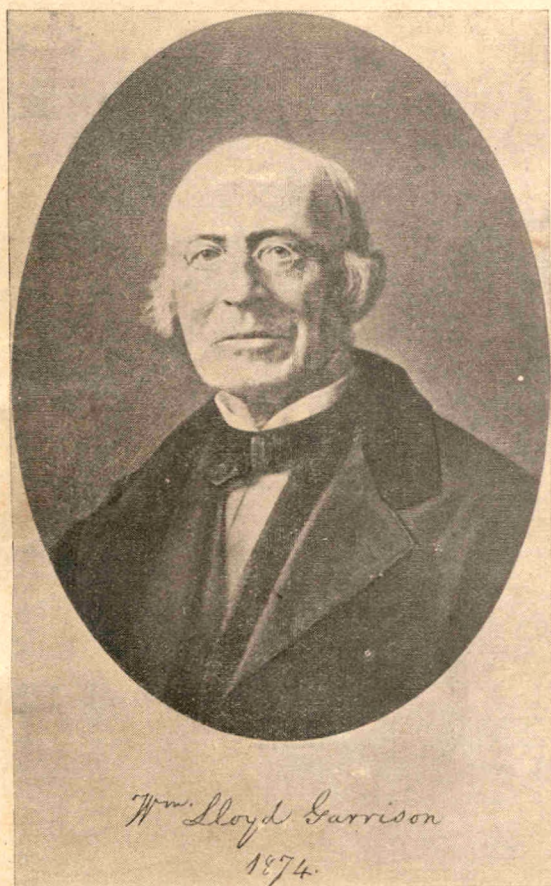
In December of this year, Garrison set up the types for his paper, the *Liberator*, for the last time. The thirty years of its life came to an end, and Garrison's work for his colored brethren was practically over. For the thirteen years more of life which were his, he interested himself in all matters of reform—woman's rights, free trade, temperance, the freed men, the exclusion of the Chinese.

Though the attitude of Garrison was aggressive in the extreme to every form of injustice, though he was stern and inflexible in upholding the right, he was also one of the most genial and kindly of men, of wide sympathies, and quick to forgive an injury. The doctrine of non-resistance he preached continually with his usual earnestness, and on one occasion so impressed a young Japanese student, that on the latter's return to his own country he refused to serve in the army and was cast into prison. But ordinarily, Garrison's appeal fell upon deaf ears. The world was not yet ready to learn the ancient lesson, "Hatred ceases not by hatred at any time; hatred ceases only by love."

At three different times in his life, had Garrison crossed the ocean on anti-slavery missions; on the fourth time, in 1867, he went as delegate of the American Freedmen's Union to the International Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris. On the way he stopped in London revisiting old friends and associations. Here he was received with cordial welcome and every mark of attention and respect, being regarded "not merely as the liberator of the slaves, but as the representative also, of the American Government." A breakfast was given in his honour, presided over by John Bright, the

great English statesman, and attended by the wealthy and titled aristocracy both of England and of Scotland. The freedom of the city of Edinburgh was also bestowed upon him. John Stuart Mill, speaking of Garrison and his work, said :

"It is not only the slave who has been freed,—the mind of America has been emancipated. The whole intellect of the country has been set thinking about the fundamental questions of society and government;... and that great nation is saved, probably for a long time to come, from the most formidable danger of a completely settled state of society and opinion,—intellectual and moral stagnation..... This, then, is an additional item of the debt which America and mankind owe to Mr. Garrison and his noble associates."



On his return to America, Garrison was presented with a national testimonial of \$30,000. made up of contributions from people in every section of the country, thus gladly expressing their appreciation of his great efforts for mankind.

In December, 1875, he celebrated his 70th birthday by setting types in the office of the Newburyport Herald, and again, three years later, in 1878, he celebrated the 60th anniversary of his apprenticeship in the same way. But ill health had pursued him for these later years, and in February, 1878, he passed beyond the bounds of human ken. In the city of Boston, Massachusetts, where Garrison lived for many years, and where he was insulted, threatened, mobbed and nearly killed, there now stands on Commonwealth Avenue, one of the finest residential sections of the city, a fine statue of him, the words cut on the pedestal being taken from his first editorial in the *Liberator* :

"I am in earnest...and I will be heard"—an assertion which future years saw fully verified.

A vision of the ideal, which never paled; a sense of universal brotherhood; a belief in Freedom as the birthright of all mankind; utter fearlessness, immovable determination and unwavering patience—these are the weapons with which Garrison fought the good fight.

In closing, to quote once more from Mill :—

"The truth which his whole career most strikingly illustrates,—that though our best-directed efforts may often seem wasted and lost, nothing coming of them that can be pointed to and distinctly identified as a definite gain to humanity; though this may happen ninety-nine times in every hundred, the hundredth time the result may be so great and dazzling that we had never dared to hope for it, and should have regarded him who had predicted it to us as sanguine beyond the bounds of mental sanity. So has it been with Mr. Garrison."

MARY WOODWELL CARTER.

THE FATAL GARLAND

BY SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE prison cell was dark. When Shakti entered she saw nothing save the impenetrable darkness. She bid the warder bring a light, while she stood motionless. She closed her eyes and found the darkness less intense when presently she opened them again. A dim light fell through the opening in the wall and that enabled her to see a dark figure prostrate on the ground. She advanced towards it. But now the prisoner started in wild surprise, "Shakti?" his voice sounded like an echo from a tomb, a whole soul's woe rang forth from those two syllables,

"Not Shakti, but the Sultana," sharp, clear and cold rang her tones, the very walls seemed hurt when reverberating those mocking sounds, and the man to whom they were addressed lay motionless and silent. The Empress too was silent, she tried to pierce the gloom and see the Raja's face. She wished to see the effect her words had on him. But the darkness was merciful, she did not see the woe that marred his features.

The warder entered with a lantern. She could see the prisoner now distinctly. But he saw not the handsome youth that she remembered of her early life, nor the proud and stately Raja dressed in royal robes to whom men bowed wherever he appeared. She only now beheld a sorry figure, a sad-looking prisoner clad in rags, his long hair dishevelled and his face pale, haggard, worn and sorrow-stricken. Only the fire still lingered in those black eyes, now deep and sunken, and by that she recognised the man of Kshatriya blood.

She gazed speechlessly at him, not a trace in her proud face betrayed her feeling. This was her hour of triumph, of revenge. Did she feel joy? A change came over the magic pallor of her face, a tear-drop glistened in her long black lashes, her closed lips

quivered. Firm and erect she stood, it seemed as if life stirred within a marble statue. His calamity smote her. Ye gods, behold the woman's heart and marvel. As if touched by a magic wand her being changed, or did not change but burst the crust of bitterness that coated the chords on which the woman's noble nature vibrated.

Yes, now she understood what the Yogini had told her, her being was reclaimed. This was indeed her hour of triumph, for she had gained her higher self again. At last she spoke, "Rise Rajkumar." Now her tones were mellow, compassionate and tender, Ganesh Dev was astounded at the change. How could he, a mere man, fathom the depth of woman's heart which even the gods have failed to do? Shakti spoke again, "Rise Rajkumar, the time is passing. Take these garments and cover yourself with them."

Ganesh understood, Shakti had come to set him free. Had then his dream come true? Again the vision of freedom loomed up before him, he found himself unfettered, moving amid those he loved. Mechanically he rose and said blankly, "Where shall I go?"

Shakti extinguished the dim light and hastily tore off a part of her voluminous sari, she took the gold embroidered shawls from off her head and these she gave the prisoner and said, "Take these garments Rajkumar, cover yourself well and knock at the door; the warder will open. Then go out and accompany him in silence. When outside the prison give the guard this ring, he will take it and leave you unmolested and you can go wherever you like."

The Raja as if dreaming still, replied, "And you?"

"Do not concern yourself about me," replied the Sultana hastily. "All has been arranged, Kutab will come for me at the appointed time."

"But the guard will tell Kutab you have already gone."

"The man who goes with you will be relieved by another man, who will know nothing of what went on."

"His companion will tell him."

"No, believe me all has been arranged. Make haste, do not delay, or all will fail."

Was all arranged? Ah noble, fearless woman, well may the angels bless you for this one falsehood from your lips. She only thought of him; the dangers that awaited her, the mortal risk she ran this hour, these found no thought with her.

The freeborn man breathed liberty once more. But suddenly as if a revelation came upon him, the light of freedom vanished.

"Sultana," clear and firm rang his words, "I will not escape. Take back your garments and the ring."

Wounded and astonished the Sultana asked, "Why not, Maharaja?"

"I am not worthy of the gift you offer me. I cannot take my freedom from your hand." His voice was firm and resolute. Shakti knew his resolution was fixed, her face turned ghastly pale, her last hope fled. She leaned against a wall to save herself from falling.

While this went on within the prison cell, Kutab sought the Sultan and wrought his ghastly vengeance. He whispered into the King's ears all that by his false vows of loyalty he had been able to learn.

The Badshah became mad with the passion of jealousy and rage. "Kutab, this cannot be. This is too much, you are speaking falsely." The unfortunate man was like one whose reason had forsaken him.

But Kutab answered complacently, "Your Majesty may perhaps trust the evidence of your own eyes. If you will come, I shall soon prove that what I say is true."

"That I cannot do. If what you say is true, go at once and bring me that head."

"Whose head, your Majesty?"

"Whose head? That villain Ganesh Dev's."

"And what will I say to the Sultana?"

"You have nothing to say to her, that is my concern."

Kutab was crushed; he had hoped to see the Sultana either killed or banished, but his game was lost.

He departed despondently to carry out orders, when he was recalled. "If the Sultana has not left the prison, the prisoner is not to be slain now, you understand?"

"As your Majesty orders," and Kutab turned away dejectedly.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Shakti was dazed, her hope lay broken at her feet. Never before in her sad life had she been pained as she was by Ganesh Dev's refusal to-night. Many had been the disappointments that she had seen, but this was the greatest. It was not like the passion of early days, when anger and vindictiveness had come to her assistance. To-night her heart was free from any selfish thought. She felt as if a mountain of sorrow suddenly crushed down upon her; she felt a sense of separateness which bordered on despair; it seemed she had lost all connection with the universe, like the doomsday comet isolated from the solar system. She could not realise that what she heard was really true.

She left the cell and coming out saw the sky overcast with clouds, not a single star penetrated the darkness. She stood like one in a trance, all seemed black and hopeless to her, she could not grasp the situation in which she found herself. The watchman, thinking she was afraid, offered to bring a light. His voice startled her and she replied very slowly, "No—o, let us go."

The jemadar*, Golam Ali Khan, sat smoking on a wooden bench in the outer gateway, and as Shakti passed the patrol challenged her. "Your name," they called. The jemadar silenced them and they let her pass. But as she went he ran after her hastily and demanded, "The ring?"

Kutab had given Shakti a ring by which she had been permitted entrance into the prisoners' cell. It had been agreed between them that Kutab should wait for her at the guard house near by, and that on leaving the prison, she was to send the ring by the jemadar to Kutab, who would then come to her and see that she returned to the palace in safety.

In the meantime, as the reader knows, Kutab was not wasting his time in the

* Constable,

guard-house, yet he had not neglected to make arrangements whereby he should know when Shakti left the prison. He had left one of his servants with Golam Ali Khan, instructing the latter to send him with the ring immediately after the woman left the prison, in case Kutab could not return before that time. He fully intended to be back before the Sultana left the cell, but it was possible that there might be some delay, since the Sultan had to be roused from his bed before the news could be imparted to him. So considering the matter all around, Kutab had taken this precaution. He had, however, concealed the fact that she who entered the prison was the Sultana.

"There is no ring to give," replied Shakti to the jemadar's demand. But the man insisted on having Kutab's orders carried out, to which she firmly replied, "Step aside, you are hearing your Sultana's orders."

Frightened and abashed the man stepped aside, and the Empress passed unhindered, while the poor constable returned to his seat quite unnerved over what had occurred. "The Sultana Sahib?" he muttered to himself. "I thought she might be the prisoner's wife coming to see her husband, and we should certainly get some bucksheesh; however, such is my luck." He thought Kutab a lucky chap to have both the Sultan and the Sultana under his thumb. Then he awoke Kutab's servant, Fateh Khan, who lay asleep under a tree. The latter was drowsy, and when he heard that the ring had not been obtained, he went to sleep again. Golam Ali Khan himself reflected, that as long as there was no ring to send, he might have another smoke in peace.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

It was midnight, but Shakti wandered on fearlessly. She was accustomed to midnight walks, for had she not often in those six years of her pilgrimage wandered at late hours of the night? She crossed the woods she knew so well, and the trees seemed to extend their branches like welcoming arms, all greeted her as an old friend. She soon reached the river side. She saw the tamarind tree, on which they once had sat, Ganesh and she, on that eventful night long years ago, which had become

the turning point in Shakti's life. Its branches were all gone, only the knarled trunk remained. Was it not thus too with her life? All beauty gone, only grim reality facing her.

Now she came to that memorable spot where she had undergone her great soul trial. There stood the tree where she had crushed the wreath she loved so well. A minute here she lingered. Each grain of dust seemed sanctified, for with it now were mingled those faded blossoms, the crushed hope of her life. She stooped and took a handful of the earth and tied it in a corner of her royal sari and then resumed her walk.

Soon she reached the half-ruined temple, where still officiated the holy Mataji, her aunt. A light shone through a crease in the door now as of old. She saw with her mind's eye the sannyasini as she used to see her squatting before an oil-lamp, praying. She came to the unbolted door and pushed it gently open. Yes, there sat the priestess praying with eyes closed. But the light was not that of an oil-lamp, it was a sacrificial fire that sent its blaze on high. The door between the two apartments was now open and the flame burnt before Kali's image.

Shakti stood noiselessly, the priestess did not notice her. She recited mantras with measured breath and fed the fire anew with oblations, until the surging flames soared up and touched the ceiling. They seemed to Shakti like a fountain of blood, soaring upward and falling back again like severed human heads. Then the flames became more subdued, and now it seemed the heads were ranging themselves into a square, and upon it rose a throne of light. Whose image was that seated on this throne? The Sultana tried to identify the face, when the yogini spoke again.

"O Thou Omnipotent One, Thou Fountain of Life, be propitious. Thou hast created all that is, Thou preservest by Thy mercy or destroyest by Thy anger. And in Thy anger Thou hast brought woe on our motherland. But now, let Thy compassion speak, O Thou Infinite Mercy, remove this sorrow from our heads and liberate him who now lies fettered, the son of the old heroes of our land. Oh, touch his manly heart with Thy great Spirit that he may rise and lift oppression from his race."

The woman who stood by the door felt inspiration throbbing through her being. Moved by a voice that came from higher spheres, she spoke, "Then be it so, the great God sent me hither to accomplish this."

The priestess looked proud, "Shakti, Sultana, you will liberate him?"

"I would already have done so, but he will not take freedom from my hand. Come with me, holy mother, he will accept liberty if you offer it. This ring will admit us, and you can take him with you and escape with him."

The Mataji rose to go, but Shakti stopped her saying, "Wait, mother, give me another dress."

The sannyasini brought out one of those traditional ochre-coloured robes, and Shakti put it on and rubbed into her body some of the sacred earth she had brought. She put half of her jewelled sari over the devotee's dress she now wore; she cut her long shawl into halves, wound one part round herself, and the other she gave to her companion as a disguise, together with that part of her jewel-embroidered sari that she had torn off while in the prison cell. Then she directed her saying, "Put this shawl over your head, holy mother, and wear this sari. On entering the prison I will give you the sari and shawl I am wearing. Direct Ganesh to put them on as I wore them, and see that his head is well covered. Then you will appear going out the same as we did on entering, and the prison guards will not suspect what has happened."

"And you, my child?" asked the yogini calmly.

"I will remain behind. Kutab will come to my aid later on."

The sannyasini understood the risk that Shaktimoi ran, but she made no effort to dissuade her. She only smiled, for what is death to the devotee who has faced the Infinite? This mortal life is not the highest gift that man possesses, and death as a sacrifice in a just cause is a great boon.

"One thing remains," said Shakti, "cut off my hair."

The devotee complied with her request and Shaktimoi gave her those long, black, silky locks and said, "If Gul Bahar becomes motherless, give her these as a last token

from me, and remember from to-night she is your child."

The priestess laid the hair under Kali's feet and muttered a prayer, while Shakti stepped out into the night.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

"Maharaja, Maharaja," called the sannyasini. Ganesh Dev started from his sleep and exclaimed, "No, Shakti, no; I will not leave the cell, tempt me no more."

"Child, it is I. I have come to set you free."

Ganesh Dev recognised the priestess. Yes, from the devotee he could accept his freedom, he was in silence waiting for her. He dressed himself as the Mataji directed.

The Mataji then knocked at the door which was opened and together they went out. The heavy door was closed again; the Sultana was in the prison cell alone. She had entered with the yogini and hidden herself in a corner, where she remained cold and trembling with fear lest he discover her. But now that he was gone she breathed a deep sigh of relief. Her work was done, Ganesh was free. This is the revenge of Shaktimoi, the great-souled Hindu woman!

It had often seemed to her that not one wish her life had known had ever been fulfilled. But at last the gods had taken compassion on her, and one wish, one great supreme desire of hers was granted, the only one now left. But this achievement was so dear, so all soul satisfying, that it compensated for all the blighted hopes she had known, and her being was inundated with a boundless bliss. She thanked the great God for this mercy and now grasped the mysterious ways of Providence. The sorrows of her life seemed all so little now, she saw they were the gateway to a higher purpose.

Inspired by holy awe she neared the spot where he had slept a prisoner, and on the hard, stone prison-floor the fair form of the Sultana found rest at last. She wrapped herself in the worn prison blanket which had covered the Rajkumar in those dread cold nights he spent within the cell, the only relic left her. And the sweet peace that she in vain had sought while

resting on her regal couch, now overshadowed her as moonlight floods the air. Her heart grew oh so calm, she turned to her Creator and her grateful soul breathed a soft prayer.

"O, all Compassionate One, Thou art ever gracious to all, and even those who serve Thee not receive Thy blessing. I murmured against Thee, but Thou in Thy great mercy hast had compassion on me. The sorrows I have seen, the tears I shed, these were stored drop by drop, and by Thy mercy, O Thou great Creator, changed into this ocean of supreme happiness. And since the hand of Thy blessing is on this unworthy one, grant her still one more prayer. Let her go hence ere this sweet calm be broken, send death to her while in this ecstasy."

Then slowly, very slowly her heavy lashes sank over her glorious eyes, and gentle slumber came upon her. In this dreamy state the sublime happiness, the bliss, the calm remained. She heard the flute notes softly playing and from afar vibrated the sweet melody, the inspiration of her childhood.

"What more do I desire,
Since she is mine?
Swiftly we glide upon
The foaming brine."

Once more she wandered in the garden by Lake Mohipal, over the silvery waves glided a boat, and now the stately Rajkumar appeared her childhood's playmate and her life's great love. She saw a garland of fresh bakul flowers round her neck, while nearer, ever nearer came the soft tune floating through space, till all seemed melody around her.

"Over the laughing wave
Softly we glide,
Rocking to and fro
On the rippling tide.
The moon shines in the vaulted sky
While gently on we float.
The riches of the world are mine
Within my little boat."

The silver moon flooded the air with trembling light, and southern breezes wafted sweet fragrance as of Champak blossoms. Softly rang the bulbul's notes, and anon the flute's vibrating sound rang through the air.

"On yonder distant shore
The people sigh,
'A boatman out so late,
A storm is nigh.'

My heart laughs loud to see their fear
While gently on I float.
The minutes glide on silver wings
Within my little boat.
What more do I desire,
Since she is mine?
Swiftly we glide upon
The foaming brine."

But there was no one near now to mark her happiness. Only the Rajkumar was with her, and their strong souls soared upward together to those regions where ecstasy and life are blended and eternal peace holds sway. And from afar rang a choir as of angels' voices, singing the song she loved so well.

"The bliss of life is mine
As on we fly.
The stars laugh as we go
My boat and I.
All my desires are reached. My song
Resounds from rock and cave.
This boat of beauty is my own
Upon the dancing wave.
What more do I desire,
Since she is mine?
Swiftly we glide upon
The foaming brine."

Her soul was merged into the Infinite, and thus at last she sank into deep sleep.

... ..
... ..

But hark what mean those weird and ghostly voices behind the prison door? Two black figures are entering the cell. "The prisoner sleeps soundly," mutters one.

"So much the better," comes the hoarse reply. "The man has muscles. If we overpower him in his sleep, we won't have to struggle with him."

"Your Lordship may leave the lantern outside and stand by the door," came the ghastly whisper of the first speaker. "I will finish the work in the dark."

It was Kutab to whom these words were addressed and who waited without until the gruesome deed was done.

Suddenly the Sultan appeared upon the scene, he acted like a maniac. He had waited for Kutab until he could endure the suspense no longer and at last forgetting his royal dignity had followed his deadly messenger to the prison door. "Kutab," he shrieked, "you have not carried out my orders, else where is the head, where is the Sultana?"

The dreadful work was done. A man emerged from the black prison cell, carrying

something in a cloth. Kutab took charge of it, removed the cloth and handed the gory trophy to the Sultan. "Here is the head Your Majesty wanted," he said with a diabolical calm.

The light of the torch fell on the bleeding face. The Sultan shouted like a mad man, "Devil, what have you done, whose head is this?" and fell raving to the ground.

CONCLUSION.

Gais-ud-din lost his reason completely on finding Shakti slain. Kutab, Saheb-ud-din, the prison guards—one and all were put to death. People were slain indiscriminately, and all went in fear of their lives. Many joined the Maharaja of Dinajpore—some secretly, others openly—with whom Gais-ud-din was now at war, and after several battles the unfortunate Sultan was defeated and slain. Hindus and Mussalmans united in putting Ganesh Dev on the throne. In the History of Bengal an unparalleled event occurred,—a Hindu Raja occupied a Mussalman throne.

Nirupama, whose life had been ever enriched by Shakti's loss, now occupied the throne that Shakti by her death had vacated, she was now Empress of the land. In Shakti's garden the same flowers bloomed, the same birds sang, the same evening winds whispered their mysterious sound.

But Shaktimoi, the stately Sultana, graced

with her queenly presence this place of beauty no longer. The little Empress Nirupama sat there on moonlit nights, accompanied by the husband to whom as ever she clung in childlike tenderness.

The young Prince, Jadav Dev, came up to his mother; he held a little girl by the hand who was fretful and restless. The boy said, "Mother, when I am big, I will marry the Princess Gul Bahar." Then he caressed the little Princess and whispered coaxingly, "Do not weep, you are my Queen, I will bring you some flowers."

Nirupama became vexed on hearing what her boy said and answered, "My son, you must not speak that way, don't you know she is a Mussalmani?"

The sannyasini, who was standing near, replied, "Do not despise the child, but remember that her mother gave her life to save you all."

Ganesh Dev sighed, he took the little one on his lap and kissed her tenderly. But Nirupama looked on the playful scene with misgiving and fear. Jadav Dev had received a garland of flowers from the gardener, and this he put on the little girl's neck, saying, "Princess, you are my Queen, I will marry you."

The time came when Nirupama's fears were realized. The boy redeemed his childish promise. Shakti's curse was fulfilled. Jadav Dev in his youth became a Mussalman and married Gul Bahar. He is known in history as Jelal-ud-din, Sultan of Bengal.

HOW THE WORLD IS FIGHTING TO EXTERMINATE THE WHITE PLAGUE

A famous writer declares in a popular American magazine:

"Elsewhere in the world, all lines of race and class division disappear before great disasters—shipwrecks, famines, epidemics, earthquakes, conflagrations. No one cares whether the distressed persons are of his own nation or circle; all are fired with the one blessed purpose to succor and relieve. In India the common ties of humanity have been crushed out by the perfected systems of class and rank. In India no man has any bond of brotherhood outside of his own order.

In India hatred has taken the place of the instinctive interest in human welfare that elsewhere has been the uplifting power of mankind and men, scorning those below them, scorned by those above them, live in isolated planes where alone they have human fellowship. In India the ideas of class division, class hatred, the supremacy of the idle and the inferiority of the toiler have been carried to their logical end. And this unconcern is the perfect fruit."

This is a gross libel on the Indian character: but if any justification whatever

exists for such a statement, India ought to make an effort to remove it.

The plague has now been raging in India for a decade, killing many millions of men and women and children. Diatribes have been written on the heartless policy of the British government which has done but little effective work in suppressing the plague. But the really pertinent question is: What have we done to exterminate the plague in India? And a still more pertinent query is: What are we doing now to banish the plague from our motherland?

At a time when India is enthusiastic about helping herself, it behooves every intelligent Indian to take into account what other people are doing to eliminate plagues and epidemics from their countries, and derive workable conclusions from such a study in order to carry on a similar crusade in Hindustan.

Recently in Washington, D. C., the capital of the United States, met a congress composed of the leading medical men and practical philanthropists of all the enlightened nations of the world, to consider what measures should be adopted in order to exterminate the white plague—tuberculosis. A more public-spirited or practical reform association never held its sitting than this International Tuberculosis Congress. The value of its work was emphasized by Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, in the following words:

"Medical scientists have shown just as much heroism in the fight against tuberculosis as ever was shown by a soldier on the field of battle. I feel that no gathering could take place with greater hope for the welfare of the whole world than this."

More than 4,500 delegates attended the Congress, from all corners of the Globe. After extending a cordial welcome, especially to the foreign delegates, Secretary Cortelyou said: "The days when the people of the state or nation sat idly by and left to desultory investigation the study of evils which gravely menaced the welfare of large numbers of people are passing away, and in their place we find concerted action, either under governmental inspiration or with governmental encouragement, which in many instances is enlarged into such potent international organizations as this Congress." In reviewing the work which already has been accomplished in the suppression of the

white plague, Secretary Cortelyou stated that "the first organized movement in the United States was begun by the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in 1892 under the leadership of Dr. Lawrence, F. Flick and others. Now there are more than 200 such organizations in the United States." The Secretary followed briefly the various stakes which have marked the progress of the struggle, pointing with pride to what the United States government is doing through the marine hospital, war, agricultural and other departments. Attention was directed to the good work which the various states are doing. "By figures given for the United States, it is estimated that since the year 1793 there have been approximately 100,000 deaths from the yellow fever, whereas tuberculosis is estimated to have caused 160,000 deaths last year alone," said the Secretary. "The mortality of tuberculosis is further emphasized when compared with the bubonic plague in India, which has not; since its first outbreak in 1896, caused as many deaths in that country, in proportion to the population, as were caused by tuberculosis in the United States during the same period." In concluding Mr. Cortelyou said: "Were a war in the United States to take off every year 150,000 persons we would be horrified beyond measure and ask if in a modern civilization such things could exist. Yet this is the estimate of American loss from tuberculosis."

Dr. Robert Koch, the eminent German scientist who discovered tubercule bacillus, addressed the Congress in English, saying in part:

"The tuberculosis situation in Germany has become distinctly favorable during the last three decades. Thus, for example, *the rate of mortality due to tuberculosis in Prussia has been reduced to practically one-half. This is equivalent to a gain of about 30,000 lives per annum.** In Germany we do not, however, rest content with this decrease, nor do we think that this reduction will continue at the same rate. We are active in trying not only to maintain but to enhance this diminution."

The Tuberculosis Congress significantly brought to mind the tremendous success that has been attained in controlling the tuberculosis scourge which, until recently, has been looked upon by doctors and scientists as uncontrollable. Not many years ago,

* The italics are ours.

man's attitude toward consumption was one of helpless inactivity and hardly an intelligent effort was made to exterminate this deadly enemy of the human race. Consumption was considered incurable and the man afflicted with tuberculosis was considered to be destined to die a lingering, agonizing death. The chief reason for such inability to vanquish tuberculosis was due to the fact that the medical world knew as little as did the layman of the causes that produced tuberculosis and the means that should be adopted to cure the tubercular patient and stem the tide of the epidemic. During the past few years a corps of intelligent men and women have devoted themselves to the study of consumption, its contributory causes and its cure and prevention, and the day is already dawning when the world will be rid of this fell disease.

The discovery of the bacillus of consumption has enabled the world to make wonderful strides in the last few years in treating what, not so very long ago, was regarded as an incurable disease. Hygiene, however, more than medicine, is the great essential in fighting consumption. The noted physicians from abroad discussed at the Congress technical phases of the subject; but the work which can be done by the state, the city and the individual in home, store and factory, to supply the ounce of prevention that is worth tons of cure, was elucidated at the same time for practical application.

Besides the learned discussions of medical theories in regard to the conception and progression of the disease, and the preventive and curative medicines and measures that should be used, the Congress demonstrated one all-important fact, namely: That tuberculosis is a common foe to society and that society ought to make common cause in vanquishing it. Society can get rid of this pestilence only by means of a sustained and concerted and organized effort, and a campaign for the elimination of tuberculosis necessarily means the education of all members of society as to what causes consumption, and a desire on the part of all to co-operate in escaping these causes and helping others to do the same.

A study of the vital statistics of India discloses the fact that tuberculosis is responsible for a large percentage of deaths in the land. An organized effort should therefore

be made to suppress the disease. In organizing the campaign for suppressing consumption in Hindostan, Indians ought to sit at the feet of eminent Occidentals who have successfully organized and engineered similar campaigns in their native lands.

The working program of the American people interested in the anti-tuberculosis fight, simmered down to a few words, calls for "the substitution of care and assistance for carelessness and neglect." The sanatoria for incipient cases; the hospital for advanced cases; the tuberculosis dispensaries at which the individual patient can receive medical attention and advice; the visiting nurse who can see that the advice is carried into effect in the patient's house; the charitable organization to see that while the consumptive is receiving hospital care, he can rest assured that his wife and children are provided for; and the application of a few simple measures of public hygiene, constitute a working program for the prevention and care of the terrible scourge. This outline of work applies more to small cities than to rural hamlets, but it can be modified to suit all conditions and circumstances.

In the battle which is raging against tuberculosis over the entire world, America is far ahead of all other countries. All nations admit her supremacy. All unite in attributing to the United States the most effective measures to be found anywhere to wipe out the great white plague. One striking feature of America's work in this direction lies in the fact that it is possible to enforce more stringent laws in the United States than in Germany or England. In New York City, for instance, people suffering from tuberculosis who are not able properly to take care of themselves, are arrested, if they attempt to resist, and removed to sanitariums where they can be isolated and receive proper treatment for the ailment. One of the most important steps that can be taken in reducing the ravages of the dread disease, according to the opinion of experts, is the removal of the affected person from tenement districts and his isolation in hospitals where great care can be taken to destroy the bacilli. Another feature of the work in America which is given considerable attention is the

fighting of the disease in incipient cases. Not much has been done in this direction as yet; but a strong movement is on foot to interest the municipalities of the country in the work of warding off the disease, as well as fighting the developed germs.

The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York has probably done more than any other institution or association in the world to stamp out the disease. The Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis was formed and began its work in 1902. This Committee has since that year, carried on an aggressive educational campaign through lectures, circulars and a traveling tuberculosis exhibit. It is estimated that the lectures have reached approximately 150,000 people, while 400,000 circulars have been distributed. The influence of this committee, therefore, has been widespread and effective. It has carried on valuable research work, as well as relieved tuberculous families; and its handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, and the Directory of Institutions and Societies dealing with tuberculosis have become standard works of reference.

The dispensaries of New York City have been organized on a district basis by this committee, for the treatment of tuberculosis cases. The same body of workers has carried on a successful and unique experiment in the form of a day camp for tuberculous patients, on an old ferryboat anchored in North River. The patients sun themselves on the upper deck from nine o'clock in the morning until five at night. A number of them have made use of the boat for 110 consecutive days, while 245 different persons went aboard at least once during a single season. Most of the cases cared for on the boat are in the advanced stages of the disease. A definite improvement can be traced in some instances. One patient, a man, gained seventeen and one-half pounds in two months.

Milk and eggs are served to the patients at ten o'clock in the morning; at half past twelve a hot luncheon of stew, beans and potatoes, or similar dishes, is given them, while milk and eggs are dispensed at four o'clock. The cost of maintenance averages 33 cents a person a day.

Frequently the Society finds and rescues a family attacked by the white plague.

A short time ago, to cite a single instance, the society removed a young husband suffering from tuberculosis to the hospital where he died. His wife already had contracted the awful disease, but there were two boys of eight and ten to be considered, and she did not dare to stop her work of rolling cigars and lose the weekly wages of Rs. 30. The Society gave a pension to this mother for four months and she was able to pass her days in the parks and in the open air. Finally the doctor said she was able to resume light work. She found a position in a dry goods store, but as she was not able to earn within Rs. 7/8 of the amount necessary to support her little family, the Society makes up the balance every week. The woman has gained in weight and improved in appearance and spirits. Her home is safe, and although her husband has been taken away from her, she is able to care for her children, and has a fair prospect of eventually entirely overcoming her tubercular tendency.

The same society evolved the idea of sending about a travelling tuberculosis exhibit. It consists of charts and pictures, miniature "lung blocks" and examples of lungs before and after they have been infected by tuberculosis. A number of these exhibits are now on the road and have been instrumental in accomplishing great good for the movement. On account of the lessons carried home to the minds of the people who witnessed these visualized facts, the health authorities of the state of Virginia were so stimulated in their anti-tuberculosis work that they succeeded in passing through the State Legislature two good tuberculosis laws. The citizens of the State of Kentucky were so enthused by the exhibition that an Act was passed by the Legislature providing for a State Sanitarium for the care of tuberculous people. This bill, however, was vetoed by the Governor on account of the lack of funds to maintain such an institution. Since the first exhibit started out in 1905, it has been shown to nearly a half million people.

A campaign among school children has been recommended as the most certain way of ultimately banishing this fell scourge. "I consider the campaign of education of more importance than any other feature in the crusade against the white plague," said

Dr. Koch, emphatically, in discussing a report submitted by Dr. G. A. Heron, delegate of the Royal Society of Medicine of London on "The Teaching of Elementary Hygiene in the Training Colleges and Elementary Schools of Great Britain and Ireland," and which was debated by the section of the Congress on "Elementary and Popular Education." Dr. Koch in his comment on the report, regretted that thus far most of the educational efforts in the campaign to stamp out tuberculosis have been made with adults. He emphasized the importance of teaching hygiene to children, because, he said, they are quicker to learn the hygienic laws than the adults. The youthful age is impressionable, he pointed out, and children never forget what they are taught at this period. Dr. Koch called attention to the duty which imposed itself on teachers to instruct their pupils in all the sanitary measures and precautions to be taken in combating tuberculosis, and added that both teachers and scholars must be thoroughly and competently taught. "These necessities are so simple and self-evident—the most important of all anti-tuberculosis measures—that I wish to indorse most insistently the words of Dr. Heron," said Dr. Koch. "I have long felt that in this generally infectious disease of tuberculosis, as I have felt in regard to the many infectious diseases in the study of which I have occupied my life," continued Dr. Koch "that every effort must be taken to prevent the spread of this contagion, and most important of all, the contamination of human beings by each other. From this point of view I have noted and recommend to you as very important to study the very complete exhibit of the State of New York on tuberculosis here, the methods and appliances there shown to be utilized to prevent the spread of this infection. But it is not sufficient to see the means and apparatus. One must know how to use them. Therefore the thing of most importance in this crusade against tuberculosis is this campaign of education."

Dr. Heron, in his report, told of the great step which was taken last August in England and Wales, which ended the "evil system which, till that date, allowed the study of hygiene to be optional with those who meant to become school-teachers." "Now," he said, "an intending

teacher is required to take a special course in hygiene and the school children should be regularly instructed in that science."

The United States is in no way behind England in its efforts to teach the rising generation how to fight down the white plague. The first public school for consumptive and preconsumptive children to be established in the United States was opened in Providence, Rhode Island, in January, 1908. All the sessions were held in the open, and the benefits of the fresh air treatment were combined with the teaching and training of public schools. This experiment was followed by other similar movements, both public and private. A school for tuberculous children was opened by the Brookline Anti-Tuberculosis Society in July, and is being successfully conducted. A school for consumptives was opened in Boston, under private auspices, in July, 1908. It was the intention of this last-named school to keep open only during the summer months, but the results of the work were so successful that the school authorities decided to take over the work and set aside a permanent building for this purpose. In Pittsburgh, Pa., a similar school was opened in September, and the marked benefits which the children have received from this training have led to its enlargement. The Board of Education of New York City has detailed a teacher to the Bellevue Hospital day-camp for the purpose of conducting a school there, and a teacher has been secured to teach the consumptive children. This school is conducted on the deck of an old ferry boat.

The children in all these schools are kept in the open air all day long. Most of the buildings used are open on three sides and are constructed so as to furnish an unlimited supply of fresh air, without subjecting the occupants to draughts. Desks, blackboards and other paraphernalia are provided in these schools, just the same as in the regular institutions. The children study and recite in the open air, even during the coldest weather, and the percentage of colds among them is far smaller than among children in the ordinary public schools. In most of these fresh air schools, soapstones are provided for keeping the feet warm in cold weather.

Besides establishing these specially conducted schools, a number of States have

made it obligatory that the important facts about tuberculosis shall be taught in the lower grades of the public schools. The first State to adopt measures of this kind was Michigan. By an act passed in 1895 the public schools of that State are required to give instruction on the nature of tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. Progressive steps are being taken in New Jersey by teaching the children in the schools a set of aphorisms on consumption. In all the physiologies used in the schools of Massachusetts a section on the nature, dangers and prevention of consumption is being inserted, and the state educational authorities, acting under a law of the Legislature of 1908, are establishing courses of instruction on tuberculosis in all the schools of the State. A special text-book has been provided in the District of Columbia, in which instruction is imparted concerning the utility of sleeping in the open air, the dangers of spitting, the way to prevent consumption, and other kindred topics. Dallas, Texas, is the latest city in America to adopt the method of teaching children about consumption in the schools. A "Tuberculosis Primer" is in the hands of every pupil in the public schools. In North Carolina, a separate section on tuberculosis, placed in all the physiologies, is taught to the children. Steps are being taken in Baltimore, Maryland, to carry on a systematic campaign of education amongst the school children by means of lectures and circulars. Many other cities in the U. S. States are following this plan. A petition has been sent to the Governor of South Carolina asking that a text book on tuberculosis, similar to that in use in Washington, be placed in the public schools. Several of the other States are also taking action along similar lines.

Dr. Theodore Sachs of Chicago read an interesting paper on "Children of Tuberculosis". He was one of several speakers who emphasized the importance of stamping out the disease in childhood. Approximately one-half of the children of tuberculous parents have tuberculosis. It is regarded probable that in a majority of cases with ordinary care the disease would become cured of itself or else be held in check. Dr. Sachs in his address said:

"That the well-known type of pulmonary consump-

tion is, in a large proportion of cases, but the final result of successive infections, commencing in infancy and childhood, is the gradually growing conviction of the medical profession. To prevent development of tuberculosis in adult life, all possibilities of infection must be eliminated in infancy and childhood."

A campaign of education among workmen was also recommended as another certain way of eventually vanquishing tuberculosis. "Tuberculosis is peculiarly a disease of the wage-earner," said Dr. Flick, "and this is so, for the very good reason that one of the strongest predisposing causes of the disease is overwork. It is an exceedingly fatal and prevalent disease among wage-earners." Dr. Flick pointed out that the reason why the wage-earner is so likely to contract tuberculosis is because in many instances he is overworked, he toils in insanitary workshops and often times he is underfed, which causes his powers of resistance to be less able to throw off an implantation. If the wage-earner gets the implantation, Dr. Flick said, it is almost certain to result fatally. He refuted the theory of infection from inheritance, saying that unless the tuberculosis micro-organism is admitted into our bodies it is not possible for one to become infected. The need of the establishment of hospitals and sanatoria for the care of contagious and non-contagious consumptives was emphasized by the speaker. "Cleanliness, fresh-air and temperate living are the best preventives of disease, and in most instances these essential requisites are within reach or control of the working people", declared Dr. Flick, "but unfortunately either through ignorance or carelessness or both, the simplest and most obvious rules of health are disregarded with the result that the grave claims countless victims of an easily preventible disease."

As a result of its deliberations of several days, the Congress adopted several resolutions which urged:

"that the registration of tuberculosis cases be required by law to enable health authorities to put in operation adequate precautions; that hospitals be established for curable cases; that dispensaries and day and night camps be established; that legislation regulating factories and workshops and abolishing child labor be indorsed; that school teachers be instructed in hygiene; that colleges and universities be urged to establish courses in hygiene and sanitation; that the establishment of playgrounds as an important means of preventing tuberculosis be recommended, that the utmost efforts should be continued in the struggle against tuberculosis to prevent the conveyance

from man to man of tuberculosis infection as the most important sources of the disease; that preventive measures be continued against bovine tuberculosis and that the possibility of the propagation of this to man be recognized."

The Congress demonstrated the fact that, despite the thousand and one new cures for consumption that are being advocated, air, food, rest and control are the four essentials in the treatment of tuberculosis.

The Agnes Memorial Sanatorium of Denver, Colorado, U. S. A., is considered the most perfect type of an institution for the care and cure of tuberculous people. This type of building is recommended by experts because of its perfect ventilation and the cheapness of its construction. There is a quantity of window space in the pavilion, with an upper row of windows set at back of a projecting, protective roof. The patients' beds are to the fore of the building underneath the protective roof; the upper row of windows is above the center ridge-pole or stringers, so that there is a constant circulation of air. The construction makes it possible for the patients to have the first requisite for a cure—quantities of fresh air all the time. A pavilion such as has been described has begun to supersede the tent in the treatment of tuberculosis. It is declared by those who have exhaustively studied the question that tents cannot be fully ventilated at all times and seasons and therefore the air in them is likely to become impeded and contaminated. The tent is hotter, colder and damper than the pavilion.

Next to air in the category of requirements comes sunshine. The rays of the sun have no direct therapeutic power over the disease; but the sun is a germ destroyer *par excellence*. Within six hours the sunshine will render the bacillus of tuberculosis apparently lifeless. Moreover, when the air is permeated with sunshine, it is purer and acts at the same time as a stimulant to the general circulation and a mental tonic.

Under the head of "control" comes the proper care of the dishes, clothing, etc..

touched by patients suffering from this dread disease. In a modern sanatorium, the dishes and utensils from the patients' tables are automatically removed in metal baskets and are automatically washed by being plunged into boiling water. The rooms when vacated, are thoroughly fumigated and completely revarnished before being again occupied. The restrictions upon expectoration are iron-clad and nothing is permitted to pass unscrutinized that may be the cause of carrying a tuberculosis germ to another human being. The consumptive is not permitted to judge for himself what is safe, but is made to submit to rigid rules. It is the opinion of experts that patients can be more effectively cared for where they are housed all together in a pavilion than under the cottage system. Where each patient lives alone in a cottage, it is practically impossible to enforce the rigorous measures required for the control of the disease.

Food forms an important item in the cure of consumption. An abundance of nourishing and strengthening food must be provided for the patient. The system of spasmodic stuffing, however, is out of date. Today it is considered that frequency is preferable to a periodical satiety in the cure of tuberculosis.

The isolation of the consumptive is probably the most important part of the campaign, if it is to succeed. For this purpose, isolation hospitals and even schools have been recommended for the consumptive. But the isolation does not stop even there. Isolation of consumptives on railway journeys, particularly on sleeping-car trips across the continent, is being urged by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the United States Department of Agriculture. He points out that separate cars for those afflicted with tuberculosis are as necessary as detention camps, as the spread of the disease by consumptives traveling on railroads is a well-known and grave danger.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

FAMINE PREVENTION

"The land-taxes proposed by the government do not touch agricultural land. * * The owner of agricultural land in so far as it is naturally and economically applied to agricultural purposes, will be as well off or even better off in the matter of taxation after the Budget is passed, than he is at the present moment." (Budget Speech, Asquith.)

I. INDIA AND ENGLAND.

IT is well understood in all civilized countries that food production is the common interest of the entire body politic. The Budget discussion now engaging the attention of statesmen in England, should be of great interest to the Indian people. It shows that all classes of English statesmen feel equally interested in lightening the burden of the agriculturist. Conservative or Liberal, Socialist or Laborite,—widely as they differ in all other matters, they are all unanimous in one thing—that the burden of the agriculturist is on no account to be increased—not certainly on the suicidal ground that obtains in India of a rise in the prices of food grains,—thus putting a premium on and making it the landlord's interest to secure reduced production, or a failure of crops, thereby to reduce the supply in the market, and raise its price and find a legal justification for swelling "the unearned increment" of the landlord;—nor also on the frivolous ground of a higher prevailing rate* which no one seriously thinks of making a ground for the reduction of rents, but kept in the armoury of the landowner as a sort of tightening screw always at hand for raising land rents all round. Grounds even more shadowy than these are considered lawful in India for enhancing the rents of the tillers of the soil in both Government and private estates,—and thus depriving them of their hard and well-earned increment. It is very significant that famines in India are not the portion of those who do *not earn* their increment, but of those who *do*, of those who toil "from morn to noon and noon to

dewy eve" to *earn* an increment. The sauce for the English goose—"taxing the unearned increment of the great landowners"—is not the sauce for the Indian gander. Not only the state in India, but the whole heirarchy of landowners, small shrimps and big whales, the money-lender, the lawyer, the merchant and who not thrive by exploiting the half-starved tillers of the soil,—almost all living on the small profits from the soil of the very class that in England is held sacro-sanct, all 'scrambling for this small remnant of the dog-eaten crow's flesh,—*"यूनोच्छिष्टं काकमांसं खल्वं तदपि दुर्लभं"* ॥ What is the consequence? Agriculture in its wider sense is practically dead in this so called agricultural country of ours. The tiller of the soil in Bengal is driven by the fluctuations of the market to fly like a shuttle-cock from jute to paddy and from paddy back again to jute, for the mere wages of labour or even less. Famine or scarcity thus becomes general and almost chronic.

II. FAMINE RELIEF *a palliative* AND NOT A *preventive*.

It might be said to our credit that having decided to make a bad bargain, we are trying to make the best of it. The zeal and energy displayed by both our people and our government for the relief of famine is, indeed, commendable. But what after all does it come to? A mere palliative for the time being to ward off perennial catastrophe! The sad fact all along remains that unlike other countries, the pinch of hunger and scarcity, is affecting larger numbers every year. The wail of the hungry is heard almost everywhere and at all times, and instead of showing signs of abatement, the evil is rather on the increase. The fact is that in our methods of famine relief, we merely attack the pressing symptoms of the disease. The deep-seated cause we are almost afraid to look in the face, and is left intact. Notwithstanding the Her-

* Section 30, Bengal Tenancy Act VIII of 1885.

culean magnitude of our relief operations,—and the brilliant pyrotechnic effect of the annual exhibition of our public charity, we attempt no radical cure. We are doing everything but “the one thing needful.” Till the root-cause is found out, and removed and famines are made impossible as in other civilized countries, we shall do little more than roll a Sisypian stone from year’s end to year’s end. The time may not be far distant when by the monotonous repetition of this pyrotechnic effort our hearts will grow callous, and our patience will be exhausted, till at least we give up the work in despair or disgust. There is a straight and simple way and a roundabout and tedious way of doing things. If you had to fill an irrigation tank of a moderate size with water from a well thirty feet deep, you might choose to lift the water in bucketfuls till your tank was full. But think of the time, labour, and worry it would cost. One might give you credit for your monumental patience, but at the same time one could not but pity you for your monumental ignorance. You might on the other hand choose to fit on a pump in the well-water, chaining up the piston to a revolving sail to be driven by the wind—in the manner of an aerometer, and the pressure of the atmosphere, combined with the driving power of the wind, will be at your service to lift the water, and store it up in your tank for use when you require, without any labour or worry on your own part. Our famine relief as it stands is in plain truth a system of alternately taking from the tiller of the soil with the right hand of injustice, to be given back to him in part with the left hand as a public act of charity. Our duty should rather be to put our house in order once for all, and place the sufferers permanently under such favorable conditions that they may help themselves to obtain food, and not expect some body else to bring food perennially to their hungry mouths.

Where on earth are we to look for a simple, and at the same time effective remedy for the permanent cure and prevention of famine? Go and sit at the feet of your own forefathers and they will tell you. Study the conditions that prevailed in those good old days when famines were almost impossible, and you will get there a model ready-made for you. All you have to do is to

follow the lead of your own ancient fathers, which is really the easiest thing to do. An expert gardener in grafting a scion from an exotic fruit-tree which is naturally of a weak vitality, gives the preference to a robust indigenous stock to graft it on,—a government by foreigners in framing our land-laws, if they are to cherish and not hamper the agriculture of the country, should graft them on to the time-honoured laws, customs, and institutions of the country,—thus profiting by the experience of hoary antiquity.

III. The cause and the cure of famine.

No civilized country can forget with impunity that the entire body politic is responsible for the food-production of the country, and that each class should bear its proportionate share of the burden. All Europe knows it, and if need be, she will support her agriculture with a state-bounty. England knows it, and she will on no account increase the burden of her agricultural class, rather she would do all she can to lighten that burden. The effect is that though she consumes more food than she produces, still famines are impossible. There may be a water-famine, but never a food-famine. Ancient India knew it too and she ruled that the state should receive as land-rent a fixed share of the yield—“a sixth, or eighth, or one-twelfth”* according as the soil was fertile or barren. A reduced out-turn or a failure of crops, would tell as much on the state-revenues, as on the private purse of the tiller of the soil. To increase the yield by helping in irrigation, by providing artificial facilities, or by supplying cheap manures—was thus as much the interest of the state, as that of the private tiller. What was the effect? The reader of ancient Sanskrit literature will tell you. As a consequence agriculture flourished in those days, and plenty smiled on the land, making famines almost impossible. In those days “the land smiled with growing corn, and the corn swelled with seed”—“ऊईशस्याभवद्भूमिः शस्यानि फलवन्ति च”(2). The cry then heard everywhere was “offer dainties to others and feed yourself”—“दीयतां भुज्यताञ्चेति वाचोऽप्युयन्त सर्व्वशः.” (16 ch. 118.

* “धान्यानामष्टमीभागः षड्दो द्वादश एव वा ॥” vii, 130 Manu.

Adi-Sambhava). In those golden days "the well-protected and wealthy farmers and cattle-breeders slept in their houses with open doors"—"धनवन्तः सुरक्षिताः शिरति विहृतद्वाराः कृषिगोचरं जीवनः ।" (18 ch. 67 Ayodhya)—having enough and to spare for the maintenance of a large body of men in learned leisure. Here then is a simple, short, and effective means for the permanent prevention of famine which our ancestors used, and which we should revive if our desire to drive away famine is really sincere.

As our land-laws now stand, the landlord—state or private—has not only no direct interest in increasing the yield of the soil, but as we have shown—a contrary interest. It is also quite safe so long as he has the tiller of the soil standing as a buffer between him and famine. He can easily afford to play the epicurean god sleeping beside his nectar, careless of the tiller of the soil, salving his conscience with the plea of deficient rainfall as being the cause of famine. If his pockets or his skin were directly touched, he could not rest till he had exhausted all the resources of science in providing facilities for irrigation to supplement the rainfall. The old tanks, and artificial lakes now in ruins, and nearly silted up through our neglect, which meet us almost everywhere, still bear testimony to the interest taken by the state in ancient times, in providing irrigation facilities for their subjects, for they knew better than we do "न कृषिर्देवमात्रका" "Agriculture cannot rely

solely on the rainfall." There are certain duties regarding agriculture which the State alone can perform, and certain others which a capitalist alone can perform. If the one or the other do not properly fulfil their part, and if no one offers "to bell the cat," no amount of toil and labour on the part of the mere tiller of the soil will prevent the catastrophe. The true cause of famines in India may be said to be the present condition of disturbed equilibrium in the apportionment and observance of rights and duties in regard to agricultural land, among the different members of the body politic. As it is, the landlord thinks that he has the privilege to enjoy the profits of agriculture but has no duty to perform to make agriculture successful, like our household cat exercising the right to eat fish without any duty of helping to catch them. The problem of famine prevention would become an extremely simple affair if the different members of our body politic recognised their mutual rights and duties, and scrupulously observed and enforced them, as a sacred duty they owe to God and man, as did our forefathers in ancient India. It is the want of this recognition and the neglect and infringement of our mutual rights and duties in regard to agriculture, and not the rainfall, that has created this mountain out of a molehill,—the annual famines in the golden land of India, where they rarely occurred even in the less enlightened days of antiquity.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

SURELY there is no higher ideal than that of human brotherhood, and no nobler purpose for which any of us can work than to promote such an ideal. But we should bear in mind that human brotherhood has its basis in the soul. There can be no brotherhood where one nation looks down upon another nation, or one class of persons

upon another class, with ignorant prejudice or with arrogance or contempt. There can be human brotherhood only where there is intelligence and sympathy.

When we approach India in connection with the thought of human brotherhood or the brotherhood of nations, we find ourselves confronted with several rather serious

difficulties. The first of all is this—the fact that India is an Asiatic land and the Indian people an Asiatic people. Europe, you know, for many generations (and largely also America, because we are children of Europe and the inheritors of her prejudices) has looked down with contempt upon Asia and everything oriental. This is a strange condition of things, for Asia is what? She is the great mother continent. She is the mother of races, the mother of nations, the mother of languages, the mother of the arts, and more than any other continent the mother of the world's higher life. Our own civilization (that of Europe and America) sends its roots back in almost every particular into Asia. Why then should we look down upon Asia? All the great historic religions of the world come from Asia. Why should we have prejudice against the continent from which we get our Bible and our religious faith? And yet we do. Europe has treated Asia for generations with contempt and cruelty in more ways than I can stop to explain or intimate. This fact, then, that India is in Asia, is one of the obstacles in the way of getting our minds into a condition to appreciate India, and to open a way for a real brotherhood between ourselves and the Indian people.

Another obstacle exists in the fact that India is what we call a "heathen" land. We have long been sending our missionaries to convert the Hindu, concerning whom we sing.

"The heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone."

Does not the word "heathen" as employed by us always have in it an element of the contemptuous? Is it not partly synonymous with savage or uncivilized? As Christians, are we not apt to regard ourselves as distinctly superior to the "heathen," not only in religion but in civilization? Indeed does not the very act of sending missionaries to a people seem to set up a claim to superiority on our part, which is not conducive to the spirit of brotherhood? If our missionaries were always broad-minded, possibly this would not be so. But missionaries are not always the broadest men. Indeed, missionary societies seem generally to feel the necessity of sending out men who are "theologically sound," which is apt to mean men who are narrow, who have little inclination to re-

cognize the best that is in the religion and the civilization of the people among whom they labor. This we must always bear in mind when we read or hear accounts of India given by missionaries. If the missionaries were to come back from India reporting that they find there people equally intelligent with ourselves, as virtuous as ourselves, having as great purity in their homes as we have in ours, and as upright in character as are the people of America, what would be the effect of their reports upon the home churches? At once the inquiry would be raised, Why send out missionaries? Why have missionary societies? Thus we see that the pressure upon missionaries is very strong not to report at home the better side of Indian thought and life, but to confine their reports to the lowest and worst side,—the result of which must of course be to give us anything but the true India.

As a fact, too (and this should not be overlooked), few of the missionaries come in contact with or see the best of Indian life. The people whom they are able to reach with their Gospel are largely of the lowest, most ignorant, and most degraded classes. The intelligence of India, the literature and art and better religious thought of India, and the civilization of the land in its higher forms, they know comparatively little about. Thus we see how unfortunate it is that the Western world is compelled to get its knowledge of India so largely through Christian missionaries, who, however good men they may be, must in the nature of the case give us more or less inadequate and biased reports. When the people of India are represented to us in such a way as to cause us to look down upon them, if not with pride and arrogance, at least with pity born of condescension, the conditions essential for a genuine feeling of human brotherhood between us and them are destroyed.

Another difficulty which meets us when we come to talk about India in connection with human brotherhood is this: India is a subject land, —a dependency of Great Britain; it is not an independent nation. Its people are held in subjection by the sword of an alien power; they are not permitted to shape their own political destinies, but are ruled wholly by foreign masters. This condition of subjection is not only humili-

ating in the highest degree, but it is degrading. It is destructive of brotherhood. Of course there can be no political fraternity between any independent nation and a people held in political bondage.

India is deprived of the privileges and the rights of free nations, in many ways. Let me point out one or two.

She is permitted to have no representation in the diplomatic life and service of the world. If we go to Washington what do we find? Every independent nation of any importance has its ambassador, or minister, or representative of some rank there. Is there any representative from India? None. Yet India is a country of 300,000,000 people,—twice as large in population as Russia. Is India represented at any of the courts of Europe? Not one. Could a country be placed in a more humiliating position? Could the principle of brotherhood between nations and peoples be worse outraged?

Compare India with Japan and China in a single particular. Japan has sent large numbers of her finest young men to America and Europe to enter our universities and technical schools, in order that, after getting the best knowledge and training that our institutions can afford, they might go back and become teachers of this new knowledge in all parts of their own land. This is largely the explanation of the rapid progress which she has made during the past forty years. China is following Japan's example. There are now between 400 and 500 Chinese students in American institutions of learning, and more are coming. Through these young men China will obtain for herself the best training, the best knowledge, the best intellectual and moral help that the West can afford her. When these students return to their own country, they will be put by the Chinese government into places of influence and leadership all over the Empire.

India would like to send her young men to this country in the same way that Japan and China have done, to get our science and technical training for India's benefit. Hundreds of thousands of the people of India are eager for knowledge and progress. A few Indian young men have already come here. But does the Indian government prepare the way for them and send them, as the governments of China and

Japan do, and as the Indian government would if India were free and self-ruling? Far from that. It puts obstacles in their way. It sets detectives from Scotland Yard on their track to see what they are doing here. They are suspected and watched. The government of India does not want her young men to go away and get the knowledge of the Western world, and especially she does not want them to get it in America, where they will breathe the atmosphere of liberty. When these few young men, who in spite of opposition have made their way to America for study, return to India, will the government place them in positions where they can make the best use of their knowledge and training for the benefit of their country? Instead of that the government will neglect them, hinder them, discriminate against them, and give nearly every place of influence and importance not to them but to young Englishmen. This is what it means to India to be a subject land. This is how imperialism, the practice of one nation ruling another without its consent, destroys human brotherhood.

Another thought is of interest in connection with students coming to this country from oriental lands. The Japanese and Chinese young men who come to study here render us a valuable service by helping us to understand China and Japan. They show us the better side of those countries. When they pass through our universities in the same classes with our own best young men, and do their work as well and take as high honors, they do much to cure us of our prejudices against oriental peoples; they let us see that China and Japan are not to be despised, but that their people are the equal of ourselves. Thus they accomplish something important in the direction of promoting brotherhood between the Orient and the Occident. If students could come in numbers from India they would render us a like service in letting us see the better side of India, and showing us that the Indian people also are worthy of a place beside the people of the Western world. Thus would human brotherhood in the world be still further promoted.

I have spoken of the misfortune it is, both to us and to the Indian people, that so much of our knowledge of India comes

through the medium of missionaries, who, in the nature of the case, can hardly be unprejudiced reporters. It is quite as great a misfortune that our other principal source of information regarding India is the English rulers of the land, who, by the very fact that they are foreign conquerors and rulers, are as little fitted to give unprejudiced information as are the missionaries. Of course, many of the English in India are as honest and sincere persons as we are, and as desirous of seeing and telling the truth. But consider the situation they are in. They are foreigners, ruling the Indian people without their consent. They want to justify themselves for being in the land. It would be impossible for them to see and represent matters otherwise than from their own side.

Was it possible for us in the days of American slavery to get unbiased information concerning the slave and slavery from the slave holders? Were they not a prejudiced body of men? Many of them were good men, many of them were intelligent, many of them intended to be honourable, but in the very nature of the case they were prejudiced, and their views and reports concerning slavery were biased. The same is true with regard to the British in India. The men who go from England to India and spend years in the government's service there, and then come back to interpret India, to write books concerning India, to write articles on India in papers and magazines, to give to the Western world, including America, its ideas of India—these men are as much biased regarding the Indian people and Indian matters generally as were our slave holders biased concerning slavery and the Southern Negro. We must always bear this in mind in reading or hearing British representations of the Indian situation.

In attempting to justify herself before the world for holding India in subjection, of course it is natural for England to try to make out that the Indian people are an inferior race. Well, as a fact, what is their race? The higher castes of India belong to the same ethnic family with you and me. They are Aryans; they are cousins of the Greeks and the Romans, the Germans and the English. This is not a very inferior race.

Furthermore the English are tempted all the while to represent the Indian civilization as lower than it is. But what are the facts? India was a great civilized land long before England emerged from barbarism. She possessed one of the oldest and finest civilizations of the ancient world. The three great literatures of the ancient world that have come down to us are the Greek, the Latin, and the Indian. If we were to ask for the five or six greatest epic poems of mankind we should have to take two of them from India. If we sought for the language which, ethnologically and historically, is the most important in the world, I suppose we should have to go to the Sanskrit of India for it. Scholars are disposed to regard this ancient language of India as the most perfect of all languages in structure and development, not even excepting the Greek. The Indian people have given to the world some of its greatest philosophical systems, worthy to stand beside those of Greece and Germany. They have given the world some of its best art, of several different kinds. These are the people that England finds herself all the while under pressure (under pressure because she wants to find an excuse for ruling them) to write down, and to make out to be inferior to what they really are.

Another excuse that England puts forth for being in India is the need of her presence there to keep the peace, to prevent the Indian people "from flying at each other's throats." But what are the facts? So far as we can find out from history India has always been a more peaceable land than Europe. We get trace of no wars in India so bad as the Thirty Years' War in Germany. There are none that compare in bloodshed with the Napoleonic wars, and none so destructive of both property and life as our own Civil War in America. And yet would some foreign nation, some China, that happened to possess a high quality of firearms, be justified in conquering all Europe and holding it in subjection in order to keep the peoples of Europe from flying at each other's throats? Or would the same foreign nation be justified in conquering and ruling America in the same way, because of our terrible Civil War?

It is said that India is incapable of ruling herself. If so, what an indictment is this

against England! She was not incapable of ruling herself before England came. Have one hundred and fifty years of English tutelage produced in her such deterioration? As we have seen, she was possessed of high civilization and of developed government long before England or any part of Europe had emerged from barbarism. For three thousand years before England's arrival, Indian kingdoms and empires had held leading places in Asia. Some of the ablest rulers, statesmen, and financiers of the world have been of India's production. How is it, then, that she loses her ability to govern herself as soon as England appears upon the scene? To be sure, at that time she was in a peculiarly disorganized and unsettled state; for it should be remembered that the Mogul Empire was just breaking up, and new political adjustments were everywhere just being made,—a fact which accounts for England's being able to gain a political foothold in India. But everything indicates that if India had not been interfered with by European powers, she would soon have been under competent government of her own again.

A further answer to the assertion that India cannot govern herself—and surely one that should be conclusive—is the fact that, in parts, she is governing herself now, and governing herself well. It is notorious that the very best government in India to-day is not that carried on by the British, but that of several of the native States, notably Baroda and Mysore. For you know there are certain native States which, while in a general way under British rule, are yet allowed to manage their own affairs to some extent. In these States, particularly in Baroda, the people are more free, more prosperous, more contented, and are making more progress, than in any other part of India. Note the superiority of both these States in the important matter of popular education. Mysore is spending on education more than three times as much per capita as is British India, while Baroda has made her education free and compulsory, a thing which no part of British India has dreamed of. Both of these States, but especially Baroda, which has thus placed herself in line with the leading nations of Europe and America by making provision

for the education of all her children, may well be contrasted with British India, which provides education, even of the poorest kind, for only one boy in ten and one girl in one hundred and forty-four.

The truth is, not one single fact can be cited that goes to show that India cannot govern herself,—reasonably well at first, excellently well later,—if only given a chance. It would not be difficult to form an Indian parliament to-day, composed of men as able and of as high character as those that constitute the fine parliament of Japan, or as those that will be certain to constitute the not less able national parliament of China when the new constitutional government of that nation comes into operation. This is only another way of saying that among the leaders in the various states and provinces of India there is abundance of material to form an Indian National Parliament not inferior in intellectual ability or in moral worth to the parliaments of the Western world.

There is a new spirit in India; there is a new rising of hope and of determination among the Indian people, which is taking shape in the "New National Movement." It is the awakening and the protest of a subject people. It is the effort of a nation, once illustrious, and still conscious of its inherent superiority, to rise from the dust, to stand once more on its feet, to shake off fetters which have become unendurable. It is the effort of the Indian people to get for themselves again a country which shall be in some true sense their own, instead of remaining, as for a century and a half it has been, a mere preserve of a foreign power,—in John Stuart Mills' words, England's "cattle-farm." The people of India want the freedom which is their right,—freedom to shape their own institutions, their own industries, their own national life. They want a recognized and an honorable place both in the great brotherhood of humanity and in the great brotherhood of nations. They ought to have it.

Let me not be misunderstood. This does not necessarily mean—and this is clearly recognised by the leaders of the Indian people—separation from Great Britain; but it does mean, if retaining a connection with the British Empire, becoming citizens, and not remaining forever helpless subjects

and voteless helots in the hands of irresponsible masters. It does mean that India shall be given a place in the Empire essentially like that of Canada or Australia, with such autonomy and home rule as are enjoyed by these free, self-governing colonies. Is not this demand just? Not only the people of India, but many of the best Englishmen, answer unequivocally, Yes! In the arduous struggle upon which India has entered to attain this end,—and

arduous indeed her struggle must be, for holders of autocratic and irresponsible power seldom in this world surrender their power without being compelled,—surely she should have the sympathy of the enlightened and liberty loving men and women of all nations.

These remarks were made by the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America at the forty-second Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association held in Boston.

SOLAR HEAT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR FIRE

THE difficulties created by the steadily rising prices of food in India are being greatly aggravated by the increasing difficulty in the supply of fuel. While the high prices of food are due to enormous exports of wheat, rice and other food-stuffs which India makes in return for the foreign manufactures which she uses, and the foreign intelligence which she employs, the high prices of fuel are not due to enforced exports but to a limited natural supply. The fuel difficulty is being increasingly felt in most parts of India and is reducing the production of food grains by compelling people to make fuel of cow-dung which should be utilised as manure. It is this difficulty which has induced the Lahore Exhibition Committee to offer a special prize for a *chulha* or stove, designed to cause a saving in fuel. Such a stove, if invented and largely used, will, doubtless, supply a great need, but its usefulness can only be confined to the cooking of food and other small operations requiring the aid of fire. An invention of far greater utility has already been placed before the public by an Indian inventor, Pandit Sri-Krishna Joshi of Almora, now residing at Allahabad. The invention is an apparatus for utilising solar heat as a substitute for fire and has been appropriately named '*Bhānutāp*'. It is also called '*Heliotherm*'. It is illustrated in the annexed plate and is described, in the inventor's own words, as follows:—

Solar heat has hitherto been allowed to remain confined to its natural functions; but it is capable, like other natural energies, of being turned to artificial uses.

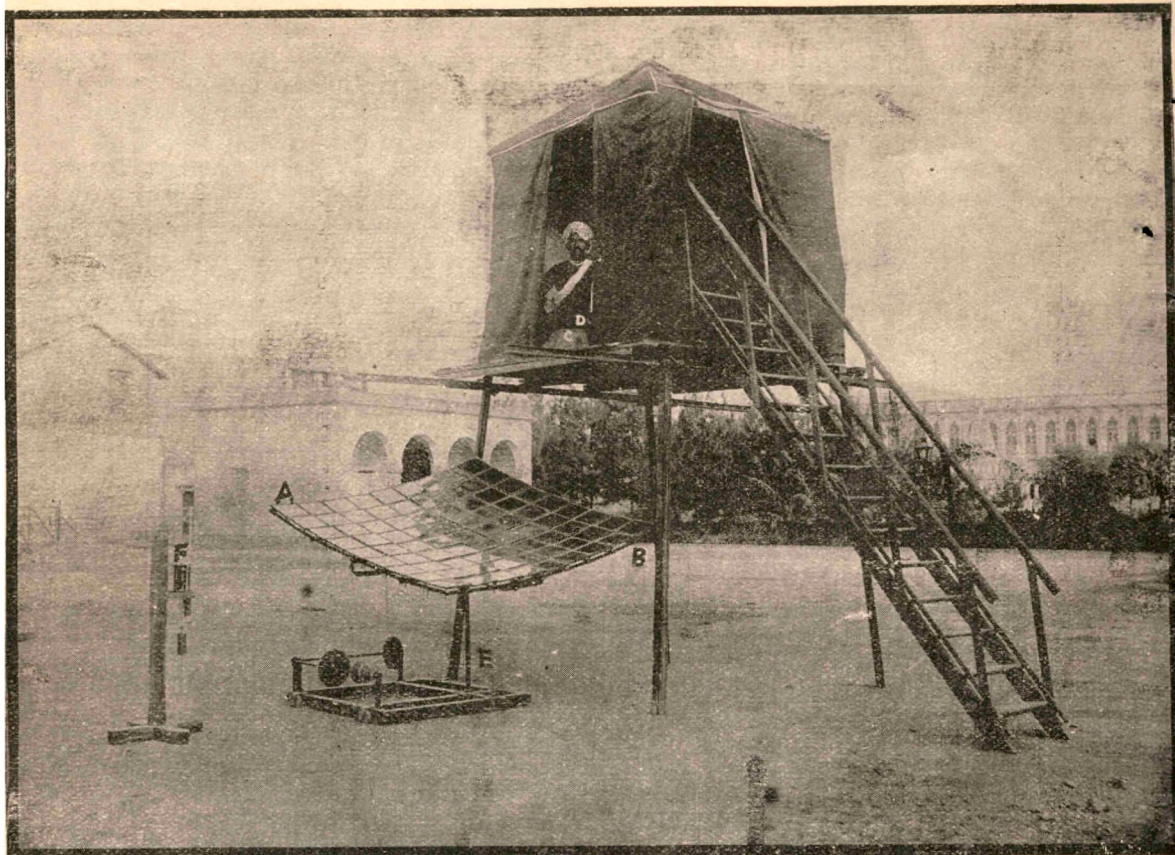
The apparatus represented by the annexed diagram accumulates solar heat to serve as a substitute for fire. The mirrors attached to the frame AB are placed at such inclinations that they all cast the reflection of the sun at the same spot, *viz.*, the bottom of the body to be heated which is represented in the diagram by the vessel D. The focus thus produced serves as the heating agent.

The machinery, consisting of the wheels, cords and clock-work, shown in the photograph, moves the frame AB, so that the mirrors continue to face the sun throughout the day. The focus is thus kept to the spot where it is required to act as the heater. The machinery works automatically, being moved by the weight which is generally let down by the clock-work F.

The intensity of heat at the focus depends upon the number of mirrors used, and the area of the focus depends upon the size of the mirrors.

This invention was first patented nine years ago and was exhibited in its original shape at the Industrial Exhibition of Calcutta in 1901 when it was awarded a gold medal and was highly spoken of by the press. It has since been considerably improved and the improvements have been secured by a subsequent patent.

We have seen the improved *Bhānutāp* at work and partaken of the products of solar cookery, which are very palatable and, being free from contact with smoke or coal gas, may be expected to be perfectly wholesome. As a means of cooking food, it is available to all who can afford a few hundred rupees for buying and installing the apparatus. Although men of humbler means cannot buy the apparatus for household use, it can be profitably used in boarding houses, hotels, messes, jails and similar establishments and by bakery confectioners and pastry



BHANUTAP.

cooks. It is eminently fitted to fulfil the dream of Prince Peter Kropotkin who says : —

"And when the communal kitchen—the common bake-house of the future, is established and people can get their food cooked without the risk of being cheated or poisoned, the custom will no doubt become general of going to the communal kitchen for the fundamental parts of the meal, leaving the last touches to be added as individual taste shall suggest "(*The Conquest of Bread*, pp. 86-87)."

This communal kitchen and the *Bhanutap* can go a long way to solve the fuel problem of the future. In one part of India at least, *viz.* in the Panjab, the communal kitchen may already be said to exist to some extent and the *Bhanutap* can be most profitably used in such kitchens. The difficulty of supplying hot meals after sunset can be met by the use of the 'Norwegian stoves' or 'hot cases' in which, with the aid of substances which are bad conductors of heat, food can be kept hot and even boiling

for hours without any connection with a source of heat.

The *Bhanutap* can not only serve culinary purposes but the inventor has succeeded in working a small model steam engine and melting tin, lead, and zinc, with the heat concentrated with this apparatus. As the inventor, like many other inventors, is inadequately endowed with the qualities of a pushing, canvassing man of business, and more especially as Indian capitalists, like most other capitalists, are chary of making investments in untried lines, his invention has hitherto remained as a mere scientific curiosity; but he is prepared to prove to the satisfaction of any intelligent man who may be willing to invest a few thousand rupees in making the apparatus on a large scale that the investment cannot fail to be profitable. He has no doubt that a *Bhanutap* installation costing not more than two thousand five hundred rupees will

suffice to work a steam-engine of at least three or four horse-power. This power when applied to lifting well water has been estimated by Mr. Alfred Chatterton to suffice for irrigating at least fifty acres of cultivation in a dry tract. It appears from the published results of an experiment publicly made that 225 pieces of mirrored glass, each 4 inches square, were found to concentrate sufficient heat to melt 1 lb. of zinc. This means a temperature of at least 700° Fahrenheit whereas only 212° Fahrenheit is required for producing steam. In view of these and other still more encouraging results, the inventor is prepared to undertake the erection of *Bhanutap* installations for the use of chemists, perfumers, dyers, lac-manufacturers, varnish-makers, type-founders and others who have to use large quantities of fuel. It is to be hoped that the invention may be utilised in these and other directions by private capitalists, joint-stock companies, landholders and other men of wealth.

The inventor indicates the possibilities of his invention in the following words:

"Solar heat may also be converted into electricity by means of the dynamo, worked with a combination of the *Heliotherm* and the steam engine, and the electric energy, thus generated, may be accumulated in storage batteries for use at night or in cloudy weather, as a heating agent, a motive power, or an illuminant.

No fuel is, of course, needed in any operation in which the *Heliotherm* is used, except in the absence of solar heat in the shape of direct sunshine or accumulated electric energy. As India is a land of sunshine, it is not difficult to realize what enormous amount of heating and motive energy may be obtained from solar heat for use in households, steam mills, manufacturing and workshops, and what a powerful impetus may thus be given to industries in this country.

The following account of the origin and development of the *Bhanutap* may prove interesting to many readers:

"Inquiries are often made as to how the idea of the *Heliotherm* originated. The following brief account is given with a view to meet such inquiries and others that may be made.

The inventor of the *Heliotherm* comes from the Himalayan town of Almora and, having had to reside at Allahabad, he was often struck by the difference between the temperature of his native town and that of his new residence. It occurred to him that if some

of the solar heat, which is diffused in the atmosphere and is the source of so much inconvenience in hot weather, could be concentrated by some means, it might be made serviceable as a substitute for fire. He tried some experiments with double convex lenses, but as the focus produced by a lens, however intense, occupies a very small area, the problem of obtaining a focus of solar heat of sufficient intensity and area to be of use for domestic and industrial purposes, remained unsolved for sometime. The inventor, feeling an uncomfortable glare of sunshine, reflected by a whitewashed wall in his house, which was close to him, on a bright day in January or February, 1897, observed that the wall was acting as a reflector, and this observation suggested the idea that if a number of brighter reflectors than a whitewashed wall, such as mirrors, were so arranged as to reflect the heat of the sun at one spot at the same time, the intensity of the heat would increase with the number of reflectors used, and that the area heated would be that covered by the combined reflections of the sun from the mirrors. He procured a number of small mirrors and arranged them in rows, one standing above another, and placed them at such inclinations that the reflections of the sun from all of them coincided at one spot in a side of a packing case placed in front of them. The result was a focus of sufficient intensity to burn the area covered by it. But the focus only lasted a short time, for, as the place moved away the sun, the reflections from the mirrors ceased to coincide. This suggested the necessity of attaching the mirrors to a frame at such inclinations that they should produce a focus, and of making the frame capable of being turned so as to keep facing the sun throughout the day. The mirrors were attached to a frame now represented by the frame AB (*vide* the illustration) and were supported upon elevating screws designed to place them at required inclinations and the frame was suspended upon the top of a post like the post E so that it could be turned freely from east to west and *vice versa* and from north to south and *vice versa*. The frame was at first turned with the hand, but was afterwards provided with automatic machinery, moved by the clockwork F, which keeps it facing the sun throughout the day. It was also connected with the grooved conical pulley visible in the diagram, which compensates for the movement of the sun between the tropics.

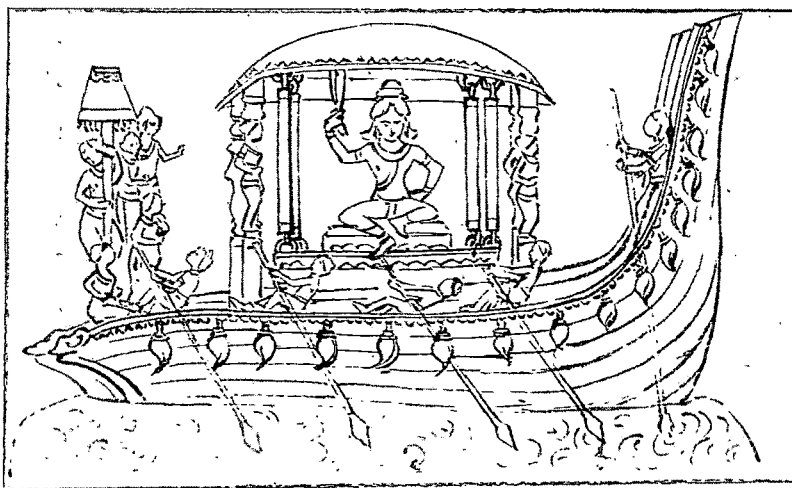
The apparatus thus became fit to make solar heat available as a substitute for fire at all hours of the day and in all seasons of the year when there is sunshine. A patent to protect it was applied for on 25th July, 1899, and was granted by the Government of India with effect from 15th March, 1900. The apparatus was exhibited at the Industrial Exhibition of Calcutta in December, 1901, and was awarded a gold medal. Improvements were patented on 9th January, 1903, by which the cost of making the apparatus has been greatly reduced."

SHIPS AND SHIP-BUILDING IN ANCIENT INDIA

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

IN connexion with my article on the above subject which appeared in the *Modern Review* for October last, I am sorry I did not know that I had omitted to mention two important representations of a ship in sculpture in India.* For in the course of a travel which I recently made through Orissa and South India I came to Puri and was surprised to notice among the sculptures of the Temple of Jagannath a fine and well-preserved representation of a royal

barge shown in relief on stone. The representation is to be found on that part of the great Temple which is called the *Bhoga Mandir* or the Hall of Offering, the part, moreover, which originally belonged not to the Temple of Jagannath but to the Black Pagoda of Kanarak about 20 miles off, from which it was removed by the Mahrattas and fitted into the Great Temple at a cost of 40 lakhs of rupees. And in fact the splendid carvings on this part of the Temple stand by themselves and are not in keeping with the comparatively ruder sculpture on



SCULPTURE OF A ROYAL BARGE, TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH.

the other parts of the Jagannath Temple and the most superficial view of them establishes at once their kinship with the exquisite sculptures still to be seen on the remnants of the Black Pagoda at Kanarak standing in its solitary beauty on the seashore unhonoured and unsung. But besides the beauty of its sculptures another more solid proof of its connection with the Temple

at Kanarak is the material of which this part of the Great Temple is built, *viz.*, the black stone locally called *Mugui* identical with that of which the *Black Pagoda* was made and of which also is made the black column 35ft. high now standing before the Lion Gate (E.) of the Temple of Jagannath, admitted on all hands to be brought from the same Temple of Kanarak.

The representation of the barge in question has been very finely sketched by my friend Srijukta Nandalal Bose, the well-known artist, also a fellow-tourist with us, who

* For the mention of another sculpture of a ship see the article on the Kenheri caves in the current *Agrahayan* number of the Bengali magazine *Prabasi*. Ed. M. R.

gave a remarkable proof of the consummate skill he has acquired in his art by making the sketch in less than ten minutes. The sculpture shows in splendid relief a stately royal barge propelled by lusty oarsmen with all their might and one almost hears the very splash of their oars: the water through which it cuts its way is thrown into ripples and waves indicated by a few simple and yet masterly touches; and the entire scene is one of dash and hurry, indicative of the desperate speed of a flight or escape from danger. The beauty of the cabin, and the simplicity of its design are particularly noticeable: the chain that hangs from the top which the master of the vessel grasps by the hand to make himself steady amidst rolling is a most ingenious invention. It is difficult to ascertain what particular scene from our Sastras is here represented, for it is very probably not a mere secular picture or ornament. The interpretation put upon it by one of the many Pandas of whom I inquired about it seems to be

acceptable: according to him, the scene here represented is that of Srikrishna being secretly and hurriedly carried away beyond the destructive reach of king Kamsa. The vessel is that of the *Madhyamadira* (मध्यमन्दिरा) type as defined in the *Yuktikalpataru*.

The same representation of a barge, I was also credibly informed, appears among the sculptures on the Great Temple at Bhubaneshwar, that triumph of Indian art, which however we missed because we had no information about it beforehand.

Lastly, I may mention that in the Great Temple at Madura, among the fresco paintings that cover the walls of the corridors round the *Swarnapushpakarini* tank there is a fine representation of the sea and of a ship in full sail on the main, as big as that among the sculptures of Borobudur.

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THE RIDDLE SOLVED

(A SHORT STORY)

(From the Bengali of Ravindra Nath Tagore)

I

BABU Krishna Gopal Sircar, zemindar of Jhikrakota, made over his estates to his eldest son and retired to the holy city of Benares, as befits a good Hindoo, to spend the evening of his life in religious devotion. All the poor and the destitute of the neighbourhood were in tears at the parting. Every one declared that such piety and benevolence were rare in these degenerate days.

His son Bepin Bihari was a young man well-educated on modern lines, holding the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He sported a pair of spectacles, wore a beard and seldom mixed with others. His private life was unsullied. He did not even smoke and never touched cards. He was a man of stern disposition, though he looked soft and pliable. This trait of his character soon

came home to his tenantry in diverse ways. Unlike his father, he would on no account allow a remission of one single pice out of the rents justly due to him. Under no circumstances would he grant any tenant one single day's grace in paying up.

On taking over management of the property, Bepin Bihari discovered that his father had allowed a large number of Brahmins to hold land entirely rent-free and a larger number to hold at rents much below the prevailing rates. His father was incapable of resisting the importunate solicitation of others—such was the weakness of his character.

Bepin Bihari said, this could never be. He could not in this way abandon the income of half his property—and he reasoned with himself thus:—*Firstly*, the persons who were in actual enjoyment of the concessions and getting fat at his expense were a lot of worthless people and so undeserving of charity. Charity bestowed on such

objects only encouraged idleness. *Secondly*, living now-a-days had become much costlier than in the days of his ancestors. Wants had increased apace. For a gentleman to keep up his position had become four times as expensive as in days past. So he could not afford to scatter gifts right and left as his father had done. On the contrary it was his bounden duty to call back as many of them as he possibly could.

So Bepin Bihari lost no time in carrying into effect what he conceived to be his duty. He was a man of strict principles.

What had gone out of his grasp, returned to him little by little. Only a very small portion of his father's grants did he allow to remain undisturbed and he took good care to arrange that those even should not be deemed permanent.

The wails of the tenants reached Krishna Gopal at Benares through the post. Some even made a journey to that place to represent their grievances to him personally. Krishna Gopal wrote to his son intimating his displeasure. Bepin Bihari replied, pointing out, how the times had changed. In former days, he said, the Zemindar was compensated for the gifts he made by the many customary presents he used to receive from his tenantry. Recent statutes had made all such impositions illegal. The zemindar had now to rest content with just the stipulated rent and nothing more. "Unless"—he continued—"we keep a strict watch over the realisation of our just dues, what would be left to us? Since the tenants won't give us anything extra now, how can we allow them concessions? Our relations must henceforth be strictly contractual. We shall be ruined if we go on making gifts and endowments, and the preservation of our property and the keeping up of our position will be rendered extremely difficult."

Krishna Gopal became very uneasy at finding that times should have changed so. "Well—well"—he murmured to himself—"the younger generation know best, I suppose. Our out of date methods won't do now. If I interfere, my son might refuse to manage the property and insist on my going back. No, thank you—I would rather not. The few days that are left to me—I would much rather devote them to the service of my God."

II

So things went on. Bepin Bihari put his affairs in order after much litigation in the Courts and less constitutional methods outside. Most of the tenants submitted to his will out of fear. Only a fellow called Asimuddin, son of Mirza Bibi, still remained refractory.

Bepin's displeasure was keenest as regards this man. He could quite understand his father having granted rent-free lands to Brahmins, but why this Mohamedan should be holding so much land, some free and some at rents lower than the prevailing rates was a riddle to him. And what was he?—The son of a low Mohamedan widow giving himself airs and defying the whole world, simply because he had learnt to read and write a little at the village school. To Bepin it was intolerable.

He made enquiries of his officers about Asimuddin's holdings. All that they could tell him was that Babu Krishna Gopal himself had made these grants to the family many years back, but they had no idea as to what his motive might have been. They imagined however that perhaps the widow won the compassion of the kind-hearted zemindar by representing to him her woe and misery.

To Bepin these favours seemed to be utterly undeserved. He had not seen the pitiable condition of these people in days gone by. Their comparative ease of the present day and their arrogance drove him to the conclusion that they had impudently swindled his tender-hearted father out of a part of his legitimate income.

Asimuddin was a stiff-necked sort of a fellow, too. He vowed that he would lay down his life sooner than give up an inch of his land. Open hostilities ensued.

The poor old widow tried her best to pacify her son. "It is no good fighting with the zemindar"—she would often say to him.—"His kindness has kept us alive so long, let us depend upon him still, though he may curtail his favours. Surrender to him part of the lands as he desires."

"O, mother!"—protested Asimuddin—"What do you know of these matters pray?"

One by one, Asimuddin lost the cases instituted against him. The more he lost

his *zid* increased the more. For the sake of his all, he staked all that was his.

One afternoon, Mirza Bibi collected some fruits and vegetables from her little garden and unbeknown to her son went and sought an interview with Bepin Babu. She looked at him with a tenderness maternal in its intensity and spoke—"May *Allah* bless you, my son. Do not destroy Asim—it wouldn't be right of you. To your charge I commit him. Take him as though he were one whom it is your duty to support—as though he were a ne'er-do-weel younger brother of yours. Vast is your wealth—don't grudge him a small particle of it, my son."

This assumption of familiarity on the part of the garrulous old woman annoyed Bepin not a little. "What do you know of these things, my good woman?"—he condescended to say—"If you have any representations to make, send your son to me."

Being assured for the second time that she knew nothing about these affairs, Mirza Bibi returned home wiping her eyes with her apron all the way and offering her silent prayers to *Allah*.

III

The litigation dragged its weary length from the Criminal to the Civil Courts and thence to the High Court, where at last Asimuddin met with a partial success. Eighteen months passed in this way. But he was a ruined man now—plunged in debts up to his very ears. His creditors took this opportunity to execute the decrees they had obtained against him. A date was fixed for putting up to auction every stick and stone that he had left.

It was Monday;—the village market had assembled by the side of a tiny river, now swollen by the rains. Buying and selling was going on partly on the bank and partly in the boats moored there. The hubub was great. Among the commodities for sale, jack-fruits preponderated, it being the month of *Asadh*. *Hilsa* fish were seen in large quantities also. The sky was cloudy. Many of the stall-holders, apprehending a downpour, had stretched a piece of cloth overhead, across bamboo poles put up for the purpose.

Asimuddin had come too—but he had not a copper with him. No shopkeepers

allowed him credit now a days. He therefore had brought a brass *thali* and a *dao* with him. These he would pawn and then buy his necessities.

Towards evening, Bepin Babu was out for a walk attended by two or three retainers armed with *lathis*. Attracted by the noise, he directed his steps towards the market. Getting there, he stepped awhile before the stall of Dwari the oilman, and made kindly enquires about his business. All on a sudden Asimuddin raised his *dao* and ran towards Bepin Babu, roaring like a tiger. The market people caught hold of him half way and quickly disarmed him. He was forthwith given in custody of the Police. Business in the market then went on as usual.

We cannot say that Bepin Babu was not inwardly pleased at this incident. It is intolerable that the creature we are hunting down should turn round and show fight. "The *budmash*"—Bepin chuckled—"I have got him at last."

The ladies of Bepin Babu's house, when they heard the news, exclaimed with horror,—"O the ruffian! What a mercy they seized him in time." They found consolation at the prospect of the man being punished as he richly deserved.

In another part of the village the same evening the widow's humble cottage, devoid of bread and bereft of her son, became darker than death. Others dismissed the incident of the afternoon from their minds, sat down to their meals, retired to bed and went to sleep, but to the widow the event loomed larger than anything else in this wide world. But alas, who was there to combat it—only a bundle of wearied bones and a helpless mother's heart trembling with fear.

IV

Three days have passed in the meanwhile. To-morrow the case will come up for trial before a Deputy Magistrate. Bepin Babu will have to be examined as a witness. Never before this did a zemindar of Jhikrakota appear in the witness-box, but Bepin did not mind.

The next day at the appointed hour, Bepin Babu arrived at the Court in a palanquin in great state. He wore a turban on his head and a watch-chain dangled on his

breast. The Deputy Magistrate invited him to a seat on the dais, beside his own. The Court-room was crowded to suffocation. A sensation of this magnitude had not been witnessed in this Court for many years.

When the time for the case to be called on drew near, a *chuprassi* came and whispered something in Bepin Babu's ear. He got up very much agitated and walked out begging the Deputy Magistrate to excuse him for a few minutes.

Coming outside, he saw his old father a little way off, standing under a *banian* tree barefooted and wrapped in a piece of *namāvali*. A string of beads was in his hand. His slender form shone with a gentle lustre and tranquil compassion seemed to radiate from his forehead.

Bepin, hampered by his close-fitting trousers and his flowing *chupkan*, touched his father's feet with his forehead. In doing so his turban came off and kissed his nose and his watch popped out of his pocket and swung to and fro in the air. Bepin adjusted his attire hurriedly and begged his father to come to his pleader's house close by.

"No thank you"—Krishna Gopal replied—"I will tell you here what I have got to say."

A curious crowd had gathered there by this time. Bepin's attendants pushed them back.

Krishna Gopal then said—"You must do what you can to get Asim acquitted and restore him the lands that you have taken away from him."

"Is it for this, father"—said Bepin very much surprised—"that you have come all the way from Benares? Would you tell me why you have made them the objects of your special favour?"

"What would you gain by knowing it, my boy?"

But Bepin persisted. "It is only this father,"—he went on—"I have revoked many a grant because I thought the parties were not deserving. There were many Brahmins amongst them—but you never said a word then. Are you so keen about these Mohamedans now? After all that has happened, if I drop this case against Asim and give him back his lands, what shall I say to people?"

Krishna Gopal maintained a silence for

some moments. Then, passing the beads through his shaky fingers with rapidity, he spoke with a tremulous voice—"Should it be necessary to explain your conduct to people, you may tell them that Asimuddin is my son—and your brother."

"What?"—exclaimed Bepin in painful surprise—"By the Mohamedan woman?"

"It is so, my son"—was the calm reply.

Bepin stood there for some time in mute astonishment. Then he found words to say—"Come home, father—we shall talk about it afterwards."

"No, my son"—replied the old man—"Having once relinquished the world for serving my God, I cannot go home again. I return from here. Now I leave you to do as your sense of duty may suggest to you". He then blessed his son and checking his tears with difficulty walked off with tottering steps.

Bepin was dumb-founded, not knowing what to say and what to do. "So,—such was the piety of the older generation"—he said to himself. He reflected with pride how superior he was to his father in point of education and morality. This was the result, he concluded, of not having a principle to guide one's actions.

Returning to the Court he saw Asimuddin outside between two constables, awaiting his trial. He looked emaciated and worn out. His lips were pale and dry and his eyes unnaturally bright. A dirty piece of cloth gone into shreds, covered his person. "This, my brother!"—Bepin shuddered to think.

The Deputy Magistrate and Bepin were friends, so the case ended in a fiasco. In a few days Asimuddin was restored to his former condition. Why all this happened, he could not understand. The village people were greatly surprised also.

The news of Krishna Gopal's arrival just before the trial soon got abroad however. People began to exchange meaning glances. The pleaders in their shrewdness guessed the whole affair. One of them, Babu Ram Taran, was beholden to Krishna Gopal for his education and his start in life. Somehow or other he had always suspected that the virtue and the piety of his benefactor was all sham. Now he was fully convinced that if a searching enquiry were made, all "pious" men might be found out. "Let

them tell their beads as much as they like" --he thought with glee--"everybody in this world is just as bad as myself. The only difference between a good and a bad man is that the good practise dissimulation while the bad don't." The revelation, however, that Krishna Gopal's far-famed piety, benevolence and magnanimity were

nothing but a cloak of hypocrisy solved a problem that had puzzled Babu Ram Taran for many years. By what process of reasoning, we do not know, the burden of gratitude was greatly lifted off his mind. It was such a relief to him!

Translated by

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKERJI.

MR. GANDHI'S SECOND JAIL EXPERIENCE

PREFATORY.

I consider the experience I gained this time much better than the one I had in January last, as I have learnt much from it and I think it would prove of greater benefit to Indians.

The struggle by passive resistance is possible to be carried on in many ways, but the great remedy for redressing political wrongs seems to lie in passing through the ordeal of imprisonment. I believe that we shall have to go to jail often, and that also not in the present cause, but for wrongs which might be inflicted in future too. For this purpose it is the duty of every Indian to try to know as much as possible about Jails.

ARREST.

When Mr. Sorabji was arrested I wished that I too were arrested or that the struggle might end before he was released. But I was disappointed. The same wish again came over me when the brave leaders of Natal were arrested, and this time it was fulfilled. On my return from Durban, I was arrested on the 7th of October in the Volksrust Station, as I had not got a voluntary certificate with me and refused to give my finger marks.

My object in going to Durban was to bring back from Natal the educated Indians, and also those who were the old residents of the Transvaal. I had hopes that many Indians from there would follow their Natal leaders. Government also was of the same opinion and therefore the Jailor had orders to make arrangements for the accommodation of more than a hundred Indians, and tents,

blankets, utensils &c., were sent on from Pretoria. When I got down at Volksrust with my companions I found many police men in the Station. But all their preparations were useless, as I was accompanied by very few Indians and the Police and the Jailor were disappointed. There were six with me, and eight more started by the next train from Durban, so that there were fourteen of us only. We were arrested and taken to the Jail, and placed before the Magistrate next day. The hearing was adjourned for seven days. We declined to be released on bail. Two days after, Mr. Mavji Kursanji Kothari, who inspite of suffering from piles had elected to come with us, on his ailment becoming more serious, and there being the need of a picket at Volksrust, was sent out on bail.

THE JAIL.

When we went in, we saw there Mr. Dawood Mahamad, Mr. Rustamji, Mr. Angalia (with whom began the second instalment of the struggle), Mr. Sorabji Adajania, and about 25 more Indians. It was the month of Ramazan and the Mohammedans were keeping fast, and as by special permission they were allowed to take food supplied in the evening by Mr. Isap Suleman Kazi, they were able to observe their fast properly. It is not allowable to burn lights in outside jails, still on account of Ramazan they were allowed to keep lights and a clock. Mr. Angalia led them in prayer. Those who kept fast were in their first days given heavy work, but afterwards it was stopped.

For the rest of the Indians, permission

had been granted to cook separately, so that Mr. Umiyashanker Shelat, and Mr. Surendra Ray Medh and latterly when there was an increase in our numbers, Mr. Joshi, were doing the work. When they were deported Mr. Ratansi Sodha, Mr. Raghavji and Mr. Mavji Kothari, took their places, and latterly, due to increase in numbers, Mr. Lalbhai and Mr. Umar Osman had to assist them. These gentlemen had to get up at 2 or 3 A.M. and again be engaged in it till 5 or 6 P.M. When many of the prisoners were discharged, Mr. Musa Isakji and Imam Saheb Bawazeer took charge of this department. I consider them fortunate who thus were able to partake of food cooked by such distinguished persons as the President of the Islamic Hamidia Society and well-known merchants. When they left, their legacy descended to me, but as I had some experience in the line, I felt no trouble in cooking. I had only to do it for four days only, as now (at the writing of this) my son, Mr. Harilal Gandhi attends to it.

When we entered, there were only 3 sleeping cells, in which the Indians had been accommodated. In this jail, Indians and Kaffirs were kept apart.

ARRANGEMENTS IN THE JAIL.

There are two divisions of the male prisoners' wards; one for whites, and another for Kaffirs, which includes all the non-whites. Thus, though Indians were included in the division of the Kaffirs, still the jailor had accommodated them in the division of the whites. There are cells or rooms for prisoners, and each cell has accommodation for 10, 15, or even more, prisoners. The building is of stone, the cells are high, white plastered walls, and as the floor is daily washed, it remains very clean. The walls are often lime-washed and hence always present a fresh appearance. The area or space in front is flagged with black stones, and is washed daily. It has also accommodation for three persons to bathe together; two lavatories, and benches for sitting. Above it, is a barbed wire netting, to prevent prisoners escaping by scaling the wall. Each cell is well ventilated in point of light and air. The prisoners are placed in their cells at 6 P.M. and they are opened again at 5 A.M. They are locked from outside, and any call of nature has to be

answered in the cell, for which pots are provided filled with germ-killing fluids.

Food.

When I entered the Volksrust Jail, the Indian prisoners there used to get "mealie pap" in the morning, and at noon, and in the evening, rice and some vegetables, which mainly consisted of potatoes. Ghee was not given at all.

Those who were under trial, got over and above this food, one oz., of sugar, in the morning, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread at noon. Out of these two, some of the "under-trials" gave a portion to those who were undergoing sentences. They had a right to get meat twice, but as neither the Hindus nor Mohammedans partook of it, they got nothing in its place, though they should have been given something. We, therefore, petitioned, and were soon ordered to get an allowance of one oz. of ghee, and on meat days, instead of meat, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of beans. There was one specially Gujarati green (called વાંદમજાની માંજી) growing spontaneously in the jail compound, which we were allowed to utilise, and also occasionally, the use of onions growing there, was permitted. So after getting these concessions for ghee and beans, there could not be said to be much of a complaint for food. The diet of the Johannesburg Jail was somewhat different. [It has been referred to before].

These rations, though not proper, according to our habits and customs, cannot still be condemned as bad. Many Indians have a hatred of mealie pap and they do not eat it. But I call it a mistake. This "pap" is a sweet and nutritious food. In South Africa it takes the place of wheat, and if it be mixed with sugar, it becomes very tasty, but even without sugar, when one is hungry, it tastes sweet. If one gets accustomed to it, not only is there no danger of one remaining hungry when one gets it, but it strengthens one's body. If only some changes could be made in it, it is likely to prove a perfect food. But the true fact is that we have become so accustomed to tasty foods, and we have patted our habits so much on the back, that when we do not get food to which we are accustomed, we lose our temper. I came across this experience in the Volksrust Jail, and it

pained me much. Lamentations were often loudly poured out on this account, and people seemed to think as if life consisted merely in partaking of good food or that they lived solely to eat. This is not conduct befitting a Passive Resister. It is our duty to ask for suitable changes to be made in the dietary, but if none be made we should not grumble thereat, but rest content with what we get and point out to the Government that such matters would not make us lose our hearts or give up the fight. There are some Indians who are afraid to go to jail merely because of this inconvenience of food. It behoves them deliberately to give up any luxurious habits they might have formed in this respect.

PAKKA PRISON.

As I have said above, our case was postponed for a week. It was heard on the 14th October, when some Indians were sentenced to one month's and others to six weeks' rigorous imprisonment. A small boy of eleven got 14 days' simple imprisonment. I was all the while feeling anxious, that I should be deprived of the opportunity of going to jail, as there was a rumour of the charge against me being withdrawn. After the cases of the others were disposed of, some other cases were adjourned, and this made me more anxious. The rumour first, was that I should be charged with failure to shew a registered certificate and giving finger prints, and also with attempting to import other unregistered Indians into the Transvaal. I was thinking about all these matters, when the Magistrate took his seat again and my case was called out. I was fined £25, or in default to undergo two month's rigorous imprisonment. This pleased me very much, and I considered myself lucky in being able to share the prison with my brethren.

DRESS.

Our prison dress consisted of a short, strong pair of trousers, a rough shirt, a "jumper", cap, towel, a pair of socks and sandals. I thought this dress admirably suited to a man who had to work. It was strong and simple, and we can have no complaint to make against it, and we should never be tired of putting it on, if it were for ever. The whites get different clothes. They get a rimmed cap, and stockings,

with a pair of towels in addition to a handkerchief. The Indians also stand in need of a handkerchief.

LABOR.

Government are entitled to exact nine hours' work from a prisoner with hard labor. Prisoners are put into their cells at 6 P.M., a bell for rising is struck at 5-30 A.M. and at 6 A.M. the doors are thrown open. Both at the time of going in and coming out, their number is counted. In order to facilitate it, each one is asked to stand near his bed, after having washed his hands and face, and made up his bed. At seven he has to start work, which is of many kinds. On the first day we were taken to dig up an open piece of land, near the high road, for purposes of tilling. About 30 of us were taken, but those who were unable to work were not compelled to go. Our companions were Kaffirs. The ground was hard, and we had to dig with spades. The work was hard, it was very hot, and the scene of our operation was about a mile and a half from the jail. We all fell to with rapidity, but as very few were habituated to this sort of labor, we were very much exhausted. Our batch included Rasi Krishna, a son of Babu Talevant Sing. I felt much pained at seeing him doing the work, still the trouble he took over it pleased me. As the day advanced, we felt the burden increasing. Our warder was sharp-tempered, and he was keeping on shouting "go on, go on". The Indians became more and more confused at his shouts, and some began to weep. The leg of one became swelled. My mind was considerably affected, still I continued advising the others, not to mind the warder but do their work conscientiously. I myself was exhausted, and my hands became full of bruises and boils, water began to flow from the same. Even to try to bend down became difficult and I felt as if the spade weighed a maund in my hand. I was all the while praying that I should not be disabled but given strength to do my share of the work conscientiously. On the strength of these prayers I was going on doing my work but the warder began to thump me. As I was taking a little rest, he upbraided me. I told him there was no need to do so, as I was determined on doing the utmost I could. At this time I saw

Mr. Jhinabhai Desai going off into a swoon. I had not the permission to move from my place, but I stopped from my work for a moment. The warder went there, I felt that I must go. So I ran up, and two other Indians came up also. We sprinkled water on him and his senses returned. The warder sent back the others to their places but allowed me to sit by his side. I poured a deal of cold water over his head, and this relieved him. I told the warder that he would not be able to walk back, so a carriage was procured and I was ordered to take him to the jail. While pouring water over his head, I could not help thinking that it was on my advice that so many of the Indians had come to jail, and that how sinful of me would it be considered if I was giving them wrong advice? Was it not on my account that the Indians were undergoing all this suffering? I heaved a heavy sigh at the thoughts but taking God to witness the sincerity of my advice I began to cheer up again, and felt I was in the right. If out of evil came good, there was no harm in suffering. I thought that Jhinabhai's case was merely one of a swoon, but even if death were to result from the course of conduct adopted, I would not have been in a position to advise differently. I lost all feelings of sorrow at considering that it was part of our duty to throw off the fetters by undergoing pain and suffering and should not complain even if we had to remain in bonds for our whole life-time. These considerations revived my drooping spirits and I again began to put heart into Jhinabhai.

As soon as the carriage came Jhinabhai was made to lie down in it and taken away. A complaint was made to the Chief Warder and he reprimanded his subordinates. Jhinabhai was not taken to the works at noon, and like him four other Indians were also found disabled. The rest had to begin work again. We were given one hour, 12 to 1, for our meals, and had to work again from 1 to 5. At noon we were placed in charge of a Kaffir warder instead of a white one, and he proved to be better. He did not prod us often, nor did he speak much. Again the Kaffirs and Indians, though made to work in the same place, were, at noon, divided into two different

lots, and we were given comparatively softer land to dig.

The man who had taken this contract had a talk with me, and he told me that there was a possibility of his suffering by Indian labor, because he admitted that in physical work, the Indian was not, on an emergency, the equal of the Kaffir. I also told him that the Indians did not work merely out of the fear of their warder, they were doing their best only, fearing God. As I will shew later on, I had, however to change this opinion considerably.

Next day also we were sent out, but not in charge of a white warder. A Kaffir was sent with us, though he was not the same as yesterday's. He had instructions not to trouble us.

We were asked to do as much as we could *bona fide* and conscientiously. The work was light also, we had to dig and fill up certain pits in municipal land, near the public road. This gave us short spells of rest. But I now learnt that, where God only was taken to be our witness, we avoided work; I saw many slackening in their work.

I am strongly of opinion that this dishonesty is disgraceful on our part, and the slackness of our fight is mainly due to it. But the road of passive resistance is both easy and difficult. Our motives should be pure. We have no enmity with the Government, and we should not consider it our foe. We are fighting against Government simply to correct its mistakes. We do not wish it ill, we are rather of opinion that our fight is for Government's ultimate good. With this opinion, we are bound to do our best for the jail-work. If any one thinks that morally he is not bound to do any such work, then he should not do anything even when the Warder is superintending his work. He is, holding this opinion, bound to oppose, and if his opposition results in heavier punishment, he should be prepared to undergo it. But no Indians have faith in this doctrine of conscience. He who avoids work, does so out of mere idleness and of a desire to shirk work. This idleness and this shirking do not behove us Indians. It is our duty as conscientious objectors to do whatever work is assigned to us, irrespective of the warder being with us or not. If we did our duty properly, we would not have to encounter any trouble. Whatever we

had to suffer in jail was due to the desire of some to avoid work.

This was a digression. Day by day thus our work became lighter. The batch to which I was assigned, was afterwards put on to keep the jail garden clean, to sow seeds therein, &c. Mainly we had to sow maize seeds, clear potato beds, and dust potato plants. For two days we were again taken to dig the Municipal Tank, where we had to stock the earth after digging and also to cast it away in hand barrows. It was hard work again, but I had to do it for two days only. My wrist then became swollen, and I cured it by applying some earth to it.

This place was at a distance of 4 or 5 miles and so we were carried to the scene of our work in trolleys. We had to cook our food by the pond, and had therefore to take raw food and fire-wood with us. The contractor was not satisfied with this work of ours too, as we were not able to equal the Kaffirs. So after testing our capacity on this work we were given another. Till now almost all able-bodied Indians were taken together to the works, but from now they were divided into batches, one being sent to uproot the grass which had grown round the soldiers' tombs, another being sent to clean the cemetery, and so on. This arrangement went on for some time. In the meanwhile after Barberton's case, nearly fifty prisoners were discharged and the remaining were given work in the garden itself. We had to dig, reap, and sweep it. This cannot be called heavy work, it was rather healthy work. No doubt the monotony of it—working in the same way for nine hours on end was tiresome in the beginning, but afterward we became used to it, and it did not appear so.

Over and above this sort of labor, it was the duty of the inmates of the cells to remove their urinal buckets, &c. I saw my companions hesitating to do this sort of work, but really speaking there should have been no such hesitation on their part. It is a mistake to suppose that there is any disgrace in doing any honest work. Again those who have to go to jail cannot nurse such feelings. I used to watch the question being raised many times as to who would remove the bucket. But, if we really understood the reason of our Passive Resistance, instead of this attitude of

hesitation, one would have expected rivalry in the discharge of such duties, and he who was able to secure the work should have considered himself lucky and honored. If we have girded up our loins to bear troubles, he who undergoes misery then should be most honored. An admirable example of this was set by Mr. Hasan Mirza. He was suffering from a very bad disease of the lungs. He was consequently of weak health, but still he gladly did whatever work fell to his lot, and never cared for his health. He was once asked by a Kaffir Warder to clean the privy of the Chief Warder. He instantly obeyed him and as he had never done such dirty work in his life he instantly vomitted, but still he did not mind it and was going on with the cleaning of another privy, when I happened to go there, and was surprised to see him doing this uncleanly work. I felt great admiration for him, and on inquiry learnt about the first privy also. It seems once the same Kaffir Warder was asked by his chief to procure two Indians to clean the privies specially set apart for them. He came to me and asked for the man. I felt I was the best man for it, and so I went. I never feel any disgrace in doing such work, and I am of opinion that we should habituate ourselves to doing such things. It is because we turn up our noses at them, that we generally see the front-ages of our houses and our privies in a dirty state; not only this, but we give rise to and spread such diseases as plague, &c. We have got a firm belief that privies should by nature remain dirty, and the result is that we are accused of being unclean and dirty. An Indian was once confined to a solitary cell for refusing to do this kind of work. I should not be considered as objecting to the undergoing of the punishment; what I want to say is that there was no occasion for doing so, and that it does not look proper on our part to object to doing this kind of work. When I prepared myself to go, the warder taxed others, and the story spread, which made Mr. Umar Usman and Mr. Rustamji hurry up to my assistance, although the work to be done was very light. The object of mentioning this incident is this, that they felt themselves honored in doing the work if it was ordered by Government. If

re displeased at the work given to us, are not fit to share in the struggle for conscience.

REMOVAL TO JOHANNESBERG.

I have narrated above my experiences in the Volksrust Jail, but I did not complete two months there. After a few days I fell on a sudden taken to Johannesburg. The incidents there are also worth noting. I was taken there on the 25th of October, as I was cited as a witness in the case of Tailor Dahya. My own inference was that there must have been other reasons too. Those who were hopeful thought that perhaps I was called to visit Mr. Smuts. But they were disappointed in the end. A warrant was specially sent from Johannesburg to remove me. Between him and me we were given a second class railway compartment, the reason being that there were no third class carriages in that train, otherwise it is usual to carry prisoners third class. My dress on the road was jail dress. I was made to carry my own luggage, and we had to go on foot from the jail to the Railway station, and on reaching Johannesburg I had also to go on foot from the station to the Jail carrying my luggage in the same way. This gave rise to a deal of comment in the papers, and questions were asked in Parliament about it, and the feelings of many were hurt, because they all felt that a political prisoner like myself should not have been treated as a common convict, and made to walk on a public road in prison dress, carrying a head load of luggage.

It is natural that people should be hurt at this treatment. When Mr. Angalia heard that I had to go in this way, tears came to his eyes. Mr. Naidu and Mr. Polak had come to know about it, and so they met me on the station and they too were on the point of weeping when they saw my condition. I myself feel that there is no reason why it should be so. In this country there is no possibility of the Government making any difference in the treatment of political and ordinary offenders. The more the Government oppress us and the more we bear it, the earlier would our release come. Again if one deeply considers it, there is no harm in putting on jail clothes, going on foot and carrying one's luggage. But the world is

such that it would take such things to be disgraceful, and the uproar in England was due to this erroneous belief.

On the way, the warder gave me no trouble, my firm determination was not to take any other food excepting jail food unless the warder publicly permitted me to do so. On account of it, till now, I was subsisting on prison food. But no food had been supplied to me for the Railway journey and the warder allowed me to buy whatever I liked, and the station master offered to give me money. His feelings had been greatly moved, but I thanked him for his kindness and declined the loan. I borrowed ten shillings from Mr. Kaji who was at the station, and purchased food with it for myself and the warder from the station.

It was evening when we reached Johannesburg, so I was not taken near the other Indian prisoners, but was given a bed in a room which contained mainly Kaffir prisoners. I passed a very oppressive and fearful night in this cell. I was afraid that I should be housed with these convicts all along, and this increased my fears: I did not know I should be separated from them in the morning. I felt greatly annoyed, still I said to myself that my duty lay in suffering whatever calamity that would come in my way. I read portions from the Bhagavad-gita, which I had with me. I perused verses which were apposite to this dire occasion and this comforted my mind. The reason why I felt uneasy was that I saw that the Chinese and Kaffir prisoners were savage, murderous, and bestial. I did not know their language, and the Kaffirs began to question me. I felt they were mocking me, but as I understood nothing I did not reply. One of them then asked me in broken English, why I was brought there in that state. I gave him some sort of a reply and then kept silent. Then the Chinaman took his turn at it, and he was worse than his predecessor. He came near my bed and began to examine me, [Mr. Gandhi feared an attempt at unnatural offence], he then went to the place where the Kaffir was lying and they began to indulge in obscene jokes and became indecent by exposing their private parts. Both these men were convicted of murder and larceny. With these terrifying companions, sleep was out of the question. Late at night I snatched a few

moments' rest, with the idea that I would complain of it to the governor in the morning.

Real discomfort or unhappiness lies in this, and not in carrying luggage, &c. Other Indians must be undergoing such terrible experience, too. I took comfort in the thought that if they suffered similarly, I was sharing their distress also and in the result would fight with the Government so strenuously that it would lead to our asking Government to improve their jail administration, and that all these would be so many indirect advantages accruing from passive resistance.

In the morning I was immediately taken to the place where the Indians were. So I had no occasion to speak about this to the governor, though I had made up my mind to fight against the rule by which Indians are made to live with Kaffirs and others. There were about fifteen Indians when I went there, comprising only three who were not run in for passive resistance. These three were convicted of other offences, and they were kept with the Kaffirs. But when I went there, the chief warder ordered that we all should get a room to ourselves. To my regret I found that several Indians liked to be associated with Kaffirs, because thereby they could get secretly tobacco, &c. This was greatly to our shame: We should have no contempt or dislike for the natives, but it has never to be forgotten that in general matters, there is nothing common between them and us, and again those who wanted to live with them wanted to do so for an improper object altogether, an object we should altogether relinquish.

I underwent another uncomfortable experience in this jail. There are two kinds of separate divisions. In one division are located Kaffirs and Indians with hard labor, and in the other are kept witness-prisoners, and also those committed to the civil jail. Convicts with hard labor are not entitled to go in there. We were given sleeping accommodation in this second division, but we had no right to use the privy, &c. thereof. In the first there is always such a large number of inmates, that there is great difficulty in the use of the latrines. To many Indians this was a calamity, and I also felt it so. The warder had told me that there was no objection to my

using the privy of the second division, so I used it. But even there it was crowded. Again the privies are open, and doorless. Just as I was sitting down, a big, lusty, strong and savage-looking Kaffir came up and asked me to get away, using abusive language. I said I would just finish and get up. But before I could finish my sentence, he lifted me up in his arms, and threw me out. By good luck, I caught hold of a doorpost, and saved a fall. I was not afraid a bit at this. I laughed over the incident and went away. But one or two Indian prisoners who saw this affair helplessly wept over it; because they were in jail, and therefore unable to help me; they felt greatly. I afterwards learnt that many other Indians had to undergo a similar trouble. I spoke about this to the governor, and he too admitted the necessity of a separate privy accommodation for the Indians, and also the undesirability of keeping Indians and Kaffirs together. He, however, immediately ordered that a separate latrine should be forthwith sent from the larger jail for the Indians and from the next day our troubles on this score ended. I myself had to go four days without answering this necessary call and so I suffered in health.

During my stay in Johannesburg I had to go to Court three or four times and I was allowed to see Mr. Polak and my son there. Others also saw me at times. I was permitted by the Court to get food from home also, and so Mr. Kellenback used to bring for me bread, cheese, &c.

During the time that I was there the number of passive resisters became greatly swollen. Once it went up to fifty. A large majority were asked to sit on a stone and break small pieces of stone with a little hammer. About ten men engaged in mending torn clothes. I was asked to sew caps on a sewing machine. I learnt the use of the machine here for the first time. As it was not a difficult thing, I picked it up in no time.

As a major part of the Indians was engaged in breaking stones I also asked to be put to that work. But the warder said that his orders from his chief were that I should not be taken out and so I could not be put to that work. One day it so happened that I had no machine or sewing

work, so I began to read. The rule is that every prisoner should do some sort of jail work, so seeing this, the warder asked me, if I was not well. I said no, then the following talk took place.

Question—Why are you doing no work?

Answer—I have finished the work I had. I do not wish to make a show of having work when there is none. If you give me some other work, I am willing to do it. But having none, I have begun to read. What objection could there be to it!

Q. It is true but still would it not be much better if you are in the stores (work place) when the chief warder or governor comes?

An. I am not willing to do so. I am going to see the governor also that there is not enough work for me in the stores and so I should be sent to break stones.

Q. Very well. But I cannot send you there without orders.

The governor came up shortly after, and I spoke to him about the matter. He did not allow me to be put on the stone-breaking work; he said there was no need to do so, as I was to be sent back to Volksrust the next day.

MEDICAL INSPECTION OF CONVICTS.

The jail at Volksrust is a small one and so naturally more conveniences are allowed there than at the larger one at Johannesburg, e.g., Mr. Daood Muhamad was allowed at Volksrust to use his shawl as his head-dress and the others were allowed the use of their trousers. Messrs. Rustamji, Sorabji, and Shapurji were permitted to put on their own hats. This was impossible at Johannesburg. Again, there, before admitting convicts, they are medically examined, to find out if they are suffering from any contagious disease, and if so, they are isolated and put under treatment. Some convicts might be found under medical treatment suffering from some such disease and so for this purpose all parts of the body of all are examined, and they are made stark naked. The Kaffirs, to save the Doctor's time, are made to stand undressed for nearly fifteen minutes, but the Indians are asked to strip themselves of their trousers, only when the Doctor comes; before that they have to take out only their upper garments. Almost all of them object to take out their trousers, still they

suffer the indignity, on account of their fight for passive resistance. I spoke to the Doctor, and the only concession he made was that he examined *some* only in the privacy of the stores, but declined to extend it to *all*. The Association has memorialised about this matter and it is still under consideration. It is proper to agitate against it, because this is an old ingrained habit of our people, but still if we just consider it from another point of view, it is not so objectionable. Why should we object to strip before males? Why should we assume that others would stare at our nakedness? There should be no false shame about us. If our minds are innocent, why should we specially hide what nature has given us? I know that to every Indian these statements would appear unusual, and absurd. Still to me it looks as if the matter were capable of a sane consideration. This sort of objection on our part damages our cause. Formerly the Doctor never examined the Indians. But once he asked two or three Indians if they had any disease, and they said they had not. But he suspected them and on being examined, it was found out that they had told a lie. Since that time, he decided to examine all Indians properly. This one instance would shew that we ourselves are instrumental in bringing troubles on our heads.

RETURN FROM JOHANNESBERG.

As mentioned above I was taken back to Volksrust on 4th November. This time also I was in charge of a warder. I was in prison dress, but I was not made to walk this time but taken in a carriage to the station. The ticket provided was for a third, instead of a second class compartment. For my meals on the way I was given $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread and bull-beef, but I declined to take beef and left it there. En route the warder permitted me to take other food. On the station I found some Indian tailors. They saw me, and as they could not talk to me and as they saw me in a convict's dress, they were so affected that they wept at the sight. I could not comfort them even by saying that I was indifferent to the dress &c., and that I felt nothing on account of it, so I silently watched the affecting scene. We two were given a compartment to ourselves. The next one was occupied by a tailor. He

gave me some food. At Heidleberg Mr. Somabhai saw me. He purchased some food from the station and gave it to me. The woman from whom he purchased it, first refused to accept any payment, to shew her sympathy with our cause, but when Mr. Somabhai insisted on her taking the same, she nominally accepted 6d. only. He had also wired to Standerton; so there also some Indians had come and brought food so that on the way the warder and myself had plenty to eat.

On reaching Volksrust I saw Mr. Nagdi and Mr. Kaji on the Station. They accompanied me on the road for some distance, as they were permitted to walk with me a little apart. I had again to carry my luggage from the station. This again gave rise to comments in the press.

All the Indians were glad to see me back in Volksrust. I was confined for the night in the same room as Mr. Dawood Mahamad. So till late at night, we talked over our experiences.

THE STATE OF THE INDIANS.

When I returned I found the whole work of the Indians altered; instead of 30, there were 75 prisoners. As there was no space in the building for that large number about 8 tents had been pitched to accomodate them. A special cooking range had been imported from Pretoria. The Indian prisoners were allowed often to go for a bath to the river flowing near the jail. They had therefore more the appearance of belonging to a soldiers' camp than to a prison house. It was really a camp of fighters for Passive Resistance, and to me it did not matter whether the warders treated us well or ill. Really speaking, on the whole, they were not bad men. Mr. Dawood Mahamad had nick-named each of them. One was named "Oakly," another "Mafuto," and so on.

VISITORS.

A good number of visitors were allowed to call on us at this jail. Mr. Kaji was always anxious to call. He also managed most ably the outside affairs of the prisoners, and made the utmost use of the opportunities for calling. Mr. Polak used to come almost every week on business, Messrs Mahomad Ibrahim and Kharsani had also specially called in connexion

with the main lines of the contributions for the Congress. On the Id day about 100 Indians must have seen the Natal Shethias, who were deluged with a rain of telegrams.

SOME THOUGHTS.

Generally cleanliness is very well observed in jails; if it were not so, there would be a likelihood of diseases breaking out. But still there are certain defects in the system. The blankets given to the convicts always get interchanged, a blanket used by the dirtiest of Kaffirs comes back to a cleanly Indian. It is always full of vermin and stinking. The rule is that whenever there is sunshine it is to be exposed for half an hour every day, but the rule was never observed, and to us who were of cleanly habits, this was a great grievance.

A similar inconvenience was felt as regards clothes. Dress put on by a particular convict was not washed after being taken out from his body when he was discharged, but in the same dirty state given over to his successor. I felt a shudder at this.

There was overcrowding too. In Johannesburg where there was accommodation for 200 individuals only, 400 men were confined, so that twice its usual number was always interned in a cell, and at times, they were insufficiently supplied with blankets. This was a great trouble, but as we were placed in this condition for no fault of ours, we managed to think of it cheerfully, and lived a pleasant life; e.g., not only did Mr. Dawood Mahammad pass his whole day in cheer, but managed to put the other Indians in good humour by his jokes and laughter.

The only note of regret was struck in this jail life by the unwillingness of Indians to do their duty conscientiously. Once, when several Indians were sitting a Kaffir warder happened to come to them and asked for two men to go and cut a little grass. Every one remained silent. Seeing this, Mr. Imam Abdul Kader volunteered to go, but no one came forward to accompany him; on the other hand, they began to tell the warder that he was their Imam (religious leader), and should not be taken. This meant a double disgrace. Where it was the duty of every one to volunteer himself for the task, it was shirked, and secondly, when out of

patriotic motives, to save the honor of his countrymen, the Imam Saheb came forward, his status was exposed.

A SORE TRIAL.

By the time half my term was over, a wire was received from Phoenix to the effect that Mrs. Gandhi was dangerously ill, and I should go to her. Every one was sorry to hear this. But I had absolutely no misgivings about what my duty was. The jailer asked me if I was ready to pay the fine now and go. I at once said, it was not possible for me to pay the fine and get released, as it was a part of our programme in this fight that if necessary, we should suffer bereavement of our wife and children. He smiled at it, but he, too, was sorry. To some, *prima facie*, this would strike to be cruel conduct on my part, but I think that there is nothing wrong in it. Love for my country, I consider to be part of my religion, though not the whole of it. Unless one has love for one's own country, one cannot be said to observe one's own religion perfectly. So, if in trying to observe our religion, we have to part from our wife and children, even lose them, there is nothing heartless about it, but I rather feel convinced that it is our duty so to do. If we have to fight till death, we have to do so, and why should we think of other matters? Lord Roberts lost his only son, in a task inferior to ours, he was engaged in the war and could not be present at his burial even. Is not the history of the world full of such instances of heroic self-abnegation?

FIGHTS BETWEEN KAFFIRS.

This prison contained several Kaffir murderers. They were constantly quarrelling amongst themselves after being placed in the cells. Sometimes they attacked their warders even, who were twice beaten. It is obvious therefore that there is great risk in keeping Indians with them. The risk has not yet been realised as a fact, but as long as the law places them both on the same level, the danger is ever present.

ILLNESS.

There was no special illness in the jail. I have already spoken of that of Mr. Mavji. A Tamil gentleman, Mr. Raju, contracted dysentery, and his health was considerably

affected. The reason he gave was that he was used to taking thirty cups of tea daily, and he was deprived of the same in the jail. He asked for tea, but that could not be given; still the Doctor gave him some medicine and two pounds of milk and bread. This cured him. Mr. Ravi Krishna Talevant Sing suffered till the last, along with Mr. Kaji and Mr. Bavazir. Mr. Ratansi Sodha used to take his meal once only in the day as he was keeping fast on account of the *Chatur mas Vrata* (A religious observance, during which Hindus take one meal only for a period of four months in the monsoon). As the food did not suit him, he suffered from inflammation. Besides this, there were other miscellaneous complaints, but still on the whole I could see that even the sick Indians did not give in. They were ready to undergo these troubles for their country.

SOME INCONVENIENCES.

I marked this also that some of our internal troubles were more painful than the external ones. At times I could see a faint echo of the differences between one being a Hindu and another a Mohammedan, between one belonging to the upper and another to the lower classes. As Indians of all kinds and classes were made to live together in the jail, I could very easily see how and where we were unfit for Self-Government. Still as we were able to negotiate all such difficulties in the end successfully I also felt that it was not impossible, if there was the occasion, to govern ourselves, successfully too.

Some Hindus said that they would not eat food cooked by Mohammedans or persons of other castes. My opinion is that men with such restrictions should never move out of India. These very objectors had no objection to a Kaffir or a white touching their grain, but once, one of them said, that the other was a *Dhed*, and he would not sleep near him. This was not proper, and on inquiry I learnt that he personally had no objection to sleeping in this way, but he was afraid of being placed out of caste if his castemen in his native place came to learn it! My own idea is that we have embraced untruth and left off truth, by this show of superiority and inferiority, and by the fear of caste. If we

know it as a fact, that to despise a *Dhed* because he is a *Dhed* is not proper, what right have we to pass ourselves off as conscientious objectors or passive resisters, if we leave off the path of truth for fear of caste or some such dread? I therefore wish, that those who have joined me in this fight, should fight against their caste, against their families, and against everything wherein they see untruth and irreligion. As they are backward in such fights, they are backward in this fight too. If we are all Indians, how would it be possible for us to ask successfully for our rights, if we, amongst ourselves, stick to such false distinctions or be carried away by the dread of what would happen provided what we consider rightful conduct, comes to be known in our native place as some thing against caste rules? To give up a cause out of fear is cowardly and if Indians are cowardly, they will not be able to stand up till the end, in their struggle against government.

WHO CAN GO TO JAIL?

From the above it will be seen that those who are addicted to bad habits (smoking, &c.), those who stick to false distinctions of caste, those who are quarrelsome, those who see difference between a Hindu and a Mohammedan, and those who are ill, are not proper persons to go to jail, or having gone likely to remain there long. Those who consider it a distinction to go to prison out of patriotism should be sound in body, mind and soul. A sick man might give in, in the long run, and the others, such as those who are in the habit of being mad after tea, tobacco, &c., cannot fight till the last.

MY STUDIES.

Although I had to work the whole day, I could spare some time in the mornings and evenings and on Sundays, to read, and as there were no other distractions in the jail, I was able to read peacefully. Although the time at my disposal was not much, I read the two famous books of Ruskin, *Essays of Thoreau*, some part of the Bible, *Life of Garribaldi* (Gujarati), essays of Bacon (Gujarati), and two other books in English relating to India. From Thoreau

and Ruskin I could find out arguments in favor of our fight. Mr. Devari had sent the Gujarati books for the use of us all. In addition, I almost always read the *Bhagavadgita*, and the result of this study was that my mind became more than ever confirmed in this fight for conscience, and make me say emphatically to-day that I saw nothing in prison to make me afraid or tired of it.

THE RESULTANT.

Two ideas should be the result of these notes. The first would be why should we undergo all this trouble, to put on thick, dirty and evil-smelling dress; to eat in different food, sometimes starve even, to be kicked by warders, to consort with Kaffirs, to labor at a work which might be to our liking or not, slave under a warder who is fit to be our slave, to be cut off from visits of all our friends, and from even writing to them, to be deprived of necessities, and to sleep with murderers and thieves? Is not death preferable? Is it not better to pay the fine than go to jail? A man who is influenced by this idea, becomes weak in purpose, is rather afraid of the prison, and is stopped from doing that good to the cause which has to be done by going to jail.

The other idea is that we should consider it our good luck if we are sent to jail for the good of our country, for preserving our honour, for observing our religion. We should think there is no hardship there. Have we not to obey many outside, while, why, inside it, we have to obey only the warder? What anxiety is there then in the jail? None, for earning, nor for eating. Others regularly cook the food and give it to us. Government takes care of our health, and all this, *gratis*. We get work enough to give us good exercise, we have to give up our bad habits of smoking, &c., our minds are easy and we get plenty of opportunities to pray to God. If our bodies are in bondage, our minds are free. Our bodies are taken care of by those who imprison us. Thus in every way, we are free. No doubt sometimes we encounter troubles. A wicked warder perchance assaults us, but does not that teach us to cultivate patience? These considerations make the prison house, a holy and a happy place. It is in our own hands to make it a happy or unhappy place. In

short, happiness and unhappiness are mere creations of the mind. I trust, that on a perusal of these experiences of mine, the reader would come to only one conclusion,

viz., that there is nothing but happiness in going to jail, bearing troubles, and undergoing other hardships, for one's own country or religion.

THE IDEAL OF AN EXHIBITION

WINTER is the time when a vast sum of money, in the aggregate, is from year to year raised and spent all over the country on Agricultural and Industrial Shows and Exhibitions. A few observations as to the ideal to be held up to view might not be out of place.

2. An Exhibition now-a-days in the opinion of most people ought to be something more than a mere lifeless collection of exhibits or an emporium or a museum of curiosities, however skilfully arranged or effectively adorned it might be.

In a District Exhibition, at least, the visitors generally consist of a medley of people of all classes and callings, the majority of them not possessed of a high order of intelligence or education.

It is not difficult to produce a dazzling, though, fleeting, impression upon their minds—even, admiration and amazement, by the spectacular grandeur of the show, or, of the array, really admirable and highly interesting at times, of the exhibits, or, to provide them with mirth and merriment unenjoyed before, for a number of days together, in the shape of *Jatras*, Bioscopes, Theatricals, Illumination, Fireworks, Bands, Country Music of sorts, and many other cheap and costly amusements.

3. It is quite easy to organize a show which would stop short of and not go much beyond the above lines; and, as is unfortunately too true, the Exhibitions which have gone before, even the Calcutta Exhibition, the most brilliant one held on this side of India in recent times not excepted, were not particularly successful from the point of view of lasting practical results. The Nagpur Exhibition was in great measure an honourable exception by reason of the highly instructive practical demonstrations that it arranged for.

To quote 'The Indian Agriculturist'—an Anglo-Indian Journal of over 30 years' standing:—

"It is true that an Industrial Exhibition of considerable merit was held in Calcutta. But its scope was limited, and it lacked those practical demonstrations which have contributed so largely to the popularity of the Nagpur show".

To quote another well-informed opinion—

"The successive Industrial Exhibitions that have been held in different capitals of India have only served as effective advertisements of Indian Products, and beyond that they have had no effect".

4. The time has come to take a real step in advance in the direction of making the Exhibitions really useful and of substantial practical lasting benefit to the country, so that they may be remembered and remembered long and gratefully by the people at large of the locality concerned.

To quote from a recent speech of the President, Exhibition Committee, Allahabad, Mr. Hopkins, I.C.S.—

"An Exhibition should concern itself wholly with benefiting those people who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow."

"It should be planned with a view to show the products of agriculture and industry, arts, and crafts, in an intelligent and collected form, and not merely to attract the casual sight-seer.

"In other words, the aim of the exhibition should be to educate as well as to entertain.

"It should really be a *numaish-ghar* and not a *tamasha-ghar*. "Agriculturists could find on going there, what improved ploughs, pumps, mills, or machinery, seeds or manure would suit them best.

"Similarly, artisans should find the best looms, most economical apparatus and the most up-to-date tools."

The idea as outlined above is further expounded by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—who has made a thoughtful study of the industrial needs of the day.

To quote from his speech:—

"From this Exhibition, the people of the district would learn what raw materials they had, what they

despatched to other places and how their profits could be increased, by the use of improved implements and the better organisation of trade.

"The Exhibition would show, though on a small scale, but yet practically and decisively, what kinds of improved ploughs, mills, looms, tools and implements were used in other parts of the world and in other provinces in India.

"While other districts are going ahead, this district and the province—for all practical purposes, are remaining stagnant.

"District exhibitions and shows are meant to help to remove the defect by practical demonstrations to the people in their own home, of such appliances and applications.

"They might read books, but books would not impart such practical lessons on agricultural processes—such as manures and manuring, as would an exhibition.

"While in Europe and America, people were getting manures for their land even from the atmosphere, in India they could not as yet use properly and fully even the refuse for manuring purposes, to say nothing of mineral and green manuring.

"A properly planned exhibition would convince them how much they had to learn in such matters.

"The exhibition with the help of demonstration of processes and tools and implements, would show them how to do things as well and with as much profit as others are doing them.

"All exhibits will, as far as possible, be accompanied with their processes, appliances, machinery and demonstrators."

5. As is well-known, the results of scientific cultivation are marvellous. To cite just an instance. By a scientific method America produces 600 lbs. of cotton and 28 bushels of wheat per acre, while, we in India, produce 60 lbs. of cotton and 7 bushels of wheat per acre. In Florida, oranges used to be seriously damaged by frost but the scientific men found a remedy (cross fertilization with inferior varieties) and overcame the difficulty.

Inoculation of land in America is one of the wonders of science.

6. It is well-known that agriculture is the staple industry of our country—and constitutes the nucleus and foundation of all enterprises—and in fact it is the industry from which other industries draw their life-blood.

To judge by the population affected perhaps 8 out of every 10 are dependent upon agriculture directly or indirectly, for their living.

We cannot, therefore, lay too much stress upon the agricultural side of an Exhibition.

We can profitably take our cue from the manner in which His Honour the L. G., U., P.,—Sir John Hewett, is laying stress upon practical demonstrations, at the forthcoming

Provincial Exhibition which promises to beat hollow its predecessors in the line and how the Agricultural Court, in view of the paramount place of Agriculture in India—has been placed at the very forefront of the programme—half the Government grant,—one lac out of two, being set apart for this alone—and, how a well-thought out and elaborate scheme of practical demonstrations has been drawn up—and is being vigorously worked up.

7. As for the industries, arts, and manufactures capable of being demonstrated at an Exhibition, their name is legion.

It would be a dissipation of energy and money were a stereotyped model of an all embracing kind like that of an Imperial or Provincial show, to be aspired after for every District or Sub-Divisional Exhibition, that is to say, any and every conceivable thing being called for and exhibited from all corners of the country without discrimination or restrictions with due regard to local peculiarities, conditions and needs.

To attain some definite result, it is essential to concentrate attention and energy upon a definite programme based upon careful practical local considerations, such as the available abundance or otherwise, of raw materials of any particular kind, of skilled or unskilled labour, and other advantages or disadvantages, if any and then, to steadily work, from year to year, after the attainment of that ideal.

8. A scheme to be practical will naturally embrace the following two heads:—

(1) Revival and the improvement of the *old* indigenous industries of the locality concerned.

(2) Organization and introduction of *new* enterprises.

(i) There may be raw materials in abundance in the locality which can be successfully worked up into profitable business, could people only know the methods, processes or appliances that were necessary.

For some suggestive facts on the point, for Eastern Bengal and Assam, those who may feel interested are referred to an article "Some industries of Eastern Bengal and Assam" in the "Modern Review" for May 1908.

(ii) There are points, processes, tools, implements, manures, crops, &c. connected with the agricultural industry and agricultural products generally which have been earnestly recommended by experts, times without number, for widespread introduction in the country, but, in vain.

[For this, a workable scheme has been drawn up, which the writer of this note will be happy to furnish to those who may care for it.]

9. A local Exhibition would have its mission more than fulfilled, if, instead of trying to assume the ambitious all-embracing scale which befits an Imperial or at least, a Provincial show, it were to confine its scope strictly to the local requirements and to succeed in achieving something practically and decisively in furtherance of the main objects sketched out above.

At any rate, the days of *tamasha* must be considered as finally over. Exhibitions—and costly ones—may come and go as they have done hitherto without leaving behind anything to remember them by unless some definite constructive result were aimed at and strenuously worked for.

10. The getting up of annual or biennial local exhibitions (District or Divisional) has been advocated by persons competent to speak as one of the prime factors in bringing about an industrial revival of the country. Catalogues of industries, dead or dying, but capable of resuscitation, can be easily compiled, district by district from the special reports of officers of Government like Messrs. Chatterton (Madras), Gupta (E. B. & Assam), Cumming (Bengal), Chatterji (U. P.) and others; and, what may be found wanting in them can be supplemented by further detailed local enquiry and research where necessary.

The local exhibitions ought to be made the occasions for annual stock-taking, so to say, and looked upon as so many progress indexes in the line of constructive industrial work of the country. It is by thus looking after local needs, district by district, upon a definite line, that tangible results of a far-reaching character can be expected to be visible all over the country.

11. The mistake so universally committed by District Exhibition Committees is that of beginning by copying models—even the patterns of their costly gates, towers and lawns not excluded—of Provincial and All-India shows like those of Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur and so on,—which stand upon an altogether different footing from district shows,—and, issuing ambitious prospectuses almost bodily copied from those Exhibition reports.

For purposes of a district organisation, the special Industrial Survey reports of the officers named, other existing reports and monographs—ought to furnish enough

materials. These can be supplemented by further systematic local enquiry and research as to exact local conditions and needs as may be necessary—a course laid stress upon by Dr. Voelchker, the great Indian authority—for purposes of any scheme of industrial or agricultural reform. Then, a programme or scheme of work can be drawn up for the district concerned to act upon—and a prospectus issued—in furtherance of the purpose of practically working out the programme.

12. To make recurring exhibitions feasible, the budget of expenditure must be fixed at a moderate figure which can be easily raised without undue pressure.

The sum of Rs. 4000/- or 5000/- may be held as a fairly decent sum for purposes of a district exhibition; and, this, by the way, is the sum we find budgetted for the forthcoming district exhibition at a place like Allahabad—a capital town.

The allotment may be as follows:—

$\frac{1}{4}$ or Rs. 1000, scrupulously ear-marked for the permanent purpose sketched out in para 15 below, the remaining $\frac{3}{4}$, after meeting the unavoidable expenses connected with the getting up of the show being devoted to the two main purposes (1) and (2) above.

The annual *Punyaha* festivals in every *zemdari*—a necessary ceremony, might be availed of to great advantage to act as feeder to the district shows.

13. The cardinal principle, it hardly needs pointing out, must always be utility, strict economy and positive practical benefit. 'Demonstration' or what has been aptly described by the U. P. authorities in connection with the coming great exhibition there as 'the correlation of processes and products,' that is to say, shewing raw and finished products side by side with the machineries concerned and the working processes of their manufacture—must be recognized as the one guiding principle throughout and, the whole operations must be so arranged that they may appeal readily even to the less intelligent, the lessons of which they might carry with them to their homes, and, furnish ideas and inspiration to artisans and craftsmen and to the visitors generally.

For people bent upon achieving something practical industrially, a visit to a miniature 'Calcutta Museum' or an emporium of indigenous goods like the 'Indian Stores' is no doubt interesting, but, to be taken round the actual working processes

of industrial arts and products, of the various necessary implements, tools and machinery is certainly more directly beneficial, without being the less entertaining.

To quote the Editor of the *Bengalee* :—

"We trust that the exhibition will be managed on practical lines with a view to prepare the villagers for a more advanced system of agriculture and will not be allowed to degenerate into a mere spectacular amusement, and that steps will be taken by the Executive Committee to make it a real live instrument for the dissemination of sound and practical views on the greatest industry of the country."

13A. The following outline of the detailed working of the coming U. P. Exhibition shows a right sample of how the ideal can be worked out in practice :

It would be idle to contend that the Agricultural Court is usually the most attractive feature of an exhibition: extensive displays of resting machinery and of agricultural produce may have a very real interest for the expert, but it must be admitted that they often receive but languid attention from landholders and the public generally.

It is a well-recognised fact that, improvements in agriculture in the province must be largely pioneered by the land-holding classes, and consequently the first condition of success is that the Agricultural Court shall be attractive not merely to experts but to visitors who are wanting in technical knowledge but at the same time are interested in increasing their income from the land.

Thus one of the leading features of the court will be the tillage-field, on which as large as possible a choice of ploughs and other implements of tillage will be regularly at work, so that visitors can see for themselves the depth and quality of the tilth, and the weight and draught of the various implements.

Near the tillage-field will be the water-lift section, where it is hoped to show a larger selection of lifts for irrigation than has ever been brought together in India ranging from pumps worked by a couple of coolies, through various forms of bullock-lifts, to power pumps of different capacities. These will, it is hoped, be installed on an artificial lake which will be fed from the Jumna by still larger pumping machinery, such as wealthy landholders might profitably instal on lakes or rivers; while, on the adjoining tillage-field, facilities will be given for showing the area that a particular lift will irrigate in a given time, a point of more immediate interest to ordinary visitors than any figures of the quantity of water lifted or of the power consumed.

Next will come the series of sections dealing with produce, the cereal section, the sugar-section, the oil-seeds section, the fodder section and so on. In each of these the same general arrangement will prevail, the raw and finished produce being exhibited alongside of the machines which are intended to convert the one into the other. Thus in the cereal section it is hoped that visitors interested in wheat or flour will be able to see not only the best types of wheat and flour that the province can yield, but also the milling-machinery actually producing the flour, and other machinery converting some of it into biscuits, macaroni, vermicelli and other products.

Experience gained in various places, and particularly at the very successful exhibition held last year at Nagpur suggests that this object can best be attained firstly, by showing all or nearly all the machinery and appliances actually at work, and wherever possible with independent prime-movers, and secondly, by exhibiting agricultural produce in close proximity to the machinery required for its treatment, in other words by the "close association of products and processes."

In the oil-seeds section again it is hoped to show oil-mills of various sizes at work close to the display of seeds and oils; while in the sugar section, the aim is to show the working of a variety of machinery from complete factories able to deal with the cane crop of an ordinary village or group of villages down to appliances within the reach of individual cultivators.

Still following out the same idea, there will be a working dairy with everything complete from the cows to the butter, and a poultry farm where the methods of rearing, housing and feeding poultry can be studied at work; and generally speaking the arrangements will be such that any landholder capitalist, or man of enterprise can study on the spot the details of anything that may arouse his interest.

The committee will see that the special products of their districts are displayed in their best and most attractive form, so that capitalists may have full opportunities of seeing the quality of the raw material that is available in the provinces.

14. To supplement and heighten the effect of the demonstrations, the following, among others, may be suggested :—

(i) Lantern lectures (Agricultural and Industrial). Mr. F. Smith, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bengal, has got a very interesting set ready.

(ii) Pictorial or other illustrations, charts, photos, clay or other models—of interesting features.

(iii) Quasi-lectures or talks or homely discourses—on agricultural topics, co-operative credit, grain-bank, village sanitation, &c.

(IV) Distribution of leaflets, bulletins, in the vernacular, or the model of the well-known and highly popular (American) "Farmers' bulletins"—in easy language, but attractive form, on points of vital interest connected with agricultural and industrial operations.

(V) Distribution of seeds of tried new crops or of best varieties of known ones—and of manures—a plan found uniquely successful by the late illustrious Mr. N. G. Mukherjee of the Bengal Agricultural Department.

(VI) Arrangement for booking orders for the purchase of the improved ploughs, tools and implements—seeds or manures—demonstrated at the Exhibition—a plan which worked so successfully at the Nagpur Provincial Exhibition,—under the enthusiastic and able guidance of Mr. Clouston, the Deputy Director of Agriculture, C.P.

15. Now, as to the question of questions—viz., how to secure some permanent benefit for the district.

The following are some of the suggestions which can be successfully worked out in practice, and which have been repeatedly

advocated for adoption in our country—by thoughtful men:—

(1) Forming the nucleus of a museum or art depot (suggested by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I.C.S.—on the completion of his special industrial enquiry). It is not without much regret that one has to let the beautiful specimens of arts and manufactures collected at so much trouble and expense be scattered away—and, with them, perhaps, the incentive and inspiration to new efforts—which their demonstration at the Exhibitions produced for the time being.

The educative and stimulating value of an Exhibition is undoubted;—but, its influence is transitory; and, what is a museum but a permanent Exhibition?

Mr. J. G. Cumming, I.C.S. in his recent report on the Industrial Survey of the other Province, says,

“Grants should be made for the inauguration of sample art ware depots at District Head Quarters”—the plan to be adopted for taking advantage of an Exhibition, for the above purpose, according to Sir George Watt—the great Indian authority—being, to give money awards to exhibitors and buy up the best articles—and, preserve them—as samples in a district depot.

Mr. Cumming has succeeded in obtaining Government grant for such depots to be started at Bankura and Bankipur.

(2) Do. Do. of a library of works of reference on agricultural, industrial, technical—and economic (in general)—subjects—and, of an agency for as wide-spread as possible publication and dissemination of useful information—thereby, laying the foundation for a local “Industrial Bureau or Industrial Society”—as advocated by Mr. Gupta.

(3) Do. Do. of a fund for training sons of farmers and artisans—at the Government farms and technical schools, by offer of suitable scholarships, at least, one boy from each zemindari elaka, every year.

(4) Establishment of seed implement and manure stores—in every zemindari elaka—with branch shops in important villages or hats—a most important and essentially necessary step.

(5) Inauguration of annual prize giving for novel agricultural or industrial enterprise, successful adoption of a new manure, crop and so on—on a day such as the Emperor's birthday, or, the Coronation day, or, the *punyaha* day of the zemindar.

(6) An organisation for a regular importation of seed for sowing—from other parts of India, or even, from other countries.

In Europe and America or Japan—the cultivator seldom uses seed grown on his own field. The Indian peasant almost invariably does so.

A crop depends upon the right seed—more than upon anything else. Seed selection is a very important process and it is left to be done by professional nursery-men in other countries.

We, in this country, have got to undertake to place at the doors of the ryot the best qualities of selected seed for his fields—until such time as he is able to minister to his own wants.

The co-operative purchase system—combining in one order the requirements of one whole village or a group of villages—if introduced, is sure to prove a boon,—as it did in the European countries. For information as to how the one principle of co-operation—starting with co-operative purchase—in its ramified workings in different lines brought about an agricultural renaissance in Europe—and, raised the countries one after another—Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Siberia, and so on—from a state of economic depression worse than that of the present-day Indian ryots' condition—to their present-day prosperity and affluence—the reader is invited to a study of the inspiring pages of that wonderful book “Organization of Agriculture” by Pratt—price 1s.—a book, which ought to be in the hands of every one who thinks for the country's welfare.

16. What is wanted nowadays is some practical initiative, an earnest practical move.

The occasion of an Exhibition creating, as it does, for the time being, an industrial atmosphere and much fervour and practical earnestness—is a golden opportunity—and much might be achieved if one were to start by setting apart at least a quarter of the budget money, for the permanent purpose.

It is by the intense inward practical livingness of an Exhibition,—which it is that demands a thoughtful study and laborious and intelligent planning and working out—and by what permanent results it can leave behind—that right-thinking persons would judge of the success of an Exhibition, more than by the variety or number of the stalls displayed or their get up, however artistic or attractive, or by the success of it from the point of view of an ephemeral pageant.

17. An Exhibition is not an unavoidable obligation like so many other functions we are called upon to perform in official or private life in the matter of which expenses one has no option.

The Exhibition authorities are usually vested with the fullest and freest hand over

the money entrusted to them—and the more they set themselves to act in furtherance of the best ideal, the more will they be fulfilling the object of the trust reposed in them.

The responsibility, therefore, on the

shoulders of those concerned in producing an Exhibition of lasting practical benefit is very great.

OCTOBER,
1909.

DAKSHINA R. GHOSH, B.A.
Deputy Magistrate, Dhubri.

INDIA AND THE FAITH OF THE PRESENT AGE*

CIVILISATIONS have each one of them a faith of their own. The office of history is to unravel that faith to the world and the true student of history is he who has patience enough to penetrate beneath the vast overgrowth of facts and discover the central idea which has sustained each separate age of the world. This central idea may be termed the faith of an age. I give a wide latitude to the word 'faith' but this is not wholly arbitrary. Faith is the moral inspiration of the human heart. To all outward appearances, faith seems to be a bundle of creeds and dogmas but one having an eye to read aright those creeds and dogmas must pronounce that faith is inspiration, that the creeds and the dogmas in question are instinct with life, that they originally welled up in the deep recesses of an earnest heart and swayed and quickened, leavened and inspired its feelings and impulses. Faith then has life, has vigor, has capacity to renovate, to bind up the shattered limbs and to breathe new life into them. This is my definition of faith and it cannot be bound down to a limited area. The life we live is no life at all unless it be a life of faith. Can it be possible then that vast races of men live and move and have their being without any faith at all, that nations that have lived in the past have lived a life of flesh and blood alone and that we, too, in modern times live what St. Paul calls 'natural life'? Is there no putting-off by a nation of its natural life in order to put on the life of the spirit, the life of faith? It is

the purpose of the present discourse to lay bare the faith that is the life-breath of modern civilisation, the faith that inspires its arts and literature, its commerce and industry, its science and philosophy and in order to do this we must cast a searching glance into the history of mankind during the ages gone by.

Let us take Rome first. Let us examine the picture it presents. 'This earth,' says Frederic Harrison in speaking eloquently of Roman civilisation, 'has never seen before or since so prodigious an accumulation of all that is beautiful and rare. The quarries of the world had been emptied to find precious marbles. Forests of exquisite columns met the gaze, porphyry, purple and green, polished granite, streaked marbles in the hues of a tropical bird, yellow, orange, rosy and carnation, ten thousand statues, groups of colossi of dazzling Parian, or of golden bronze, the work of Greek genius, of myriads of slaves, of unstinted wealth and absolute command. Power so colossal, centralisation so ruthless, luxury so frantic, the world had never seen, and, we trust, can never see again.' The above is a glowing picture of Rome and brings out the faith, the cardinal principle that inspired Roman civilisation. Mr. Frederic Harrison's description of Rome makes us cognisant of the fact that the pomp of Rome cost the happiness of her submerged populations, that a most ruthless centralisation was in progress and that the great mass of the people under the sway of restrictive laws invented by military oligarchies in their own interests were artificially penned off and 'came in time,' as another able writer observes, 'to accept their reputed inferiority, their restricted rights and their oppressed condition, as

* Read at the Sadharan Brahma Somaj Hall of Calcutta under the auspices of the Theological Society. The Editor of this journal was in the chair.

Overthrow not for meat's sake the work of God.—Romans: Chap. 14. Ver. 20.

part of the natural order of things.' In fact, individual freedom as against the State was unknown and the office of religion was to ennoble the duty of the individual to a military society rather than to his fellows and all its holy authority was pressed into the immediate service of a military organisation. Roman civilisation was a most direct and impoverishing exploitation and an unbridled class aggrandisement at the expense of immense oppressed populations largely comprised of slaves. It is apparent therefore, that in Rome the interests of the individual had no existence apart from those of the State.

It is needless to multiply examples but coming at once to India we find that what we boast of as Indian liberty was, in the main, nothing but an unrestricted despotism of a few privileged persons over the rest of the population and that Hindu rule like Roman civilisation was marked by a most ruthless centralisation.

To be fair, however, to past ages I must mention here that the institutions which were in existence then had not originally sprung out of the corrupt greed of a few powerful men but had been to a large extent necessitated by the circumstances of the day. Take caste for instance. This is no doubt a most harmful institution. In fact, it is the caste-system which has sundered India from the high thought and the noble activity that are gaining ground in the world day by day. But every thoughtful man admits the important part caste played in the evolution of civilisation and we find a noted thinker* of modern times not hesitating to say that in an earlier stage of social evolution, caste was well suited to its environments and that 'in early times.....all the nations which were leading the van of the world's progress were found to agree in having adopted a more or less strict system of caste. Like caste slavery was also a necessary condition (I state it on the authority of Prof. Freeman) of a pure democracy of the Greek type. Be that as it may, Ancient Civilisation is dead and gone. But her death has not been in vain. In throes of death she gave birth to a most beautiful daughter who is all joy and delight to us. A promise of glorious love such as is made by a charming maiden to her bright wooer

* Prof. Marshall.

is offered us and we have fervent hopes that her loveliness will prove a balm to the sorrows of humanity.

We have just now hailed Modern Civilisation as the glorious daughter of Ancient Civilisation. What is it that makes us vest its face with such a lovely light and compare its promulgation to the soft tones of a tender lady-love? Let us proceed to answer this question by and by.

Three memorable incidents have shed lustre upon the present age—the Reformation of Luther, the Revolution in France and the Abolition of Slavery. Let us consider them one by one.

Whoever cares to ponder over the Lutheran Reformation will be struck with its far-reaching consequences. It was a life-and-death struggle between Authority and Individualism. Long had human aspirations been held in serfdom. Long had individual freedom been denounced as mutiny against the Throne of God. Long had religion given way to greed and lust. Luther was a need of the times, a saviour of the situation and the Reformation woke the morning light of reason and conscience. It liberated into the practical life of Europe that immense body of altruistic feeling which had been a marked feature of the religion of the Prophet of Nazareth. 'Man was as it were,' says a profound leader of modern thought, 'ushered straight into the presence of his Creator with no human intermediary; life became intense and full of awe, and now for the first time large numbers of rude and uncultured people yearned towards the mysteries of absolute spiritual freedom. *The isolation of each person's religious responsibility from that of his fellows rightly understood was a necessary condition for the highest spiritual progress.*'*

Coming to the abolition of slavery we find that two doctrines contributed most to producing the extinction of slavery; first, the doctrine of salvation, secondly, the doctrine of the equality of all men before the Deity. It was, indeed, a marvellous transition and the abolition of slavery was the glorification of man as man.

What the French Revolution indicated need not be dwelt upon. Suffice it to say, that in spite of the terrible carnage it provoked it will ever be looked upon as a

* The italics are my own.

glorious triumph of the human spirit over the bonds of an unrighteous overlordship.

Now occurs a question, 'What is the faith of the present age?' Do the above historical phenomena help us to find out the direction in which modern thought moves? Do they bear the stamp of the ethical conceptions that are slowly dawning upon the consciousness of the human race? I cannot answer this question better than by quoting Sir Henry Sumner Maine who in virtue of his having closely studied the civilisations of different centuries possesses sufficient authority to declare his verdict as to the distinctive feature, which I delight to call *faith*, of the modern age. The movement of progressive societies, remarks Sir Henry Maine, has been uniform in one respect; throughout its course we have everywhere to trace the growth of individual obligation, and the substitution of the individual for the group as the unit of which the civil laws take account. For further corroboration we take the liberty to refer to Prof. Marshall who views the situation from the economic standpoint. We find him observing that 'while the earlier economists argued as though man's character and efficiency were to be regarded as a fixed quantity modern economists keep carefully in mind the fact that it is a product of the circumstances under which he has lived.' To the superficial observer there is nothing like the *faith* of the modern age in the remarks of Prof. Marshall but we are of opinion that the fact that the world no longer regards man's character and efficiency as a fixed quantity but as a product of the circumstances under which he has lived clearly proves that the world has begun to value man's individuality and that it also recognises the truth that circumstances mould it to a considerable extent. Men are no longer looked upon as stocks and stones but flesh and blood—flesh and blood sanctified by love, emotion and reason which are capable of endless progress. Such is the faith of the modern age, a faith that has grown out of the glorious ethical conceptions which dominate the existing civilisation, a new light unto our steps, a new hope to lift us into joy, a new birth, a new glory, a new revelation, yea, a new incarnation of the Eternal Idea. In ordinary language it is termed *individualism*,

but, in truth, it is the glorification of man as the child of God, it is his restoration to his proper birthright. The keystone of modern civilisation, therefore, is *individualism*. Wherever there is an attempt to hamper this individualism, to impede its free play, modern civilisation will fail of its purpose. The destructive, transforming and re-creative influences of modern civilisation are to be seen in universal suffrage, universal education, the rule of democracy and modern socialism. It is broadness of view and liberality of thought coupled with an easy means of communication and commerce between nation and nation that have been knitting the world into one and modern civilisation gloriously stands forth as that which has no definite racial or national boundaries. 'If we look round us,' says Benjamin Kidd, 'we may perceive that although the system of civilisation to which we belong has a clearly defined place amongst the peoples of the earth, it has really no definite racial or national boundaries. It is not Teutonic, or Celtic or Latin civilisation. Nor is it German, or French or Italian or Anglo-Saxon. So far as we have any right to connect it with locality, it might be described as Western civilisation, although the definition would still be incomplete if not inaccurate. The expression which is applied most suitably to describe the social system to which we belong is that in general, viz. "Western Civilisation."

Now, we have in a considerable measure outlined the civilisation that rules the world. We have enlarged at length upon its chief features and have found that it is drawing the world together, that it is glorifying humanity and that despite the jar and conflict it has given rise to, it will prove the redemption of the world. But we can not rest contented without finding our own India's part in the evolution of the race which modern civilisation is bringing to pass. What has India to do with this entire leavening of the human race? What is India's attitude towards the civilisation that is proceeding with giant strides? Let us consider this question.

It is a most melancholy fact that India is a subject country. It is a most melancholy fact that India's rulers are not her own people. It is a thousand pities that our

rulers in sympathising with us, in helping us onward, in leading us—provided of course their own interests are not any way threatened—to success and well-being need to be influenced by humanitarian principles and not by the generous impulses that natural affinities produce. England must live at the cost of India and this is day by day proving ruinous to her. In the face of such circumstances, sympathy has a trying ordeal to pass through. But let us not weep over this phenomenon. Our duty now is to gird up our loins and face the situation. Let us grasp the outlook that obtains in India.

It is the same sad sight over again but this sight is never too old for repetition.

I am of opinion that India is far behind the race that has been set before the world. She has not yet caught the drift of the civilisation she sees surging around her. She has not yet realised that there is a secret of success which if ungrasped renders all attempts vain. She is slow to learn that life means expansion, that existence means steppings-anew into higher evolutions, that it means a receptivity of the genial influences that are thronging in from without. A nation has life when its susceptibilities are fresh and unflagged, when its faculties exult over new revelations of the truth, when its heart is sufficiently braced up to follow the truth. Is India in such life? Does India seek to quicken the susceptibilities of every man and woman living within her borders? Does she endeavour to unlock the fragrance of every heart that beats within her precincts? In other words, 'Is India trying to glorify the individualism that we have seen to be the life-breath of modern thought and culture?' For reasons obvious enough I prefer to maintain silence over this question.

It is a wonder to me that there prevails so much misconception as to the nature of individualism in our midst. Take, for instance, the condition of our women. It is not infrequently contended by men of culture and intelligence that our women (the widows excepted) are in a quite desirable condition as though they had no restraint put upon their higher nature, their individuality. These people say that our women are quite well off. They are fed well, provided well, loved by their husbands and so forth. True; but these men forget that

it is not an easy way of living which is desirable, after all. The question at issue is, 'Are the moral and intellectual cravings of our women fully satisfied? Do they receive sufficient help from society in the development of their womanhood?' Guizot in his well-known *History of Civilisation* imagines a people whose outward circumstances are easy and agreeable but whose moral and intellectual energies are studiously kept in 'a state of torpor and inertness.' He calls this state not *oppression* but *compression*. Exactly is this the case with our women. As a class they are compressed, while there are hundreds of them, I mean the widows, who are positively oppressed. It behoves us all, therefore, to combat the evils connected with the woman-question, to restore the individuality of our Indian women and thereby ennoble the position of the nation at large.

The glory of modern civilisation is that it has unloosed in our midst forces that are able to cope with authority and conventionalism. These forces, one might say, constitute the large fund of altruistic feeling that has overrun the world like a mighty whirlwind. Caught in it are the nations of the world and the civilisation of a people is to be fathomed by the energy which this fund of altruistic feeling is able to show in their midst. 'In England,' says a well-known historian, 'when Robert Owen's theories were discussed the working classes were almost without political rights of any kind. They lived like brutes huddled together in wretched dwellings, without any voice in politics or in the management of public affairs. Since then all this has been gradually changed. One of the most striking and significant signs of the times is the spectacle of Demos..... gradually emerging from the long silence of social and political serfdom. Not now does he come with the violence of revolution foredoomed to failure, but with the slow and majestic progress which marks a natural evolution.The advent of Demos is the natural result of a long series of concessions beginning in England with the passing of the Factory Acts and the legislation of combination, and leading gradually up to the socialistic legislation for which the times appear to be ripening.' The Budget recently introduced by Mr. Lloyd George is a

further testimony of the progress the people as a whole are trying to make in England. An eminent British journalist of the day has described it as the most democratic Budget yet introduced. Indeed, the development which the liberal party has been working out in English public life is but the latest phase of that great social movement which has overtaken mankind as a body of humanitarian principle and English political history is nothing but the annals of the emancipation of the individual and the establishment of political equality throughout the entire social organisation. What the English are doing in relation to the political disabilities of their proletariat we have to do in connection with the social disabilities of our lower classes. The well-known historian Lecky thinks that there is probably no better test of the political genius of a nation than the power it possesses of adapting old institutions to new wants and he finds the English people pre-eminent in this characteristic. We are to acquire this valued trait if we would successfully face the situation. The present outlook in India suggests many grave questions and we are to stare them in the face if we really mean to be a nation.

What then is the message of modern civilisation, what the faith that quickens it into life? We have described it above as respect for individualism; but what is respect for individualism? Go deeper and it will be found that respect for individualism resolves itself into a sense of justice. But what is justice, after all? I am of opinion that justice is nothing but love brought to bear upon the practical concerns of life. Justice is love in disguise. Love first, in steps justice next. Modern civilisation is built on justice—justice irrespective of colour, creed or rank—and so it is built on *love*. As long as this love is not helped to blossom, civilisation cannot attain its mission. Love, according to St. Paul, is the 'bond of perfectness' and there can be no misgivings that in *love* shall our present age find its true faith, its true inspiration, its crowning glory. We must carry the light and warmth of love to every chill hearth and into every sick home if our national life is to acquire the vigor of manhood. Nothing is more gratifying than to witness the

movement for the industrial expansion of the country that is a-foot in our midst. In spite of this sudden and great national awakening we cannot cherish an unclouded optimism about the future of the country when we remember that the ravages which un-love has wrought in our midst are still bearing sway and that while there is an intense longing to resuscitate our dying industries and to secure political concessions there is no corresponding activity to clear society of its unwholesome weeds. Hence the great need, the paramount importance of the gospel of love. Shackled and smitten, pale and wan as India is, let her press on and on, let her heed the burden of the new song that is melodiously rising in the world and morning will privily steal upon the night that covers her face.

Some might think that I am harping too much upon the miseries of our country. To prove that my picture is not overdrawn I shall relate here a few facts which unmistakably demonstrate that beneath the calm of our society there groans by day and night a furious tempest of peevish discontent. It is known to all that the movement connected with the name of Chaitanya practically abolished caste. It seemed that the Hindus would be united. But in course of time Chaitanyism became practically a sect of Brahminism. The followers of Chaitanya accepted almost all the Brahminic conditions. Those who still persisted in ignoring caste were gradually pushed out of the pale of society.

The Kartabhajas are a sect that have tried to set at naught to a certain extent the authority of the Brahmins. They are fast dwindling away.

The formation of minor sects against Brahminism is very common. Besides, we notice several movements among a large number of castes, the distinct object of which being the improvement of the members belonging to those castes. Each caste invariably tries to prove that it is not so low as it is supposed to be. Who knows how many attempts—attempts, alas, so miserably fruitless—have been made in the other parts of India to slacken the rigor of caste which means Brahminism? All such attempts are almost sure to end in disaster until the true remedy is administered which lies in mass-education. That I am not

fond of harping too much on nor of making a fuss about the condition of the country is further borne out by the following figures which show the rate at which education is making progress in our midst.

Caste	Literates
Baidyas (per thousand : males)	648
Brahmins	639
Gandhabaniks	318
Kansaries	218
Mairas	248
Subarnabaniks	323
Kumhers	34
Jelias	27
Dhobis	26
Teors	28
Namasudras	33
Kaoras	31
Bagdis	16
Doms	12
Haris	10
Chamars	6
Baories	4
Muchies (Hindu)	6*

It is true that the above figures are a stain on the fame of the Ruling Power that guides the destinies of the vast populations entrusted to its care by a wise Providence; but while an alien Government feels little or no compunctions in consigning such a huge number of people to darkness we cannot fold our hands and look idly on. To educate them is the duty before us. To help them to attain manhood is *religion* with us. The purpose of the present paper, it has been noticed, I believe, is to say that the reign of individualism of a most healthy nature has set in on earth, that man now finds his God within him and his fellow-beings, that he is no longer born to feed the selfishness of those whom the accidents of custom or convention have placed above him, that his truer self cannot be frightened into servility, that he is the salt of the earth and must not be trodden under foot of men, that he is a light and ought not to be put under the bushel, that it was God who breathed the breath of life into his nostrils, that by defiling him we defile the image of God and by glorifying him we glorify his Creator, that to bind his mind, to blight his hope, to curb his soul, to cripple his

body, to steal his joy, in short, to batter out his individuality is the blackest sin against God, the offence that flings the darkest colours over his face. Ages upon ages the griefs of man had smitten upon his ears till his pity melted down and a new faith was born in our midst. It is the faith which I have in your individuality and you have in my individuality, it is the faith that the frailest mortal is heir to some inalienable rights and privileges and that the sin of defrauding him of those rights and privileges is visited on the people who defraud. This faith is the product of modern civilisation or rather modern civilisation has been called into life by this ever-increasing idea. In religion, in politics, in society, in trade, in commerce and in the sweetest bonds of love and kinship this faith holds sway and where it is cramped, manhood is cramped, too. Oh, glorious and wonderful is the age we live in, an age which seeks to weave my heart into yours and your heart into mine and thus to make of the earth a veritable region of peace and brotherhood. Verily, the power and the glory of love are being declared upon the house-tops. Let not India be one of the five foolish virgins who slept while the bridegroom tarried and found the door shut when the bridegroom came.

One word more before I conclude. It is no use talking glibly over the misfortunes of the country unless talk generates action in us. It is no doubt a privilege to mourn but it is a far greater privilege to serve. We may not be able to found institutions for the betterment of our national condition but we can all of us contribute something, however small our income be, to the upkeep of those institutions already existent. We all know that there is such a thing as the widow's mite and we need not be ashamed of our humble contributions. A little money set apart every month for any national cause is worth much. It will help us to be less sentimental and more practical. It will also help us to remember month by month that outside the precincts of our home there languish millions of wretches whose sorrows we cannot conscientiously overlook.

There are times and seasons when we all feel despondent, when our spirits droop.

* The writer is indebted for these figures to a well-known pamphlet entitled *A Dying Race* by Dr. U. N. Mukerji (Retired I. M. S.) recently published and which originally appeared in the columns of the *Bengalee*.

This is but natural. But I firmly believe that we are sons of light and sons of the day, we are not of the night nor of darkness and that if we increase and abound in love one toward another and, instead of frittering away our energies in the employment of wild methods in order to attain our nationality, we patiently strive to gain ground inch by inch, we cannot be doomed as a nation. It is needful that the *hope* of salvation be ever with us that it may lead us on into clearer vision and tougher work.

Yet another word before I wind up. We have been keenly feeling the necessity of union with the Mahomedans but I pause to ask, 'Is union possible only through political expediency? Is union possible when the only incentive lies in the thought that unless Hindus and Mahomedans fraternise there cannot be any vital political concessions?' A vain thought, indeed! Deeper yet lies the source of nationality, deeper than expediency, prudence, or any lifeless calculation. Unless we reach that deep spot, national advancement is only vain talk. I use strong language but I use it advisedly. I am convinced that a union that is only business-like, only commercial, that is introduced only by the sense that unless Hindus and Mahomedans contrive to keep up a show of fraternisation they cannot steer the vessel of Congress aright and hope to bring it within sight of the promised land, is only a poor patch-work that is ill-able to stand the inclemencies of the weather. Such a union is a makeshift, a clever manœuvre, a bare veiling the face of the wound while the poison festers within. A union of yet deeper sincerity is the real want and let us lay its foundations in genuine love, that is to say, in love which is not determined or any way dominated by considerations of immediate gain.

It is glorious that the religion of love is making daily conquests, it is glorious that the faith of the present age means the enthronement of man. God grant that such a faith may be India's for many a long year to come.

Attention to accuracy leads me to combat an impression that has likely been produced by what I have said in the course of the present paper. I do not for a moment

think that individualism has a quite free play in the West; on the other hand I am keenly conscious of the bitter struggles that individual freedom has to undergo in Europe in consequence of the growing greed of a section of people there, but my chief contention is that as there are growing evils in Europe there are at the same time adopted there various methods to destroy them. There are the powers of darkness but there is a steady, systematic and vigorous onslaught on them and so there prevails a hope among Western nations that the movement towards individualism, towards personal responsibility, towards the enfranchisement of the individual in all his rights, powers, capacities and opportunities will be glorified in the end. The perfect state of social order is that in which there are no social claims at variance with the claims of the individual, and if India moves towards that goal it can be said to have caught a glimpse of that larger, broader, and newer faith that is lording it over the thoughts of man.

The term individualism for which I have betrayed some fondness in this paper smacks, however, of exclusiveness. Individualism may be erroneously taken to mean a hedging oneself from another, a sullen shutting-out the fellowship of man, a forbidding touch-me-not-ishness, an *invulnerable* love of personal ease and happiness. Such an individualism is not the destined goal of civilisation—an individualism which is only a disintegrating factor in society. The individualism which is the divine revelation of the modern age possesses a larger life and which while it aims at developing the best and the highest in man guards itself against being shut up within the narrow inclosures of a selfish end. This individualism is nothing short of co-operation which has taken the place of a degrading servitude. It is the glory of man to serve his fellow-beings but this service to be glorious must be *willing* not *forced*, and as the modern age teaches respect for individual freedom, service is coming to be influenced by the generous impulses of the human heart. This age of co-operation will work wonders in the world; for the free and kindly impulses of the human heart admit of no bondage to their powers. When man serves not by compulsion but in love, that service

showers a harvest of boundless benediction upon human society; for love knows no limit, no fatigue. Human society in ancient times was sustained by the labours of slaves, yet there was little restfulness in it; for a vast mass of human beings cut asunder from the pursuit of every right-ful enjoyment were in themselves a great disturbing element in the body politic and it is really a matter of great astonishment that in spite of an unhampered freedom of choice and conscience society is now making an onward progress towards peace and order. It is because the ethical conceptions of the human race have undergone a remarkable change and we now believe that he that findeth his life shall lose it. Under the impulsion of this remarkable faith mankind are sallying out of their

walled-up closet and breasting the bold air of the new dawn that has broken.

'Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair
Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice grey.'
and if India does not lazily loiter within but issues forth with the outsallying human race on its journey to the yet unexplored region of new lights, new forms and new objects the tidings whereof have reached our ears she will once more be crowned with the glory that was hers of yore and once more will the solemn strain be heard above the peevish din of impious antipathies

यस्तु सर्वानि भूतानि आत्मैवानुपश्यति ।

सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥

"He who sees all things in the self and the self in all things does not by reason of that hate any one."

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

THE AGITATION OF INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN ENGLAND

THERE exists a great difference of opinion among Indians as to the value of agitation in England. Now with the political divisions of Indians, an Englishman has nothing whatever to do. But as to the effect produced by agitation in England he may ask to be allowed to speak. He must in some respects understand his countrymen better than a foreigner can. For this reason I wish to say what I believe to be the state of feeling in England about Indian questions. I shall endeavour to divest myself of all personal bias and simply give the truth as far as I can ascertain it.

There was an article in the April number of the "Modern Review" entitled "Our Friends in Parliament and Outside." The writer gave deserved praise to the English politicians who are striving to obtain justice for India. He admits that they are in a minority, but he does not add as he might have done, that they are not producing the slightest effect on their countrymen. The debates on India in the House of Commons are very scantily attended. Few members listen to the speeches made about India and few newspapers report them except

in the briefest summaries. Nor does, what may be called the Indian party, meet with much sympathy among the general body of Liberals. Thus the *Daily Chronicle*, a Liberal newspaper, says: "Is it really necessary that Sir Henry Cotton, for instance, should still go back to the partition of Bengal as the cause, if not the justification of sedition and that Mr. Mackarness should continue to seize every opportunity for denouncing the deportation of agitators? The partition in a *chose jugée*; the deportation is deemed an essential and indispensable weapon by those responsible for the maintenance of order in India. The perpetual reiteration of such criticisms will not affect the action of the government. The only thing it can do is to strengthen the forces of discontent in India." It is curious to note, in passing, the naïve belief of the English journalist that discontent in India depends on speeches made in England. The Indian people are supposed to be listening with breathless attention for every utterance that comes from the mouth of an Englishman. The same journalist had previously written, "No lightest word is spoken here which does not

have some influence for good or evil there." The servile attitude of certain Indians partly excuses if it does not justify this characteristic English conceit. However what we are concerned with now is the fact that in a newspaper which fairly represents the average Liberal opinion not the slightest disposition is shewn to do justice to India. We may quote another authority, the writer of *Punch's* *Essence of Parliament*. After making some witty remarks about those members who sympathize with India—he speaks of Sir Henry Mukerji Cotton, Dr. Banerji Rutherford, don't-Keir Hardie—the writer goes on to say, as nearly as I can remember, "An experience of more than thirty years has convinced me that the House of Commons is not impressed by those members who represent their own countrymen as being in the wrong." We believe this statement to be perfectly true. For that matter, it does not apply only to the House of Commons. All people at all times have taken the side of their own countrymen against the foreigner. This tendency does not appear to an Englishman particularly admirable when it induces a Welsh Jury to decide without regard to justice in favour of a Welshman. But whether blameable or praiseworthy the tendency always exists. When he appeals to the English public, the Indian is appealing to hostile and prejudiced judges. The writer in "*Punch*" too, like the writer in the "*Daily Chronicle*", is afraid of the mischief the speeches of Sir Henry Cotton and his friends may do in India. The "natives" he says, do not know how little weight these members of Parliament carry in England.

If Englishmen cannot produce any effect when exposing the misgovernment of India it is not likely that Indians can. A man is always at a disadvantage in addressing a foreign audience. It is often said, with truth, that Englishmen seldom understand Indians. It may be said with equal truth that Indians seldom understand Englishmen. In fact the one proposition almost follows from the other. Calcutta is exactly as far from London as London is from Calcutta. Indians when they visit England are delighted with the courtesy of the English and contrast it with the rudeness of Anglo-

Indians. But this courtesy does not mean any real sympathy. Englishmen always receive foreigners well, partly out of kindly feeling, partly out of curiosity. They are especially pleased to get hold of any foreigner who has acquired any kind of notoriety and display him in their drawing-rooms. The Zulu Cetywayo, the French pretender general Boulanger, the Dutch general Botha occur to me as examples. The foreigner is treated with the utmost hospitality for a time, but before long he is displaced in favour by some new curiosity. Frenchmen and Germans are apt to call this feature of the English character insincerity, and English insincerity has become proverbial on the continent of Europe. Now the English are not a particularly sincere people, not so sincere as the French, but in this case the word "insincerity" seems to me too harsh. We do not call a man insincere because he signs himself "your obedient servant" when really he is nothing of the kind. It is merely a convention. Every nation has its own conventions and does not deserve blame because the foreigner at first fails to understand them. An Englishman, knowing his countrymen, would take the courtesy and hospitality he received at its true value. So too, when one of his acquaintance seemed to listen to him with interest and acquiescence, he would know that this did not imply any real agreement. It merely meant that his acquaintance did not care to take the trouble of arguing about the matter. Indians do not always understand this and are apt to take the courtesy of the Englishman as meaning more than it really does. They would avoid this misconception, if they took care not to believe that an Englishman sympathized with their views until he shewed his sympathy by actions and not merely by polite phrases.

These remarks apply to public speeches as well as to private conversations. Whatever views an orator may express, it is always possible to get together an audience which will applaud them. Men of opposite opinions either stay away, or out of good nature keep silence: In this respect public meetings are very deceptive. Candidates for parliament are often deluded by the enthusiasm of the meetings they address into the belief that they will be successful, but

when the poll is declared they find they have only secured a small minority of votes. Indians are still more liable to make mistakes of this kind. An English audience will cheer them from politeness because they are foreigners. I remember as long ago as 1880, an Indian addressing an audience of English working men who applauded him vigorously. No doubt he thought that his arguments were convincing them, but I am sure, since I mixed with the audience and heard their comments, that this was not the case. They cheered him because they thought it admirable as indeed it was, for a foreigner to express himself in English with such fluency. Although many Indians speak extremely well they do not always hit the right note in addressing an English audience. This is no disparagement to them, for a style suitable for one audience may be unsuitable for another. A speech which would be effective when made before a large public meeting may fall flat in the House of Commons. Even between the House of Commons and the House of Lords there is a difference. Moreover taste changes. The great speakers of the 18th century, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, would be thought intolerably tedious now. Indians, who have been taught to regard their speeches as models, are often more rhetorical than is suitable to a modern English audience. Curiously enough, the Indian Extremist party, though so anti-English in their opinions, have adopted the style of speaking and writing that most appeals to an Englishman. The speeches of Arabindo Ghose which I have seen, seem to me admirable in their self-restraint, and recently, in reading a letter of Bipin Chandra Pal to the "Daily News" I was struck by the clearness with which the facts were stated, and the entire absence of all rhetoric.

However this is a minor point. Whether well-put or ill-put, the arguments of Indians and their English friends, will not affect the great mass of Englishmen. Take one particular grievance, the drain of money from India. We are told that it amounts to many millions of rupees every year. So much money is transferred from the pockets of Indians to the pockets of Englishmen. Apparently certain Indians imagine that by sheer force of eloquence they will persuade the English to give up all these

rupees. It would be as well for them first to test the effects of their eloquence on the usurers or landlords of their own country. It has been shewn over and over again in articles in the "Modern Review", as well as in other publications, that the English have not been generous or even just in their past dealings with India. Apparently however all this is to be changed. The visit of twenty-five or a hundred Indians to England and their eloquent speeches will accomplish a complete moral revolution in the English character. The "birds of prey and passage" will become harmless doves. The English will in future govern India with perfect unselfishness thinking only of the interests of the Indian people and not in the least of their own. The man who is capable of believing this will believe anything. The English did not come to India from philanthropic motives. It was for the sake of that very drain which Indians denounce that they came to India and are staying in India now. Prince Bismark once said to the Alsatian deputies in the Reichstag, that though the Germans wished well to the Alsatians they had not annexed Alsace and Lorraine for the benefit of the Alsatians but for their own benefit. The English are not in the habit of expressing themselves with such brutal candour, but their meaning is exactly the same. The truth is that all nations are selfish and unjust in their dealings with other nations. Individual men may be generous, but nations and classes taken as a whole never are. The English are not really worse than others. The only difference is that they are a little more hypocritical. While other nations enrich themselves at the expense of others simply and without phrases, the English always profess and even persuade themselves that they are "exploiting" for the good of the people "exploited."

Owing to this power of self-deception, the English are convinced that their rule is an unmixed benefit for the people of India, nor will any arguments shake them in this conviction. Men can always find pretexts for shutting their eyes to truths which they dislike. If Mr. Keir Hardie and Dr. Rutherford find defects in the methods of government followed in India it is because they have only been in the country a few months. But when Sir Henry Cotton, who has passed

the greater part of his life-time there, confirms their statements, it must be because of some personal grievances. After all, no one easily gives up the beliefs he has acquired in his childhood and every educated Englishman has been taught at school to regard the British administration in India as a marvellous example of wisdom and benevolence. I do not doubt that in the same way, the Brahmans persuade themselves that the supremacy of their caste is for the good of the other castes. Many Indian orators have denounced caste, but they have not yet succeeded in converting the mass of the Brahmans to their views, and I do not believe they will be any more successful in changing the convictions of the English people.

It would be difficult, in fact, to find any instance in history of a privileged class voluntarily renouncing its privileges. The Romans are often said to have shown greater liberality than the English. But the Romans did not admit their Italian allies to an equality with themselves till after the social war in which thousands of lives were sacrificed. It is true that during the period of the empire the provincials were admitted to the Roman citizenship without any open struggle. But the Empire itself was only established after a bitter conflict with the adherents of the old system. Further since the armies were recruited from the provinces, the greatest force had passed to the provincials. This is the really important point. A man yields to force just as much when he submits at once because a pistol is placed at his head as when he is overpowered after a struggle. The extension of the Roman citizenship to the provinces, although it was accomplished peacefully and gradually, was not any the less on that account the result of force. The control of the empire passed out of the hands of the Italians because the Italians ceased to serve in the army. That is the explanation of the whole matter. In the same way, if the armies of the British empire were composed almost exclusively of Indians, the English would not be able to retain their political supremacy. The example of Rome only illustrates the proposition that fundamental questions must be settled by the relative strength of the contending parties, not by

words. The most eloquent speeches will never persuade people to sacrifice their own interest.

A more recent example is furnished by the relations of England and her colonies. At the time of the revolt of the North American colonies their case was advocated by many of the most prominent English politicians, including Burke and Chatham. The fame of these men as orators is unsurpassed in English history, so that if any thing could be effected by eloquence it would have been by theirs. As a matter of fact eloquence effected nothing. The great mass of the English people remained unconvinced and the Americans owed their success entirely to their own efforts. When the policy of George III and his ministers failed, the English as is their way, became convinced that it was unjust, but they had no doubt of its justice so long as they thought it would succeed. Since the separation of the United States, the English have never dared to tax their colonists. On the contrary, the colonists have shirked contributing their fair share to the expenditure required for the defence of the empire. The generosity of England towards the colonists has been in marked contrast to the meanness of her behaviour to India. But in this case too the political relations ultimately depend on the strength of the parties. The English have had their lesson and do not wish to drive another colony to revolt. If the Australians and Canadians were like the Indians, they would receive no better treatment.

Take Ireland as another example. The Irish have always had plenty of orators of the rhetorical, emotional type. I can remember as a school-boy Englishmen sneering at Irish agitators and repeating with a contemptuous imitation of the Irish accent the words: "The wrongs of my injured country." But when Mr. Parnell came, the Irish agitation ceased to be a jesting matter. He was not much of an orator and only spoke seldom and with a definite purpose. He did not talk to Englishmen about the "wrongs of my injured country" but taught Irishmen to rely on themselves. There were well-meaning men in England, such as the late Mr. Robert Knight, who thought he would do well to abandon the agitation in Ireland

and try and convince England of the justice of the Irish case. (But Mr. Parnell knew better. Instead of making fruitless efforts to win the sympathies of the English he determined to teach them that it was neither safe nor profitable to be unjust. "Not conciliation but retaliation" was his watchword. So he organized the boycott in Ireland and obstruction in the House of Commons. By these methods Mr. Parnell accomplished more in five years than his predecessors in fifty.

I do not, of course, suggest that Indians should copy the methods of the American Colonists or the Irish. For, though sometimes "history repeats itself," the circumstances of one country are never exactly the same as those of another. It would be foolish to think that the salvation of modern India lay in armed rebellion or terrorism. Indians must think of other ways of bringing pressure to bear on their rulers. For it would be strange if India were an exception to the general rule, and as a matter of fact she is not. From what I know of my countrymen, I say with confidence that all the reforms, such as they are,—they do not seem to me to be worth much—are due to the existence of the extremist party. If those Indian politicians who frequent the India Office, imagine it is their persuasive eloquence that has influenced the Secretary of State, they are deluding themselves. The English, like other people, only make concessions because they are afraid to refuse them. Now till the year 1906 they regarded Indians with contempt as a people ready to submit tamely to any ill-treatment however gross. In that year it first occurred to the English that even Indians might have in them something troublesome. So it seemed wise to conciliate the Indian people by reforms, or at least by the pretence of reform. The purpose is openly avowed. It is to detach the "moderates" from their fellow countrymen and win them over to the side of the English government. Hence the moderates are treated with great courtesy, a courtesy which, as has already been said, is partly due to curiosity and hospitality, but still more to the hope of utilising them for English interests. Some years ago the late Shah of Persia was in London and was entertained with the utmost extravagance. It was not that the

English had any love for him, for they regarded him as a barbarian, as they regard everyone whose manners and customs differ in the slightest degree from their own. They would regard Jesus and St. Paul, or for that matter Aristotle and Plato as barbarians if they could meet them. One day an Englishman disgusted with the waste of money said to a friend, "What has this man done for us that we should spend so much on him?" "It is not what he has done," replied his friend "but what we hope to get him to do." So too, it is to what they hope to get them to do that the friendly reception of the moderates by the English is due. The methods of governments have always been the same. Some opponents like Strafford are won over; others like Eliot are kept in prison till they die. But if there were no unrest the English would not care to conciliate anyone. When Indian politicians feel flattered by the affable reception they meet with in England, they should remember that most of this affability is due to their countrymen who are being imprisoned without trial or perhaps tortured in India.

However if anyone disputes the conclusion that in India as in other countries no important reform can be effected by speech-making it is open to him to refute it by producing, if he can, examples to the contrary. Take one particular reform, the separation of the judicial from the executive. This separation has been carried out in all the Asiatic possessions of Russia and was introduced as long ago as 1862 in the Philippines while they still belonged to the Spanish. Year after year speeches have been made and resolutions carried in its favour at meetings of the National Congress. Nor can it be said with truth, in this instance, that the English have only had one side presented to them. For this particular reform has been advocated not merely by "Bengali agitators" but by the highest judicial authorities, by men who from their official position would naturally carry the greatest weight in England. We all know what the result has been.

The first need of any country is to be able to protect itself against foreign enemies. The second need is the efficient administration of justice. But the administration of justice cannot be efficient unless the judges

are trained lawyers independent of the executive power. All other questions of political constitutions, parliamentary government, voting, and so on, seem to me of minor importance. A man can live happily in a country where he has no political privileges, as many Englishmen live in Florence and Dresden. But no man can be contented in a country where his personal liberty and property are insecure. Indeed without the security of personal liberty political privileges are illusory. For it is idle to tell men that they may speak and vote as they please when they are liable to be imprisoned at the pleasure of the government by subservient judges. Enlarged councils are of little use when any man who offends the government may be deported like Lajpat Rai or confined in prison on trumped up charges like Arabindo Ghose. The English have always felt it themselves and in their own country secured the independence of the judges at a very early period, long before the mass of the people were represented in the House of Commons. That the English refuse to India what they consider essential for their own liberties, cannot be attributed to ignorance. It is a wilful and deliberate denial of justice.

The same conclusion is even more evident when we consider the financial relations of India and England. Take one particular instance. (Rather more than thirty years ago when the Sultan of Turkey visited England the expenses of his visit were charged to Indian revenues.) The actual amount of expenditure was of no great importance, but the meanness of the transaction could hardly be surpassed. As we all know, this was only one of many similar transactions continued down to the present day. Now it cannot be said that in these cases the injustice was due to misrepresentation of Anglo-Indian officials, for here at least the Anglo-Indian official view has been entirely in agreement with that of the Indian people. (The Government of India has always resisted this unjust financial treatment to the utmost of its power. The English have persisted in injustice despite the opposition both of Indians and of their own countrymen in India. There could not be a more convincing proof of the absurdity of supposing that Indians have only to state their

case in England in order to obtain justice.) Incidentally we may notice that in these matters England compares unfavourably with Russia. The Russians may be oppressive in other respects, but their financial treatment of their Asiatic possessions has been extremely generous, while the English treatment of India has been marked by meanness.

It is a mistake to suppose that injustice to Indians excites any indignation in England. There could be no greater injustice than depriving a man of his liberty without trial and without ever letting him know of what he is accused. It any Englishman were treated in such a way the deepest anger would be felt by his fellow-countrymen. Indeed such a thing has hardly been known in England for many centuries. The Petition of Right only affirmed principles of English law which had long before been in existence. Even the meanest criminal has always had the right to be heard before he is condemned.

Thieves are not judged unless themselves are by
Although apparent guilt be found in them.

But all these principles only apply to Englishmen, not to "natives". About this there should be no mistake. The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai was thoroughly popular in England. Journals which stand aloof from ordinary party politics such as the "Spectator" praised the Secretary of State for his firmness and remarked that he was one of the few members of the cabinet who had added to their reputation. In reality the praise was not due to him at all, but to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab or rather to some unknown subordinate in the Police Department. But the world is ever unjust. Some obscure Pigott or Khalil Ullah does the real work, and the Secretary of State gets the credit. The English people did not know and, in fact, do not know now, on what grounds Lala Lajpat Rai was condemned. They did not even know and do not know of what he was accused. But the mere fact that "one of these natives" was put into prison without trial delighted them. It is clear that while the present regulation is in force, no Indian of however high a character can be safe. If he has the misfortune to incur the ill-will of a Lieutenant-Governor or of some subordinate officer "information

not evidence" will be produced against him, and he will be imprisoned without any opportunity of justifying himself. Should the Government think they have or can procure evidence, he may like Arabindo Ghosh establish his innocence, but should there be even in the opinion of the police no evidence against him, he will be deprived of his liberty as long as his enemies think fit. (But the important thing for Indians is that this method of Government by secret calumny meets with almost unanimous approbation in England. If a Secretary of State wishes to acquire a reputation for wise and firm statemanship he has only to put a prominent Indian into prison without trial.)

Lastly, I wish to point out, that even for the purpose of acquiring English sympathy it is better for Indians to exert themselves in India than to make speeches in England. (The sympathy of the small minority that wishes to do justice to India, will be weakened if Indians shew themselves timid and inactive.) Englishmen cannot be expected to be "more Indian than the Indians themselves." (My belief is that if the speeches made at a Congress held in England were like those of the Congress in Madras they would puzzle and perplex Englishmen rather than excite their sympathy. It is not easy for Englishmen to understand how Indians can speak of a "time of rejoicing" when some of their countrymen are being imprisoned without trial, others arrested on false charges and refused bail, others tortured to extract confession of crimes they have not committed.) Of course whether Indians rejoice or not

is a matter that only concerns themselves. But when they appeal to English public opinion, it is not impertinent for Englishmen to say, that they see no reason to sympathise with the grievance of men who according to their own account are having "a time of rejoicing" and that, even if given, English sympathy cannot effect much. (For it is obviously useless for English members of parliament to denounce acts of injustice in the House of Commons while Indian politicians are praising the authors of those acts at meetings of the National Congress.)

(To sum up. The few Englishmen who are friendly to India are not making any impression on the English public. It is unlikely that Indian speakers would be more successful. The English came to India for their own interests, not for the interests of the Indian people, and history shews that a nation or class never sacrifices its own interests unless compelled. That the injustice done to India is not due to ignorance but is deliberate is shewn by the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive power, and by the financial treatment India receives. Even the few sympathetic Englishmen will become indifferent if Indians will not do anything for themselves in their own country. For these reasons it seems to me that nothing is to be gained by agitating in England and appealing to the sense of justice of the English people. I wish it were otherwise, but it is foolish to shut one's eyes to facts because they are unpleasant.)

AN ENGLISHMAN.

HAVELL ON INDIAN PAINTING

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA.

A picture has, properly speaking, two functions, with both of which the cheapness of modern commerce has sadly interfered. One of these is its place in architecture; the other is its place in the book. The first was developed in India to an extraordinary degree, under the Buddhist civilisations of the first thousand

years of the Christian Era. The second was equally highly developed under the auspices of the Mogul dynasty of Delhi. In both cases, the basis on which a great art was reared, is still extant. In any village, or on the old river-boats, we may see the rude mural decorations, processions of horses, dogs and elephants; or pictures



TRAVELLERS ROUND A CAMP-FIRE.

Reproduced from Havell's Indian Sculpture and Painting.

of tiger-hunts, or marriage ceremonies, all interspersed with sterns and scrolls, and half-geometrical flowers,—out of which grew the noble works of Ajanta, and Sigiriya in Ceylon. In every province, despite paint-boxes, filled with horrible aniline dyes, linger the old school artists, with their bazaar-pictures, so reminiscent of a glory that has passed.

Modern easel-painting is a compromise between these two functions. The picture of today aims at illustrating a single moment in a sustained intellectual conception, epic or natural, like the book-illustration. But it attempts to combine with this, the grandeur and breadth of wall-painting. It is more or less large, and yet it is detachable. In actual book-illustration, the thirst after perfection of the old masters, has now been modified by considerations of easy mechanical reproduction, till specimens of the old work have become like precious jewels, to be sought after with eagerness and rarely found.

There can be no doubt that there is a great future in India for mural painting. The large halls of assembly that the coming era of nationality and democracy will popularise,—for purposes of education and of the civic life,—will all demand decoration, and undoubtedly that decoration will take the form of painting, to a great extent. This painting will have three different subjects, the national ideals, the national history, and the national life. Amongst these shadows of noble thought, the men and women of the future will grow up. Against such a background, a constantly grander civic life will be moulded.

These village-halls, in which the deepening political consciousness of the future will find expression, have had their prototypes in India, in the chaitya-halls of the Buddhist *viharas*, by means of which, as Mr. Havell very lucidly points out, one of the great world-schools has been developed in art.

"The universities of ancient India, like those of Taksashila, near the modern Peshawar, Nalanda in Bengal, and Sridhanya Kataka (Amaravati) on the banks of the Krishna, comprised schools of religious painting and sculpture and in these great culture-centres of India all foreign artistic ideas were gradually transformed by Indian thought, and nationalised.

From them, also, the Indian art (thus created radiated all over Asia in the great epoch dating from

about the first century B.C. down to about the eighth century of our era. No doubt it was to these Schools that India owed the paintings of Ajanta as well as the sculptures of Amaravati, Ellora, and Elephanta.

The early Buddhist records contain many allusions to 'picture halls', which were no doubt the halls of monasteries painted with sacred subjects, like those of the sculpture galleries already described; or paintings on the walls of garden quadrangles, protected by verandahs, such as are commonly attached to royal palaces and private dwellings in Northern India. These were used as picture-galleries even in recent times, before Indian art fell into utter disrepute."

Undoubtedly it was the existence of the great chaitya-halls,—used as these were, in the Buddhist abbeys, for monastic chapters, general councils, worship, and university purposes,—that occasioned the rise of the magnificent schools of Indian painting, whose remains we still find, in the caves of Ajanta.



MOTHER AND CHILD BEFORE BUDDHA.

From the Ajanta Cave Paintings.

It is clear, also, that such paintings must have been executed by members of the Order residing in the monastery itself, in the same way that the Dominican Convent of San Marco outside Florence has been decorated, by the hand of Fra Angelico. There can be no doubt that it was the monks themselves who spent their talent and energy in building, sculpturing, or painting the ancient viharas. This was the contribution of certain members to the common good. They required no reward for their services, beyond maintenance and the active sympathy and encouragement of their fellows. It is for this reason that monastic orders have always been able to do memorable work, in whatever direction they have applied themselves.

"The period covered by the religious paintings of Ajanta", says Mr. Havell, "extends from about the second or first centuries before Christ to about the seventh century of our era, or over most of the great epoch of Indian art which has been reviewed in the previous chapters. Unfortunately, owing in a great measure to neglect and ill-treatment these beautiful paintings have lost all their original charm of colour, and are so damaged otherwise as to be at present only pitiable wrecks of what they have been. We can see in the best Ajanta paintings, especially in those of the caves numbered 16 or 17, the same intense love of nature or spiritual devotion as are evident in the sculptures of Borobudur."

From the fragments published in the work of Mr. John Griffiths on Ajanta, it would seem that this combination of artistic ideals Hellenic and mediaeval Catholic, was the most remarkable feature of the Ajanta pictures. But Mrs. C. I. Herringham, a distinguished art-critic who has seen them lately for the first time, has stated in England that their most striking distinction lies in their delineation of state-ceremonials and processions, and in the ease with which the artists discriminate between persons of low and of noble race,—powers that the art of Europe, as she points out, had not yet acquired, in the time of Giotto, five hundred years later.

It is to the gem-like works of the court-painters of the Mogul period and after, that Mr. Havell has been obliged to go, for the bulk of his illustrations of Modern Indian painting. Messrs. John Murray & Sons are to be congratulated on the beauty of some of their reproductions of these, especially for the wonderful "Portrait Group by one of Shah Jahan's Court Painters"

that forms the frontispiece of the whole volume.

But true to his own inspiration, Mr. Havell does not neglect the present. The charming "circle of travellers round a camp-fire," which he gives as a specimen of the work of unknown artists today, has evidently suffered in reproduction. The lights are too defined, the touch too hard. Yet it is a typical Indian scene. If only Indian men and women were prepared to buy such works, there would be more produced. The artist has felt the thrill of the midnight scene under the trees: the hushed voices, the half-veiled woman listening in the doorway to the tale told in the flickering fire-light, the sense of converging roads, of the parting, never again to meet, that the dawn will bring.

When we realise that it is our own want of culture that prevents our selecting and buying such pictures as this, we are able better to understand the depth of education that characterised the women of the Mogul Court when they collected some of the

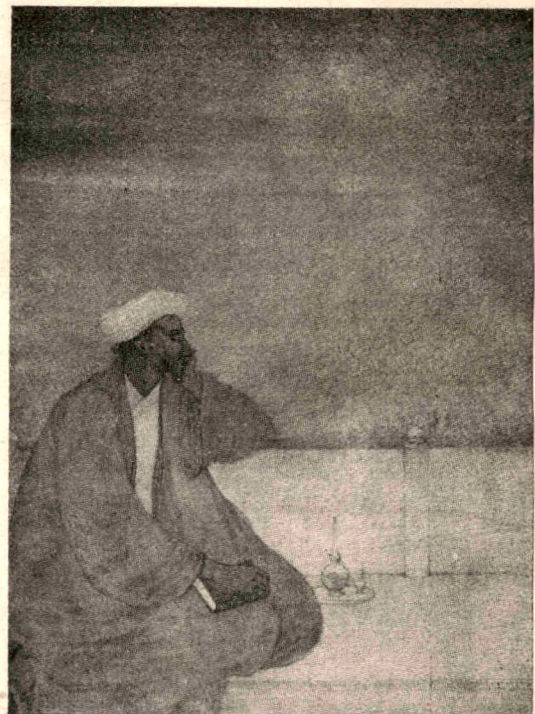
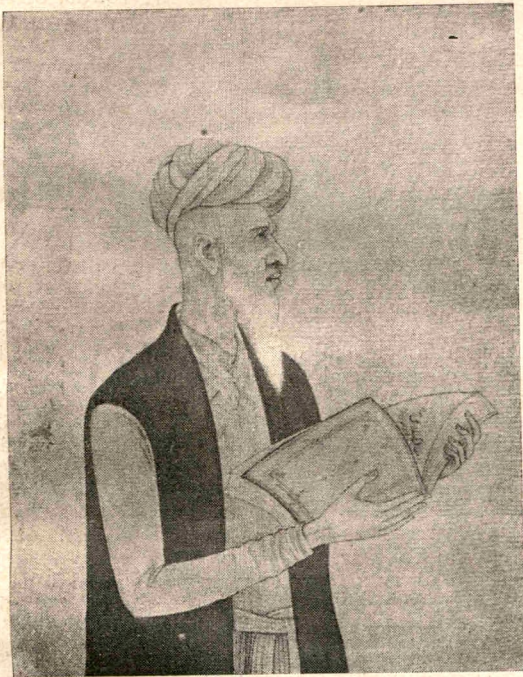


ILLUSTRATION FOR THE *Rubaiyat* OF
OMAR KHAYYAM.

By Abanindro Nath Tagore.

priceless manuscripts to be seen in the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Bankipore. It was the Queen Arjamand Banu—to whom afterwards the Taj was built—who spent 40,000 Rs. to buy, for her husband's birthday, the illuminated book that bears his signature. In great ages, woman is always educated, always competent, and often literary. Her ignorance marks the oncoming of national decadence.

Nothing could better illustrate at once the likeness and difference of the Mogul and the modern styles of painting, than a comparison between such pictures as the portrait of Sadi and Mr. Tagore's illustration for Omar Khayyam.



A PORTRAIT OF SADI.

There is a marvellous quality of truthfulness and imagination in the Mogul portraits. But the modern sets himself to convey the *mental* atmosphere of his subject. He so paints a man—seated on a roof, at sunrise,—that we follow him into his very dreams.

Sadi also is a poet, painted with book in hand, and intensity of thought upon his face. But this Omar seems to melt away into his own reverie.

The fault of the old painters may have been a leaning towards too great severity: the fault of the moderns is a tenderness and sentiment that approaches sometimes too near the verge of weakness.

There is no weakness in the final picture of the modern school, reproduced by Mr. Havell. Whatever we may think historically of the Flight of Lakshman Sen in 1203, before the Mahommedans,—and I for one do not accept a word of the current nonsense that would make of him a coward!—this picture, by Surendra Nath Ganguly*, is magnificent, strong, nervous, full of energy and vigour. The escape of a disrowned king speaks in every line. We could have named it, had there been no title. And after all, is not the moment portrayed, one of promise, if also of regret? Sadness for the occasion, promise for the art? The picture speaks of both. The boat waits by the palace-steps. But—the door is left open, and in the grim determination of the face of the fugitive king, hope still lives! It is a moment of withdrawal rather than flight. In some remote fastness of his kingdom, Lakshman Sen will still live and reign. When the hour strikes, he will return again!

* We have to record with great sorrow that this young and gifted artist died a few days ago.—Editor, "Modern Review."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Prof. Jitendra Lal Bannerji on Western Civilisation.

In his interesting and readable article on "Aravinda Ghosh—a study," Prof. Jitendra Lal Bannerji makes remarks which, I am sure, will be deplored by every right-thinking man in the country. I, of course, do not find fault with him for eulogising Mr.

Arabinda Ghosh in the manner he does. Every man has the right to worship his hero. To speak the truth, I sincerely respect Prof. Bannerji for being so good a hero-worshipper. He evidently does not belong to the class of men who find none to admire in this wide world. What I greatly deplore is the language he uses in characterising Western civilisation. "Western civilisation" we are informed, "had

lost its gloss and glamour for him. He had penetrated behind its glittering outer shell of painted brilliance and had sounded to the depth all its baldness, coarseness, barrenness and the barbarism of its inner significance." Now it is unnecessary to say anything in praise of Western civilisation. It is not on its trial and requires no defence. Even the greatest detractors of it pay homage to it in the daily acts of their life. Suffice it to say that if it had been anything like what Prof. Bannerji paints it to be, it would not have dominated the world and been in the ascendant. No sham ever endures in God's world. To call a civilisation which has produced Shakespeare and Milton, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelly and Byron, Goethe and Schiller, Tennyson and Browning, Descartes and Spinoza, Kant and Hegel, Newton and Leibnitz, Darwin and Spencer, Carlyle and Emerson, and the list might be indefinitely prolonged, "bald, coarse, barren and barbarous" in its inner significance, is—well, what shall I say? Language of this sort is the stock in trade of the baser kind of journals in this country, but is quite unworthy of a man of culture like Prof. Bannerji. I particularly object to Prof. Bannerji's language because of the infinite mischief which the sentiment it expresses is doing in this country. It is the seamy side of the nationalist movement in Bengal and is sure, if unchecked, ultimately to destroy whatever good has come out of it. A man who respects himself respects others. Respect for others is the correlative of self-respect. "Be a person and respect others as persons," is, according to a great philosopher, a fundamental principle of practical life. What is true of individual life is also true of national life. A self-respecting nation respects other nations and a nation that does not respect other nations, does not in reality respect itself, in spite of appearances to the contrary. It is especially necessary for us, at the present stage of our progress, not to allow the faculty of admiration to grow weak. It is undeniable that we have still much to learn from the West. Such a belief may be unfashionable and unpopular at the present day, but, nevertheless, it is absolutely true. If we are unable to appreciate all that is great and good in the civilisation of the West, the losers shall be we and not the West. The onward march of Western civilisation will not be arrested by our failure to appreciate it, but the cause of progress in this country will suffer an irreparable loss.

Let us not hate others and overestimate ourselves. The feelings of overestimation and contempt, Spinoza truly says, are always evil. No lasting good ever comes out of hatred. It is love alone that avails in the long run, whatever the appearances may be. It is greatly to be regretted that gifted men like Prof. Bannerji, instead of combating the rampant mischief of the prevalent race-hatred, should, however unwittingly, foment it. If the race feeling displayed by Anglo-Indians is bad, the race feeling displayed by Indians cannot be good. Let us have faith, surrounded though we are by circumstances that sorely try it, in the all-conquering power of love and remember that higher than nationalities, embracing them all and as the Organic Unity of them, though, as yet, only ideally, is Humanity.

BERHAMPUR.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

November, 5 1909.

'Western Civilization.'

While thanking Prof. Haldar for the courteous tone of his comments, I cannot say that his criticism has been very helpful or illuminating to me. Apparently he objects to the disparaging nature of my remarks on Western Civilization; and from that I may infer that he has a preference, or at any rate a high regard for this civilization. But he does not stop to make clear the grounds of this regard or this preference or whatever it may be called. He contents himself with vague generalities; and—I hope he will pardon me for saying it—he seems to be labouring under a certain confusion and haziness of thought.

Thus he says: "if Western Civilization had been anything like what Prof. Banerjee paints it to be it would not have dominated the world and been in the ascendant." Are we then to understand that material prosperity and dominance in the world are the best tests of civilization? We know indeed that this is a common fallacy; but we had every reason to hope that Prof. Haldar would rise above this narrow and gross conception of civilization. Civilization, as Ruskin is never tired of telling us, is primarily a thing of the heart; it makes men *civil*, humane kindly, and generous. No doubt it issues in a system of outer conduct and life; but to take it as synonymous with material prosperity—to take it as comprised in mills and factories, in the railway and the steamship, or in the endless outer appertenances of modern life, is utterly to miss its meaning and significance.

Again Prof. Haldar says: "a nation that does not respect other nations, does not, in reality, respect itself." The sentiment sounds very beautiful and reads like a copy-book maxim. But it is such an obvious truism! and when trotted out with all the parade of a general truth, it seems so hollow and unmeaning. Let us take a concrete instance. The English are a self-respecting nation—so Prof. Haldar would readily admit. But do they just overflow with respect for other nations? Not even the boldest champion of Anglican civilization will have the hardihood to go so far as that.

Elsewhere Mr. Haldar says: "No sham ever endures in God's world." Again we feel tempted to exclaim—how like a copy-book maxim it reads! What an obvious truism it is! and what a profound fallacy it conceals! Even Carlyle, from whom Prof. Haldar borrows his remark, would say—no sham can *ultimately* endure in the world; but what prevents it from flourishing like a green bay-tree for large lengths of days and years? Is not the world encrusted thick with shams of very venerable antiquity—fossil remains of age-worn customs and obsolescent beliefs? and how can the besom of reform be better employed than in sweeping them away and purging the world from their corroding contagion. Because a certain type of civilization has existed for a certain length of time—are we to conclude that it must be excellent, because, forsooth, 'no sham can endure in God's world'? Obviously on the logic of Mr. Haldar, whatever *is* is good; for if it were bad, it would cease to be.

But all this is nothing to the purpose. Prof. Haldar, as I have said already, does not stop to make clear the grounds of his preference for Western civilization. We must, therefore, rest satisfied with such hints of

preference as he has given us; and we find these hints in one sentence: "To call a civilization which has produced Shakespeare and Milton, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley and Byron..... Kant and Hegel Darwin and Spencer, Carlyle and Emerson, and the list might be indefinitely prolonged, 'bald, coarse, barren, barbarous' is, well what shall I say?" As a matter of fact, he ends by saying nothing: evidently my irreverence has scandalized him too much. But, while penitent for the shock I have given him, I may say that Prof. Haldar's mode of procedure is rather curious. He calls together the names of the best sons of Europe and America, claims them as the products of Western civilization, and then triumphantly asks—a civilization which produces Shakespeare and Milton, &c., how can it be called bald, barren, barbarous, etc? It is difficult to expose the accumulated fallacies underlying such a proposition as this. But I must answer by saying that I deny the validity of Mr. Haldar's standard of criticism, and I deny the soundness of his mode of applying that standard. In other words, I deny that the worth of a civilization is to be judged by the very best products of that civilization; and, what is more important, I deny that Shakespeare, Milton, Kant and Spinoza are the fruits of Western civilization in the generally accepted sense of that word.

The first of these points may be briefly dismissed. How is the civilization of a country to be judged? Is it to be judged by the greatest men of that country—rare and gifted souls, men who are more for the universe than for any particular country and race, men who by the very splendour of their genius are not to be taken as typical of their country and race but are to be regarded as beings afar and apart?—or is it to be judged by the life and character of the generality of men living in that country? Evidently the latter would be the more preferable standard. To refer again to the remark of Ruskin quoted above—civilization is that which makes men civil, which chastens and subdues their hearts. Its potency therefore is to be judged by the width no less than by the depth of its influence. Whether Western civilization is good or bad, therefore, will depend upon the answer to this further question—what is its effect upon the generality of men living according to its canons? Has it made them gentle and humane? Has it refined their hearts and liberalized their minds? Has it made them restful and contented—at peace with themselves and in amity with the rest of the world? Has it helped them to harmonize themselves with the great march of phenomena in this moving cosmos of ours? Rightly or wrongly, I am of opinion that Western civilization has been judged by these standards and has been found wanting. I think that Western civilization, by drawing our attention too much to the things of the earth, blinds us to the things of the spirit, and takes off the finer and keener edge of our souls. I think further that Western civilization, with its exaggerated emphasis on the needs and pleasures of the individual, tends to make men hard, cold, and selfish; and, though it may make for material prosperity in the first instance, it is bound ultimately to end in red ruin and utter desolation. No civilization which has made its basis on material comfort and material prosperity has ever been able to withstand the test of time. Egypt, Babylon, and Rome—what moral do they point? And the story of

their fall—with what lesson is it fraught? Who knows, who can prophesy, that the civilization which has Paris, London, and New York for its holy places of pilgrimage is not destined to a ruin as utter and irretrievable as that?

But let us proceed to our second contention. Prof. Haldar claims that Shakespeare, Milton, Kant, Hegel, Spinoza, Emerson,—all are the fruits of Western civilization. I do not understand on what principle he has lumped all these names together. What has Shakespeare in common with Milton? or Wordsworth with Byron and Shelley? or Goethe with Tennyson and Browning? or either of these with Kant and Hegel? And what curious chance must it be which brings together Darwin and Carlyle? or Spencer and Emerson? These were all born in Europe and America; but is that sufficient to claim them as the products of Western civilization? Do you find in Europe and America of the present day that universal human sympathy, that wide-eyed search for truth and beauty, that joy and delight in the bounty of heaven, which breathes through the plays of Shakespeare? or that austere and unbending purity and nobility of thought which lends added majesty to the grand organ-music of Milton? Where again in the Western world of the 20th century, do we find any trace of that 'God-intoxication' which filled to overflowing the pious soul of Spinoza? Or that lofty and passionate conception of morality which thunders through the categorical imperative of Kant? Goethe, Carlyle, Emerson, Kant, Spinoza are in no sense either the products, offspring, teachers or preachers of the money-loving, money-hungering civilization of the West. To me rather they seem like steep and noble promontories which jut out from the level current of European life, while round them, at their base, boils, rolls, and eddies the turbid swirl of modern civilization, with its mad thirst for money and comfort, its savage lust of power and dominion.

But this brings me to the one fundamental misconception which seems to underlie the whole tenor of Mr. Haldar's criticism. What is it that we mean by Western civilization? Obviously we mean by this term the type of civilization which *actually* prevails in the West at the present time—a civilization which in theory rests upon the basis that the *individual* is the centre of the world, and that the *body is the God of the individual*, and which in practice issues in *social strife, in aggressive warfare, and in fierce commercial competition*. It would lead to endless confusion if we were to identify Western civilization with Christianity, with Hellenism, with Calvinism, with the culture of the Renaissance or with any of the various types of thought and sentiment which have prevailed and spread their sway in Europe from time to time. And yet this is precisely what Prof. Haldar has done. I may tell him, therefore, that I do not quarrel with that bright, vivid, lissome Hellenism which had Goethe for its fruit or that rigid austere semitic culture which gave Spinoza to the world. I do not quarrel with that deep-toned Hindu spiritualism, which, in the mysterious ways of Providence claimed Emerson for its own in the far-off savannahs of quietude, busy America; nor do I quarrel with that joyous humanity of culture which born with the Renaissance had its crown and consummation in the bland and universal genius of Shakespeare. No, the civilization which I have sought to criticize is that hungry, money-

loving, material civilization which dominates Western life at the present day, and of which we may say that Mammon is its God; mills, factories and coal-mines are its temples and stately pantheons of worship; while the blare of the steam-whistle and the roar of the dynamite are its timbrels and harps of gold. It has been well said by Prof. Haldar that we must respect others if we respect ourselves. But see that

the thing you respect is worthy of respect; and see, above all, that the divinity you worship does not turn out to be some grinning and ghastly skeleton,—some painted and whited sepulchre—some phantom-image like that of Nebuchadnezzar with "front of brass and feet of clay."

RAMPURHAT,
17th November, 1909.

JITENDRALAL BANNERJEE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Cosmic consciousness or the Vedantic Idea of Mukti (in the light of Modern Psychology) by M. C. Nanjunda Row, B.A., M.B. and C.M., F.C.S., Published by G.A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Pp. X+237. Price Re 1-8 (2s).

The object of the author is "(1) to clear away some of the misconceptions that have gathered round the Vedantic idea of Mukti, (2) to shew that Sri Ram Krishna was one of those that have attained liberation. . . (3) to shew that the attainment of Mukti, is the basic truth of all great religions and thus to find a common platform on which a composite nationality in India. . . can be built up and practically realised."

The author says—"In order to achieve this realization, we need not run away from the world and pursue abnormal practices and forsake our duties towards society, family and friends."

SIGNS OF LIBERATION.

"The apparent signs of Liberation are (1) The subjective light. (2) Ecstatic bliss. (3) The sense of immortality and the loss of the idea of death. (4) Moral elevation and the loss of the sense of sin and shame. (5) Intellectual illumination. (6) General Charm added to the personality of the illumined." "A man who has attained liberation, becomes conscious not only of himself but also of the cosmos around" (*as if consciousness of Ego does not involve the consciousness of Non-Ego!*). But "it does not follow that when a man has attained to his cosmic consciousness, he knows all about the universe. . . . On the contrary, as there are vast differences. . . . between a savage and a Gladstone or a Herbert Spencer, so there will be differences between those who attained cosmic consciousness."

"The liberated man, while *remaining the same as before* (italics ours) has, as it were, shifted his mental equilibrium from Self-centre to God-centre." But in another place he advocates monism. To Liberated Souls, he says, "The Universe is God and God is the Universe." Such persons feel that they no longer exist as a separate entity, that what used to be called by them 'I' and 'Mine' was but an *illusory limitation* (italics ours) and that the real self is one in essence with the infinite and Eternal Loving Presence. . . . It is here that the idea of 'So'ham' i.e. 'I am he' comes in."

METHODS OF ATTAINMENT.

The author has accepted the following teachings of Sri Ram Krishna. "Infinite is the number of ways

leading to the sea of Immortality. The ways being numberless, Jnan, Karma, Bhakti—all lead to God, other things remaining the same,—Yoga (communion with the Lord) is of three kinds;—(1) Jnana Yoga, (2) Karma Yoga and (3) Bhakti Yoga. Bhakti Yoga is especially adapted to *Kali Yuga*, this age. This is the law for the present age. The path of communion by love, devotion and self-surrender to God (= Bhakti Yoga) is the easiest of all paths. It bringeth Karma (work) to a minimum. It is, in this age, the shortest cut leading to God."

The tripartite division mentioned above rests on the false assumption that *Jnan, Bhakti and Karma*—knowledge, feeling and volition, are all independent of one another, whereas the fact is that they form one organised whole in which one element may be prominent but none can be ignored. "The spiritual life and consciousness of man," to quote Principal Caird, "cannot be broken up into independent divisions or departments existing side by side, or into separate powers and faculties having a common substratum, nor is it possible to assert with respect to any of the concrete manifestations of man's spiritual nature, that it is confined to any one form of activity to the exclusion of other and cognate forms. There is no feeling or volition which does not contain in it implicitly an element of knowledge, nor any kind of knowledge which does not presuppose feeling or in which the mind is in an attitude simply passive and receptive, without any element of activity. A Spiritual Unity cannot be conceived of as a repository, like a case of instruments, or a box of tools, in which so many things are placed side by side, but rather as a Unity of which the various elements necessarily involve each other or are the correlative expressions of a common principle." So it is misleading to say that Pure Knowledge alone, or Pure Feeling, or Pure Activity alone will lead us to salvation.

Mr. Row speaks disparagingly of intellect and quotes Vivikananda in defence—"It is through the heart the Lord is seen and not through the intellect. The intellect is only the street-cleaner, cleansing the path for us, a secondary worker, the policeman; but the policeman is not a positive necessity for the workings of the society. When you read intellectual books, you had better say, when you have mastered them, 'bless the Lord that I am out of them. Because, intellect is blind and cannot move of itself.'"

Vivekananda uses his intellect to prove that intellect is useless and thereby he himself proves the indispensableness of intellect.

Religion must indeed be a matter of feeling but this feeling must be based on objective truth. Now it is a matter of fact that with the change of the idea of God, the nature of religion will invariably change. You cannot worship your all-merciful God with the same feelings with which the worshippers of Moloch worshipped theirs. Hence we must admit that in its essence religion must contain an element of knowledge. We have already said that we cannot ignore the volitional aspect of human nature.

Principal Caird justly contends that "to place the essence of religion in feeling is self-contradictory, for a religion of mere feeling would not even know itself to be religion. Without a distinct conception of, or reference to a known object, religious feeling is incapable of discriminating itself from any other kind of feeling, of ascribing to itself any special character, or justifying its own existence. What within the sphere of feeling I am conscious of, is simply the fact that I have such and such emotions of pleasure or pain, joy or grief, elevation or dependence, etc. What the objects of these feelings are, or whether, indeed, there be any objects to which they are referable or whether these objects are good or bad, worthy or ignoble, real or imaginary—as to all this the feelings themselves give me no information. I cannot say of any one class of feelings that they are moral or religious in distinction from another class which are purely sensuous; for, apart from a conscious reference to and definition of their objects, the utmost that I know of the feelings is that one feeling is more or less vivid, more or less pleasurable or painful than another. Within the sphere of feeling the rapture of the sensualist and the devout elevation of the saint are precisely on a level. So mere feeling does not constitute religion. It is found in man and brutes alike. Eliminate the intellectual element and you degrade man to the level of brutes. In order to transcend animality, an ideal element must be introduced into the life of man. The higher the ideal, the deeper the communion with God (of course, other conditions remaining the same). Deep communion without deep love is impossible, deep communion without deep knowledge is impossible and our Upanishad says 'Nayamatma valahinena labhyah'—'The self cannot be attained by the feeble-minded.'"

Some of the chapters of the book are very interesting. It abounds with inspiring quotations. But the psychological portion of the book is sadly disappointing. Our author says that, according to Professor James and R. M. Bucke, there are four stages of the development of the mind:—

(i) Perceptual mind. It has also been called the 'sensational stage of intellect.' (1) This stage is seen in the lowest forms of animals. (2) At this stage 'the mind has its seat in the collection of nerve-cells.' (3) This mind 'consists merely (italics ours) of a series of sense perceptions, or, as they are called 'percepts' (In another place the author uses 'wholly' instead of 'merely'). (4) At this stage there is no consciousness of any sort. (5) It is susceptible to outside stimuli but is not capable of converting those stimuli into an image projected into space outside itself so as to have a consciousness of the outer world.

(ii) Receptual mind. (6) At this stage simple consciousness is born. (7) It is 'made up of percepts and receipts', (8) Now 'the animal becomes capable

of converting those stimuli into an image projected into space outside itself and thus becomes conscious of outside things'.

(iii) Conceptual mind or self-consciousness. (9) It is 'made up of percepts, receipts and concepts'. (In another place the author says 'our intellect today is made up of a very complex mixture of percepts, receipts and concepts').

(iv) Supra-consciousness, cosmic-consciousness or liberation. (10) At this stage 'the mind becomes overcrowded as it were with concepts and these are constantly expanding, becoming larger, more numerous and more complex. Someday, the conditions being all favourable, the fusion of several of them with certain moral elements takes place. The result is an intuition and the establishment of an intuitional mind, or in other words supra-consciousness.' (11) According to the author the 'elements' of supra-consciousness 'instead of being concepts are intuitions.' Our author seems to have misunderstood even the fundamental principles of James's philosophy. Every one of the above assertions has been adversely criticised by Prof. James. Mr. Row calls the first stage 'perceptual' or 'sensational.' So he does not distinguish between sensation and perception. But James says 'perception' differs from sensation by the consciousness of farther facts associated with the object of sensation' and 'sensational and reproductive brain processes combined are what give us the content of our perceptions' (Principles of psychology Vol. II, p. 77 and 78). *Extract (2).* James says "consciousness cannot properly be said to inhabit any place" II, 34. *Extracts (3), (7), (9), and (11).* Here the author attributes to James a theory which is known as 'Mind stuff' theory. But instead of advocating the theory, he has thoroughly demolished it. He says "One of the obscurest of the assumptions is the assumption that our mental states are composite in structure, made up of smaller states conjoined. It is quite unintelligible" I, 144. In another place, he says, in the language of Royce, that "no summing of parts can make a unity of a mass of discreet constituents." II, 159. "It holds good against any talk about self-compounding amongst feelings, against any 'blending' or 'complication' or 'mental chemistry' or 'psychic synthesis' which supposes a resultant consciousness from the constituents *per se*." I, 161. "Locke's pupils seek to do the impossible with sensations and against them we must once again insist that sensations 'clustered together' cannot build up our more intellectual states of mind." II, 9. *Extracts (4) and (6).* James's theory is quite the reverse. He says—'*If evolution is to work smoothly, consciousness in some shape must have been present at the very origin of things*', (italics are author's). 'Consciousness, however little, is an illegitimate birth in any philosophy that starts without it and yet professes to explain all facts by continuous evolution'. I, 149.

Extracts (5 and 8). Here also our author has misunderstood James, who says—"We often hear the opinion expressed that all our sensations at first appear to us as subjective or internal and are afterwards and by a special act on our part 'extradited' or 'projected' so as to appear located in an outer world. . . . It seems to me that there is not a vestige of evidence for this view. It hangs together with the opinion that our sensations are originally

devoid of all spatial content.' II, 31. According to James, each of our sensations originally comes to us with *objectivity*, each sensation has '*extensity*' and '*roomy and spatial* character'. II, 39. '*The first sensation which an infant gets is for him the universe*. And the universe which he later comes to know is nothing but an amplification and an implication of that first simple germ.' II, 8.

Extract (10) The author speaks of 'fusion' of concepts with moral elements. We have already seen that the 'fusion' theory has not been accepted by James. Mr. Row says that at the fourth stage concepts expand and become larger. But James has studiously avoided the use of the word 'concept' except in unimportant places. ('I shall avoid the use of the word concept altogether'. I, 461).

Now if our author's 'concept' means the same thing as James's 'conception'—we must say that concepts can never expand or become larger. According to James 'conceptions are unchangeable'. I, 464. He says 'No one of them (conceptions) develops into any other'. I, 466. 'Each conception eternally remains what it is and never can become another. The mind may change its states and its meanings at different times, may drop one conception and take up another but the dropped conception can in no intelligible sense be said to *change into* its successor. The paper, a moment ago white, I may now see to have been scorched black. But my conception 'white' does not change into my conception 'black'. Thus amid the flux of opinions and of physical things, the world of conceptions or things intended to be thought about, stands stiff and immutable, like Plato's Realm of Ideas'. I, 462. 'The very conception of flux itself is an absolutely changeless meaning in the mind; it signifies just one thing, flux, immovably.—And with this, the doctrine of the flux of the concept may be dismissed'. I, 468. What is Intuition? Mr. Row says it is the 'fusion' of concepts with certain moral elements! Comments here are unnecessary.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Life of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar by Babu Sarat Chandra Ghosh, M.D., Corresponding Member of the British Homœopathic Society, French Homœopathic Medical Society and Hahnemann Institute of Brazil; Author of 'Cholera and its Homœ. treatment', etc., etc: Editor of the Indian Homœopathic Reporter: Published by Jnanendra Nath Bose. The Oriental Publishing Home, 11, Issur Thakur Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 199 (with many Portraits).

The Life of Dr. Sircar has been written by a worthy disciple of his and we have read the book with great interest.

Dr. Sircar was born on the second Nov. 1833, married in 1855, passed the L. M. S. Examination in 1860, appeared at the M. D. Examination in 1863 and came out first, declared his faith in Homœopathy in 1867, started the Calcutta Journal of Medicine in 1868, established the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science in 1876. The title of C. I. E. was bestowed upon him in 1883. The Government appointed him a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1887 and he was nominated in all for four terms. He was an Honorary Presidency Magistrate from 1887 to 1892. He was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta in 1887. He was President of the Faculty

of Arts for four years (1893-97), Member of the Syndicate for ten years, a Trustee of the Indian Museum as a representative of the Asiatic Society, a Life Member of the British Association for the Cultivation of Science, Corresponding member of the American Institute of Homœopathy and of the British Homœopathic Society and also a Life Member of the Astronomical Society of France.

He was the only Medical man who was honored with the bestowal of the Honorary D. L. Degree of the Calcutta University and he obtained this degree in 1898.

His pen was very prolific. He wrote "Hahnemann, the Father of Scientific Medicine," "Moral influence of Physical Science," "Physiological Basis of Psychology," "Therapeutics of the Plague," "A Sketch of the Treatment of Cholera" and contributed many interesting papers to his Journal. One of his papers ('Malarious Fevers of India' abridged from a paper read at the British Homœopathic Congress, London, 1874) has been incorporated in 'Laurie's Domestic Medicine.' His opinions have been largely quoted by Hughes and other distinguished authorities. We give below some of the anecdotes of his life:—

"Dr. Archer, Professor of Diseases of the Eye, Medical College, used to test the knowledge of the students of the Fifth Year Class by asking them very difficult questions on the anatomy and physiology of the eye and on the laws of light. One day it so happened that none of the students could answer a question that was put to them. Sircar who was standing at a distance answered the question in a rather bold voice. "Who is that fellow?" asked Dr. Archer. Hearing that he was a student of the Second Year Class, he was greatly astonished. Sircar was then literally smothered with innumerable difficult and puzzling questions dealing with the eye. As his answers were satisfactory and correct, Professor Archer was much pleased and asked him to attend his clinique every day. While still a student, he delivered a series of lectures on optics at the request of the senior students and with the permission of the Professors and the Principal. In that year he also delivered a lecture at a meeting of the Bethune Society on the adaptation of the human eye to distance."

"He lost his Gold Medal in Medical Jurisprudence for having stated in an answer to a question that the lethal dose of Arsenic was much larger than stated in books and that men were known who had accustomed themselves to taking it without injury in doses of more than a drachm. The Professor considered this as a grave mistake!"

The account of Dr. Sircar's conversion to Homœopathy, which we give below in an abridged form, has been quoted by Dr. Ghosh from Dr. Sircar's own writings. He writes:—

"I was a hater and denouncer of Homœopathy. At a meeting I contemptuously alluded to Homœopathy. This allusion met the eye of the late Babu Rajender the most distinguished lay Homœopath. By effecting some miraculous cures he succeeded in making converts of men like the late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He tried to convert me but I repelled all his advances. At that time a friend, ill-disposed to Homœopathy, handed me a copy of Morgan's philosophy of Homeopathy for review for a periodical of which he was one of the editors. This was a good opportunity

for me to smash Homeopathy. The book was the first on Homeopathy I condescended to read and I thought I could write off a review in no time. But what was the impression after a cursory glance at the pamphlet? I was convinced I could not review it before reading it a second time. On a second careful perusal the conviction was forced upon me that no opinion could and should be passed on a *priori* grounds alone on a system which was alleged to be based upon facts and which boldly challenged an appeal to facts. But how to get at the facts? I had no other alternative than to turn to Babu Rajender. He was the only practitioner whose cases I could watch, and though he was a layman I now did not hesitate to sacrifice professional dignity and made up my mind to be as it were his clinical clerk in order to arrive at the truth, which appeared to me to vitally concern the profession and humanity at large. I told him that I would agree to observe his cases with him, provided he would agree to keep the patients for a time at least under strict regimen alone. He readily agreed. Strange to say and to his dismay, a few cases did recover under regimen alone and without any medicine. But my triumph was not to continue long, for others proved refractory and I had to give my consent to administer his medicines to them. A great many recovered and the incurables were benefited. This fact staggered me; the efficacy was too evident to be gainsaid; and I was compelled much against my will, of course, to make trials of the medicines myself in the cases which resisted my own treatment. The result to my mortification was something bordering on the marvellous if not miraculous. These trials were begun in 1865 and in the course of a year the conviction became strong that homeopathy was not the humbug and the quackery I had thought it was.....The rumour spread like wild fire that I had lost my reason and that I had yielded to the seductions of Babu Rajender...The loss of my practice was sudden and complete. For six months I had scarcely a case to treat. Notwithstanding the collapse of my practice I had not given up all hope. Uncured cases began to come to my outdoor dispensary, and their cures began to spread the cause. Then the 16th February 1867 has been memorable in the history of the medical profession in this country."

We quote below the following incident, the authenticity of which is vouched for by no less a personage than the eminent Pandit Sivanath Sastri:—

"Pandit Sastri when a student was for sometime brought up in the house of Babu Mahes Chandra Chowdhury of Bhowanipore whose family Physician Dr. Sircar was. One day he came to see Mahes Babu's brother who was ill. Mahes Babu took Pandit Sastri who was then ill into the room where Dr. Sircar was seeing his brother. He asked him to write out a full history of his case and send it to him. Dr. Sircar was engaged in writing a prescription for Mahes Babu's brother when a relative of Mahes Babu asked Dr. Sircar to tell him the name of the medicine he was prescribing. This query excited his anger to such an extent that he used some strong words to the gentleman. On the following morning Pandit Sastri not only sent the report of his case but also a letter criticising the rude words of Dr. Sircar and giving vent to the outburst of his feelings...The next morning he was surprised to learn that Dr. Sircar came and wanted to see the boy

named Sivanath Bhattacharya. With great terror he presented himself before Dr. Sircar. As soon as he appeared before him, Dr. Sircar stood up and shook hands with him and told him that he had come only to thank him for his letter. He then took him into his carriage and told him that necessity compelled him to use those unpleasant words to that gentleman, for he had no business to disturb him when he was attending to his own."

We hope Dr. Ghosh will collect fresh materials to make the biography fuller and more attractive.

The book is written from the standpoint of Homeopathy but is not devoid of materials of general interest as the above anecdotes will testify.

In one chapter the author traces the rise and development of Homœopathy in India and in another chapter he describes what Homœopathy and its principles of cure are. In this book the author has given some very interesting clinical cases taken from Dr. Sircar's note book. The book, we hope, will be appreciated by Homœopaths.

In the absence of sufficient materials, we refrain from dilating on his views on social and religious questions. Suffice it to say that his ideas were very liberal and that he was a thorough-going theist. Some of his utterances were very strong and gave offence to the orthodox community. The fact is that a genius of his type could have no sympathy for those who made much of the 'Transcendental Nonsenses' because they were of our forefathers. MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Suggestions for Religious Education and other Reforms in Hindu Society with selections from the opinions of leading European and Indian thinkers by Rai Bahadur Lala Baijnath, B.A., Fellow of the Allahabad University and Retired Judge, United Provinces. Published at the Office of the Vaishya Hitkari, Meerat. Pp. 77. Price eight annas.

The author framed a number of questions on social, educational and religious reform and sent them to most leading men and journals in this country and some friends in England who took special interest in Indian matters. The views set forth in this pamphlet are mainly based on the replies he received from them. As regards the factors of reform, the author says, "The head of the religious order or the sadhu commands an amount of power which any prince or potentate might will envy" "But it is almost hopeless to expect them to work as religious or social reformers" (ii) Amongst the intelligent class the Brahmins are losing ground day by day but the ordinary Hindu still reveres them. 'If therefore we wish to make any impression upon the people, we must utilize the Brahman as teacher. Teachers of any other class or caste may be listened to with respect but they will be seldom followed. That is the privilege of the sadhu and the Brahman in India and taking things as they are we cannot dispense with either.'

(iii) The third factor of reform is religious societies. But they have not, with a few exceptions, done much. The only course now left open is to create a new society working upon the lines of the 'Servants of India Society of Poona,' which, the author thinks, "would be the best for the purpose."

The directions which reform should take are the following:—

(i) 'More regular performance of daily duties with fuller realization of their import'.—"The majority of

Hindu lads or youths know less of their own than that of other religions. They are thus worse than many a Mahomedan or Christian lad who receive at home some training in the principles of his own religion. The Hindu boy has scarcely any example of a religious life placed before him in the home to follow and is ignorant of the best traditions of his race. We should, therefore, have a system of religious education in early life.' "Every Hindu should make it a practice to rise at about 5 A.M., answer calls of nature, wash, bathe and immediately set about performing his *Sandhya*. The practice of a short prayer on rising from sleep or repetition of a hymn to God is highly conducive to spiritual peace."

(ii) *Food Reform*—"our ordinary diet of *dal*, bread, vegetables, ghee, milk, etc. is pronounced by the best doctors to be all that is required. Only it must be better prepared, with less of sugar, spices, acids and chillies in order to admit of more proper assimilation" "A Hindu's cooking now occupies a large portion of his time and thought. The system should, therefore, be so modified as to suit changing circumstances (1) by allowing all members of a family, a sub-caste and a caste to dine together and (2) by relaxing the present restrictions about eating food cooked with or without water (*katcha* and *pucca*) so as to insure health and comfort both at home and abroad."

(iii) *Improvement in Sanskrit Education*.

(iv) *Religious Education*—"India is a nation consisting of different creeds and I think it is high time for the leaders of the communities to join together and to introduce the system of common prayer. I do not mean the people should cease to practice observances prescribed by their respective religions, but there is no reason why all deists should not at certain periods gather together and pray together to the common Almighty Father. I should wish certain schools might well introduce a system of common prayer, say once or twice a week, for all the students whatever their caste or creed. Let me not be understood to be advocating the principles of any particular Samaj, for there might be many tenets in the present Samajes to which people of a different religion would not be able to subscribe. Almost all important religions of India recognise one Supreme God and prayers should be offered to Him in common by students and people of different religions during some days of the week or the month as the case may be."

(v) *Reform in marriage institutions*.—"The system of early marriage is condemned throughout but the only remedy suggested is education of public opinion." "Our marriage system is badly in need of reform. It is, crushing all enterprises from the nation, ruining the health of our men and women, causing premature decline and death. No religious or social reform is possible without the restoration of the manhood of the nation and all classes of people should see that for boys at least 18 and girls 13 is the marriageable age."

(vi) *Reform in charities*.—"Most of the religious institutions (*maths*, temples, *akharas*, *dharmasalas*, etc.) are everywhere mismanaged, the money is ill-spent, corruption is widespread and out of those who beg, a very large proportion do so because begging is more profitable than working." To remedy these evils we must have "associations for reform in public and religious charities in all parts of the country."

(vii) *Re-admission of converts and those who return from England*.—"Our prejudice against those who have travelled in foreign countries has succeeded in depriving us of the services of those who would have otherwise been our best supporters" "Orthodox Hinduism should now move and by devising some easy and cheap form of *Prayaschitta*, like a bath in the Ganges at Hardwar or in some other sacred places, re-admit those who have gone to other faiths."

According to Lala Baijnath "the decrease in the number of our population is due to our declining vitality as a race, and our defective social and religious institutions. The result of our enquiry in this respect shows that the Mahomedans and the Christians possess a much greater degree of vitality and thus live longer than the Hindus everywhere. Adoption of foreign articles of food and drink, rapid increase in the family without means of subsistence, sedentary habits of a large number of our people, early and improper marriage, worries of family life—all contribute to our low vitality. The Hindu matures early and dies early. No value is attached to life, in fact the body is considered only as a dungeon for the soul, from which the sooner it gets out, the better." The result of all this cannot but be disastrous.

"The position of our women has greatly to do with our present condition. Regarding the education of girls and women, the opinion of those consulted is that though the old prejudice against their education is fast disappearing, there is still much difference of opinion as to how they should be educated. Were it not for the *pardah*, the Baroda system of imparting instruction in public school to all girls, married and unmarried, through well-behaved female as well as male teachers, may be held up for general adoption. But the habits of the people and their prejudices in the matter of *pardah* cannot be ignored and we shall have gradually to create a number of good female teachers and employ them in the female schools in the country."

This pamphlet is a very useful publication and should be widely circulated. It should be read by every one who takes an interest in the welfare of the Hindu society.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, edited by Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (retired), Vol III, Part I—*Chhandogya Upanishad with the commentary of Sri Madhva-charya, first Adhyaya translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu. Published by the Panini Office, Bhubaneswari Asrama, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. iv+88. Annual subscription:—Inland Rs. 12. Foreign £1, Single copy Re. 1-8.*

The Chhandogya Brahmana of the Sama Veda contains ten chapters, of which the first two chapters are reckoned to be the Brahmana proper and the rest constitute the Chhandogya Upanishad.

Mr. Vasu has given in this part (i) the text of the 1st chapter of the Upanishad, (ii) the meaning of all the words of the text (iii) the translation of the text and (iv) the translation of Madhva's commentary with copious notes. In the introduction he has given also an analysis of the first chapter. Though this chapter forms a part of an Upanishad, yet it has the character more of a Brahmana than of an Upanishad.

But the commentators, one and all, have, by forced interpretations, tried to shew that it treats of the *Brahmavidya* and Madhva is not an exception to the rule.

According to Madhva I, 1 is a very important passage, of which a literal translation is:—

"The earth is the essence of all these things; water is the essence of the earth; plants, the essence of water; man, the essence of plants; speech, the essence of man; *Rik*, the essence of speech; *Sama*, the essence of *Rik*; and *Udgitha*, the essence of *Sama*.

That *Udgitha* is the best essence of essences,—the Supreme, deserving of the highest place (i.e. the most adorable) and is the eighth (in the order of the aforesaid essences, earth, water, &c.).

Madhva's interpretation as given by Mr. Vasu is:—

"Higher than all beings is the presiding deity of the earth, higher than Earth-Devata is Varuna, higher than Varnua is Soma, higher than Soma is Saraswati, higher than Saraswati is the goddess called *Rik*, higher than *Rik* is the chief Prana, higher than Prana is Narayana himself. That *Udgitha* is higher than all the highest, higher than even Rama (Lakshmi) and is the eighth."

In the commentary on the above, Madhva explains the cardinal points of his theology. He says:—

"Those who know the gradation of the devatas, and who understand the supremacy of Vishnu, are known as *Ekantins* ('monolaters'—if I be allowed to coin a word) and masters of the knowledge of the divine hierarchy. Let those be alone called—'*Ekantins*' who know God to be one and the highest. Since in the above gradation by stating that 'this is higher than that' the Lord Hari stands at the end (*anta*) of the series and since He is one (*eka*), therefore the *Ekantins* are said to be those who know the Lord to be verily one alone and as standing at the end of the above series of gradations. Those who know thus the gradation of the Devas and whose sole refuge is always the Lord *Ekanta*—the one Lord of the Hierarchy—enter into the Supreme God Narayana the painless. Let the Bhagavatas, thus knowing Hari as the highest and coming at the end, worship Hari always and worship also Lakshmi and others in their due order. The word '*Ekantin*' means 'the worshipper of one to the exclusion of others.' There are many *Ekantins* who would not worship even Lakshmi. But Madhva here says that they may worship minor deities also, but they should always bear in mind that the Lord is one and infinitely higher than these deities. Let them not offer any sacrifice to any Devata with the idea that they (i.e. the Devatas) are independent of the Lord: or that they deserve any independent worship. The highest devotion (Bhakti) to Vishnu is verily a specific cause for the attainment of release. So devotion to his devotees, like Lakshmi and the rest in due order, after Vishnu, is also a cause of *moksha*. The third cause of *moksha* is *vairagya* (dispassion) also. There is no other means of attaining *moksha*."

In another place he describes the Lord in the following manner:—

"The Lord is verily one and identical, in all times and in all objects; he has no limiting adjuncts and his glory never increases or decreases with the objects in which he may be. Still owing to the differences in his activities, he gets different names and forms though he himself is not different and is one in his

full lordliness everywhere. He on account of his infinite power, produces different results in different bodies, without himself undergoing any change. The Lord is verily devoid of limiting adjuncts, because he is All-power; therefore he produces always the effects of particular forces, though himself remains unmodified and uncontaminated by pleasure and pain."

This part also has been ably edited and translated. The series is very well got up and is strongly recommended to the patronage of our countrymen.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus edited by Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (retired), Vol ii—Part i. *Yajnavalkya's Smṛiti with the commentary of Vijnanesvara called the Mitakshara and the gloss of Ballambhatta translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu and published by the Panini Office. Bhuvaneshwari Asrama, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. vi + 104 + ii + ii. Annual Subscription:—Inland Rs. 12; Foreign £1. Single copy Re. 1-8.*

The part under review contains (i) the Text of the Smṛiti (ii) the Translation of the Text (iii) the text of the Mitakshara (iv) the translation of the Mitakshara (v) the gloss of Ballambhatta in English.

Next to Manu's Smṛiti, that of Yajnavalkya is the most important. Of all the commentaries on this book, that written by Vijnanesvar is the most authoritative. The full name of this commentary is Riju-Mitakshara (the easy and concise) but it is known as 'Mitakshara.' According to Dr. Buhler, Vijnanesvar, the author of this commentary, flourished in the eleventh century.

The gloss is generally believed to have been written by a lady but her authorship has lately been disputed. It is asserted by some that the real author of the gloss was the husband of this lady.

The Institutes of Yajnavalkya has over a thousand verses, which have been divided into three chapters and also into thirteen sections. This part contains two sections and 50 verses.

In the first section—Yajnavalkya says that the Vedas, the Vedangas, the Puranas, the Nyaya, the Mimamsas, and the Dharmasastras should all be studied, and that we should regulate our life by the precepts of the Sruti, the Smṛiti, the life of good men, our own standard (of what is pleasant) and right resolve. We have many duties to perform but "*this alone is the highest duty that one should see the self by Yoga.*"

The Sacraments of the Hindus are ten in number, but the number is twelve according to Manu and other authorities, who consider '*Kesanta*' (the shaving of the hair) and '*Samavartana*' (The 'return home' of a Brahma-charin) to be separate ceremonies (vide Manu II, 65 and III, 4). In the second chapter, Yajnavalkya mentions eight Sacraments (or nine if we take into account the '*kesanta*' ceremony—vide verse 36). These Eight Ceremonies are elaborately described in the gloss. Mr. Vasu gives on pp. 32–40, a detailed account of the '*Shashti*' Puja, which will be interesting to many of the readers. The book contains also the famous laws of adoption as laid down by Baudhayana. Srisa Babu has given the full Sanskrit Text of these laws, the meaning of all the words of the text and an English translation of the same.

He has given also extracts from the Grihya Sutras relating to two ceremonies, viz. :—'*Pumsavan*' (the

ceremony to secure the birth of a male child) and the 'Simantonnayana' (the parting of the hair of the pregnant wife).

The book has been ably edited and translated and very neatly got up and it should command a large circulation.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

So'ham Gita.—By *So'ham Swami*. To be had of the author, *Hermitage, P. O. Bhowali, Dist. Nainital* or of *Babu Surya Kanta Banerji, B. L., Tantibazar, Dacca. Price Rs 2.*

We have read this book with delight. It is an exposition of *adyaitavad* or unqualified monism. The *So'ham Swami* is no other than the well-known tiger-tamer Professor Shyamakanta Banerji, who earned considerable renown by his extraordinary physical strength. The name of Prof. Shyamakanta once passed for everything that meant prowess and bravery and we retain faint recollections of the heroic feats he performed before our wondering boyish eyes some 14 or 15 years back. It may be a little interesting and not out of place to mention here that when Prof. Shyamakanta visited our small city of Krishnagar as far back as the number of years stated above, we, a group of fidgety young boys, crowded round his majestic figure and badgered him with an array of questions about his uncommon physical strength in the frank manner peculiar to childhood, and the renowned Professor got so pleased with us that when we grew eager to feel his muscles, his bold countenance beamed with pleasant smiles and he cheerfully assented to our fond proposal. Hence it is that we experience intense gratification in welcoming a book which has proceeded from the hand that once manfully gripped the tiger's neck and which chronicles the thoughts of an earnest *sannyasi*.

It is a well-known fact that a man's mental disposition determines his religion. Religion is, in one sense, nothing but a person's view of the world as a whole. To men of bright and sincere optimism the world is the home of bliss and this optimism never leaves them though bonds and afflictions abound. Such men view the world as a place of joy and training and the span of their lives is full of patient endurance, sweet discipleship, radiant cheerfulness. It is such men who are bold enough to grapple face to face with the ills of life and who by their heroic front are able to lift their fainting brethren into courage and initiation. The religion of such men is bright and fresh as the dew which shines by the hues of the morning sun and there is nothing dark or gloomy about it. There is another class of men who are very earnest and who seek religion with all the intense fervour of their nature but who fear the world, who dread the appearances of life and who safeguard their religion by standing aloof from the world and who, far from human society, complacently gaze upon their hoarded religious merit as the miser does upon his hoarded treasure. Such men though occupying the giddy heights of devotion and asceticism do not participate in the strife of the world and look upon it with an indifferent eye.

Professor Shyamakanta Banerji though possessed of everything that makes life pleasant and savoury was all of a sudden smitten with *vairagya* (detachment)

and heroically turned his back upon the world. Gold and silver lost their attractions, the laurels faded away, the tender gaze of wife, children, brother and sister bore no message—the renowned athlete turned a lonely anchorite. While reading the *So'ham Gita* one question rose in our mind without cessation. Deeply edifying as the pages of the book proved to us, the question, "what caught the man away from the world?" distressed us considerably and we found no relief until we came upon a few stanzas in the chapter on *Sannyasi*. We cannot say that we were able to read these stanzas without deep emotion and we firmly believe with the Swamiji that *vairagya* is the highest treasure of life, 'the one thing needful' which every person, man or woman, should ardently wish to acquire. The Swamiji is at his highest when he says

অপরের হাতে স্বথ দুঃখ বার
সে কখনো স্থখী নয়।
পরমুখাপেক্ষী হয় চির দুঃখী
তাই ধরা দুঃখময় ॥

Nothing is truer than the noble sentiment embodied in the above lines and we strongly believe that those who think that happiness can be found in the felicities of human relationship alone, that is to say, in tender brotherly or sisterly affection or in friendly sympathy or in parental care, are hugely disappointed. A man's happiness cannot be built on the world's riches but it is by a total renunciation of all lust and greed that happiness can be secured.

তৈন লব্ধি ন মুক্তিযা মা যতঃ কস্যসিদ্ধিনম্।

Those who do not look upon the world as a place of combat and training are sure to be victimised by an incurable grief when the cares of life thicken around them. Joy is for the strong alone and the agonies of an imbecile will cannot be escaped.

নাযমাঝা বলহীনৈশ্চ লভ্যঃ।

Be that as it may, the world is bitter to us as we do not know how to use it and we are quite at one with the Swamiji when he enlarges upon the powers of *vairagya*.

But it must be confessed that a man with true *vairagya* or, as the Christians say, with total resignation to the will of God, is of greater service to the world than one who dotes upon its possessions with a clinging attachment. Nevertheless, we are persuaded that one with a healthy tone of mind cannot forsake the world for ever. There are times which urgently necessitate the total withdrawal of a person from worldly pursuits but such times are only preparatory stages. Buddha, Christ, Mahomet and others had an end in view when they withdrew from the world and as soon as that end was obtained they burst upon the world like a sweeping hurricane. But to leave the world once for all indicates morbidness of the mind. That the Swamiji is not free from such distemper of spirit is evident when he proceeds to question the sincerity of human affection in the following lines—

আছে সহোদর ভগিনী সন্তান
পত্নী পোষ্য সঞ্জীবিত।
ছিন্ন মায়াপাশ তাহাদের তরে
হয়েছি জীবিতে মৃত ॥

যে মাতায় বার স্বার্থের ব্যাঘাত
হইয়াছে মম তরে ।
মাত্র ততটুকু দুঃখ মনস্তাপ
সেইজন ভোগ করে ॥

We cannot bring ourselves to agree with the Swamiji, as we know that a vast amount of self-denial in parent, brother, friend, sister and wife forms the main stay of human society. We regret that the Swamiji does not care to look at the brighter side of the picture; for instances of self-denial when no personal gain is possible or when love is not required are not rare in the world.

We shall refrain from saying anything, about *adyaitabad*, but we think that if the world is a delusion and nothing else it is still desirable that one should be in the world; for to be in the world is to be really strong, is to be actually a man of character and that is in itself a proof that the world is a stern reality since it tends to make men real and not visionary as recluses generally are. It is nothing short of heroism of the very highest order to be in the world and to combat its degenerative tendencies. Our strongest conviction is that he who shakes off the dust of his feet against the world and betakes himself to the cozy cave so that beyond the reach of cares he may pass his days in silent meditation is far from the ideal life.

অস্ব স্বাস্থ্যঃ প্রবিশন্তি যৈঃ বিদ্যামুপাসতে ।

ততো মূঢ় ইব তৈঃ তমো য় ত বিদ্যায়াংতাঃ ॥

Nay, the world is the only place for the development of the highest in us and the noblest specimens of humanity—Buddha, Janaka, Christ, Mahomet—were in close touch with it. In short, what we intend to say is that right religion restores man to right relations with his fellow-beings and that the religion which induces apathy to the world has some creeping disease at its core which sickens the hearts of its votaries.

One word more before we conclude. It is a pity that in our country dryness of heart which sunders one from the tender connexions of life is erroneously regarded as *mokshapadam* or the highest state of disillusionment. We are sincerely grieved to see the Swamiji say—

হয়েছে হৃদয় শুকু ভাবহীন
ছিল প্রেমপারাবার ।
স্নেহপ্রসবণ শুকায়েছে এবে
নাহি এক বিন্দু আর ॥

We do not think *mokshapadam* connotes an emotionless heart; for even Buddha did not forget his duties by his wife and Christ remembered his mother Mary in the agonies of a most painful death. The last earthly wish that Jesus breathed when bleeding to death on the cross was about his mother. Indeed, it is 'the milk of human tenderness' which forms the chief nourishment of life and if the heart is sucked dry of it, the world is not worth living in. Hence it was that St. Paul who spent himself in the service of his Master and who 'of the Jews received forty stripes save one', who was thrice beaten with rods, once stoned and who was in diverse perils and 'in hunger, thirst and nakedness' broke out, 'If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become sounding brass, or a clanging

cymbal' and who accorded love its due honour by saying 'Love is the fulfilment of the law.' No man with impunity can disregard love; for it is like kicking against the goad.

We once more give our hearty reception to *So'ham Gita*; for this book sets forth in a most conspicuous manner that the crown of life is for them alone who are in possession of an indomitable strength of purpose and it also raises its voice against some of the existing social and religious evils of our land. Exclusively, however, under the sway of the idea that life means an unbending tenacity of determination as the author is, he has looked askance at such systems of religion as indulge in the exercise of gentler emotions, but we believe that the human mind cannot ceaselessly maintain the rigid tension of will and in seasons of relaxation it plaintively breaks forth,

অজাত ইত্যেব কশ্মিনীহুঃ প্রতিপদ্যতে ।

রুদ্র যন্তে দক্ষিণং মুখং তেন মাং পাহি নিত্যম্ ॥

or,

যা তে রুদ্র শিবা তনুর্চীরা পাপকাশিনী ।

তয়া নলনুবা শল্লময়া গিরিশল্লামিচাকশীহি ॥

In conclusion, we express our pious wish to see *So'ham Swami* once more in the midst of his own kith and kin, who, we doubt not, miss him sore and we trust the country will extend him a most cordial welcome.

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

URDU.

Swami Vivekanand—by M. Nawab Rai Benarsi; to be had of 'The Bande Mataram Book Agency', Lahore. Pages 16. Price As. 2.

This pamphlet has been written with the purpose of diffusing dharmic ideas among our people. The importance of such work cannot be exaggerated. During the present times the spread of such literature is of the greatest value to rouse the people to their sense of duty and religion.

The book is written in good idiomatic Urdu, the language is clear and terse. The biographical sketch is short but instructive. It is interspersed with valuable passages.

Short biographies of this description are sure to inspire the readers with noble and lofty ideals and so they should be given as wide a circulation as possible.

The defects of get-up detract from the value of the book. We hope they will be removed in subsequent editions.

X. 7

(1) 'National education' (2) 'How the nations live' (3) 'Different articles by L. Har Dayal'. Published by the Bande Mataram Book Agency, Lahore.

These three pamphlets contain the various articles L. Har Dayal contributed to the vernacular press of the Panjab last year.

L. Har Dayal is one of the brightest gems of the land of five rivers. Though still very young, he has established a name for original thinking. He is a deep scholar of history and has thoroughly studied the perplexing problems of modern India. His writings are characterised by ingenuity, boldness and virility.

These writings of a young and ardent nationalist are well worth perusal. They are a valuable contribution to the literature of the New School.

The Bande Mataram Book Agency has laid the public under a debt of gratitude by making this collection and the public should give every encouragement to them.

X.

- (1) '*Khayalati Gokhale.*' A collection of Mr. Gokhale's speeches and writings translated by L. Lalchand Falak, with a short sketch of Mr. Gokhale's life by the translator. Price Re. 1-8. Pages 268.
- (2) '*Khayalati Ghosh.*' Dr. R. B. Ghosh's speeches.
- (3) '*Khayalati Sayaji.*' Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda's speeches.
- (4) '*Khayalati Dadabhai.*' Mr. D. Naoroji's speeches.
- (5) '*Hindustan Ki Kahani Keir Hardie Ki Zabani.*' A collection of the articles of Mr. K. Hardie contributed by him to the English Press from India. To be had of the Bande Mataram Book Agency, Lahore.

It is really gratifying to find that attempts are being made to disseminate knowledge about political, economic and historical subjects among the Urdu-knowing people. L. Lalchand Falak has undertaken this useful work. He has made translations of the speeches and writings of the eminent men above-noticed, and issued them in pamphlet form.

The matter contained in these booklets has already spread widely among our English-knowing countrymen and hence it need not be commented upon in this place.

As for the translations, we hope that they may be welcomed by those who cannot read the original works, although we must say that the translation leaves much to be desired. L. Lalchand has been editing some of the Urdu weeklies of Lahore and readers of Urdu had a right to expect better language and style from him than they will find in these translations.

The translator has sacrificed language by following the order of English sentences too closely. Yet it cannot be said that the translations are always correct, for one meets with several instances in which the sense of the original has been misinterpreted.

We hope L. Lalchand will try to remove these defects if a second edition is called for, and to improve the printing and general get-up of his books.

X.

'*Daulat Paida Karne ka Dhang*' (method of producing wealth). Translated by L. Lalchand Falak. '*Ganjina-i-Daulat-o-tijarat*' (The treasury of wealth and commerce). Same as above.

Both these books are translations of some American publications, dealing with similar topics and expressing similar ideas. The object of both is to point out what qualities are necessary for success in business.

The books may be useful for those who wish to enter a business-life.

'*Tarbiat-i-Atfal*,' by L. Lalchand.

It is a book on the method of bringing up children. The author lays stress on the fact that childhood is the most impressionable period of a man's life, and hence the parents should so behave towards their children that they may turn out virtuous God-fearing men.

National Songs and Poems.

- (1) By M. Tilak Chand Mahrum
- (2) By M. Durga Sahai Sarur
- (3) By M. Gulam Kadir Farrukh.

There is not much of permanent value in these poems. Most of them remind us of our degradation and poverty and have a mournful melancholy tone. Some pieces like the 'Indian Boy's Song' by M. T. C. Mahrum, 'Karzar-i-Hasti' by M. B. S. Sarur and the 'National Song' by M. G. K. Farrukh are above the ordinary.

X.

'*Kaumi Zindgi*' by Dr. Sheik Mohammad Iqbal, M. A. Publishers—The Bande Mataram Book Agency, Lahore. Pages 16. Price 2 As.

It is a reprint from the monthly Urdu Magazine 'Makhzan.' Dr. M. Iqbal is well-known as an Urdu poet and a valuable contributor to the Urdu Press. His national song 'Hindustan Hamara' (Our India) is extremely popular in the Punjab and the United Provinces.

The article under review thoroughly maintains the reputation of the learned Doctor, as an accomplished writer. It is a thoughtful appeal to Indians generally and Mohammadans in particular for industrial development and social reform. In it he conclusively proves that those nations who do not adapt themselves to the changing environments invariably die out, while those who progress with time flourish and prosper. He points out that India is far behind other nations in its industries and that it clings to social customs and manners which woefully check its advance forwards.

For these evils his remedies are education, reform and industry.

We recommend the article to the careful perusal of our countrymen, specially of the Mohammedan persuasion.

X.

NOTES

Relative and Absolute Peace.

There are two kinds of peace, relative and absolute.

"Nothing is more common than for people to confound the inward peace and satisfaction which follows the subduing of the obvious faults of our animality

with what I may call absolute inward peace and satisfaction,—the peace and satisfaction which are reached as we draw near to complete spiritual perfection, and not merely to moral perfection, or rather to relative moral perfection. No people in the world have done more and struggled more to attain this relative moral perfection than our English race has.

For no people in the world has the command to *resist the devil, to overcome the wicked one*, in the nearest and most obvious sense of those words, had such a pressing force and reality. And we have had our reward, not only in the great worldly prosperity which our obedience to this command has brought us, but also, and far more, in great inward peace and satisfaction." Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, p. 16 (popular edition).

Indian sages have always sought complete spiritual perfection and the peace that it brings.

The rights of an Englishman and of others.

Englishmen seem to think that the rights which they enjoy, need not be enjoyed by others.

* * We are soon silenced when a man pleads the prime right to do as he likes, * * *. In the first place, it never was any part of our creed that the great right and blessedness of an Irishman, or, indeed, of anybody on earth except an Englishman, is to do as he likes; and we can have no scruple at all about abridging, if necessary, a non-Englishman's assertion of personal liberty. The British Constitution, its checks, and its prime virtues, are for Englishmen. We may extend them to others out of love and kindness; but we find no real divine law written on our hearts constraining us so to extend them. And then the difference between an Irish fenian and an English rough is so immense, and the case, in dealing with the fenian, so much more clear! He is so evidently desperate and dangerous, a man of a conquered race, a papist, with centuries of ill-usage to inflame him against us, with an alien religion established in his country by us at his expense, with no admiration of our institutions, no love of our virtues, no talents for our business, no turn for our comfort. Show him our symbolical Truss Manufactory on the finest site in Europe, and tell him that British industrialism and individualism can bring a man to that, and he remains cold! Evidently, if we deal tenderly with a sentimentalist like this, it is out of pure philanthropy". (Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, pp. 40-41).

That is why the liberty-loving Englishman sees nothing wrong in deporting Indians and Egyptians without trial and charge.

Vegetarianism and national strength.

The question has been often asked whether any vegetarian nation has been ever a conquering nation also. Dr. F. S. Penny has won a prize in the *British Health Review* for answering the question—

"Are cereal eating nations ever first-class Powers?"

He writes that the latest modern example is the Japanese whose staple diet consists of rice, vegetables, and a little fish some-

times. So in ancient times were the Persians under Cyrus.

The Romans in their prime were practically vegetarian, their staple ration being corn. It is recorded that severe disease broke out in the Roman Army before Lilybaeum in the first Punic war owing to their being forced to feed on meat by the wreckage of their cornships. Compare also the complaint of Caesar's legions in Gaul of mutton being substituted for their corn ration.

The staple food of the ancient Greeks is said to have been maize, vegetables and oil.

The Mahomedans under Omar and later, fed chiefly on dates, milk, and cereals.

The Turks who overran Eastern Europe appear to have been chiefly cereal eaters.

Inland Navigation in the West and in India.

While every country in the West is spending vast sums on the improvement of inland navigation, India is going backwards year after year. What the British Government has done in this connection will appear from what a high-placed British officer has said on the subject.

General J. F. Fischer, R. E., wrote in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1905:—

"According to *Indian Engineering* of February 25, 1905, every country in Europe is expending large sums to secure cheap means of transport by the improvement of waterways. Even in Russia, where the climate is naturally most unfavourable, waterways are being established and improved at very great cost. The same kind of thing is proceeding in Canada, and for the United States no figures are given, because the 'enormous sums spent yearly by the Government in improving rivers and making canals are too well known for it to be necessary to more than mention the fact.' The results generally are that in all these countries there is a steady growth in export, showing very clearly that by our neglect in this matter our exports are not increasing in anything like the same proportion.

* * * * *

"Disastrous as our economic policy has been at home in reference to this subject of cheap transport for goods traffic, it is a mere bagatelle in comparison with the ruin, misery and desolation it has caused in India. That country has been run into debt amounting to about £300,000,000, chiefly on account of the railways, and has now to pay England £9,000,000, a year as interest on this debt. It is admitted on all hands the railways do not pay in India; an expert has reported to the Government that the freight charges are over 80 per cent, too high for the industrial condition of the country; they have established no new industries in the country, and have not added a far-

thing to the value of real estate, and the bazar rates for lending money have been more than doubled since their introduction, and in order to carry out this policy this country has been deprived of a good water-supply on which its very existence is entirely dependent. In the face of such facts as these, the people in England are told the benefits the railways have conferred on India are simply incalculable."

"* * In India we are levying *exorbitant tolls on canals* in order to divert the traffic on to the railways, ruining the cultivation of the land thereby, adding most seriously to the burdens of an overtaxed country, and neglecting all the magnificent rivers of India which are so abundantly supplied with water, and, if improved, could be made navigable for thousands of miles inland.

"The great rivers of India, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmapootra, not only receive abundance of water by the usual tropical rains of both monsoons, but they possess an inexhaustible source of supply of water from the snowy range of the Himalayas, the most stupendous mountain range in the whole world.* * *

"Probably £2,500 a mile would make the Brahmapootra the finest water-way and inland harbour in the world.

"In Northern and Central India there are many large rivers, such as the Mahanadi, the Nerbudda, the Tapi, which all have the same characteristics. They receive their waters during the prevalence of the usual tropical monsoon seasons, and their floods are dependent entirely on the intensity of the rainfall, having no natural lakes into which these rains can be received and distributed gradually; and their basins being generally steep and the ground very hard, the run-off is very rapid.* * Each river-basin requires to be more carefully examined, and its *maximum* rainfall registered, so that works can be projected to utilize the abundant rainfall to the greatest advantage for the whole community; otherwise the lands can never be profitably cultivated or famines prevented.

"As regards the great rivers of Southern India, the Godavery, the Kistna, and the Cauvery, it is needless to write much more about them. These rivers carry off the drainage of the Western Ghats, where the rainfall is well known to be most abundant,* *. It is either mere prejudice or sheer ignorance which is constantly proclaiming that, because these rivers are not supplied from snowy ranges, therefore nothing can be done with them, at the same time that we actually neglect altogether such rivers as have abundant supplies of water from the snowy ranges of the Himalayas. How little attention is paid to this all-important subject of inland navigation in India is quite apparent from the fact that the Irrigation Commission do not even refer to the matter at all in their report, and ignore the value and importance of the means of cheap transport in connection with successful land cultivation altogether!" [The Benefits of Inland Navigation].

Some Home-coming students.

Mr. Dinesh Chandra Majumdar was sent to Japan by the Scientific and Industrial Association of Calcutta in April, 1906. In the following September he joined The

Higher Technological Institute of Tokio and pursued a course of ceramic engineering for three years. While in school he made a special study of porcelain and enamelling and we hope he will be a valuable addition to those who are already working in India in the same line. He graduated in July 1909 and has since visited most of the porcelain centres of Japan, and served as an apprentice, though for a short time, in one of the porcelain factories which is conducted on modern, up-to-date, scientific lines. He is a bright young man of twenty four and belongs to the District of Dacca.



Nonilal Dutt.

Dinesh C. Majumdar.

Mr. Noni Lal Dutt came to Japan in April 1906. He studied the preliminaries of Sugar Refining in some of the factories in Tokio, and finally had an opportunity of studying the modern scientific methods in The All-Japan Sugar Refining, Coy., Limited, which is supposed to be the biggest and best of its kind in the Far East. Let us hope, he will do something to lessen the imports of Java and other foreign sugars to India, which we regret to notice has increased of late. He had the distinction of holding a berth under the Imperial Japanese Government in the shape of a professorship in the School of Foreign Languages in Tokio, and it is not too much to say that he acquitted himself creditably. He has some knowledge of the business world in Tokio, having been connected with Japanese business men for about a year. He has seen twenty-four fummers and hails from the District of Hoogly.

Mr. R. R. Ghosh of Bhawal, Dacca, was sent by the Association for the Advancement of the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians. He entered the Agricultural College of the Imperial University of Komaba, Tokyo, for studying Sericulture. In connection with his studies here he has several times been highly spoken of by Dr. C. Sasaki, Professor of Sericulture of the above University. He spared no pains to



MR. R. R. GHOSH

with his College uniform and medal of the Sericultural Association of Japan.

visit the important rearing places, filatures and silk dyeing factories as suggested by his professor. Moreover he has contributed several articles on Sericulture to the Magazine of the Sericultural Association of Japan and also to the Students' Magazine of the Agricultural College here. After graduating from the said College, he is coming back home shortly. His sense of duty, sincerity and honesty pleased every body he came in contact with.

X.

↳ Theosophy and Hinduism.

The Theosophical Society in India has passed through three phases. In Madame Blavatsky's time, it was known as a Buddhist movement, for both the founders were Buddhists by conversion. But both were uncompromising enemies of Christianity and professed regard for Hinduism, and made the Theosophical Society popular. The second period commenced with Mrs. Besant's coming to India. She came with a well-known reputation behind her as that of an anti-Christian and a Free-thinker, one who had suffered much from the hands of bigoted Christians. The simple Hindus welcomed her as their champion against their Christian assailants. Their enthusiasm reached a burning point when they learned that she had assumed Hinduism, and under the guidance of a well-known mystic of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was initiated into Hindu modes of worship. This lasted for some years. It was this phase of the Theosophical Society that saw the establishment of the Hindu College in Benares. Money poured in whenever she appealed to Hindus for it. But that phase has also passed. The Theosophical Society has now come under the influence of one who at one time was a Christian clergyman in holy orders, and is now a Buddhist. But he has not forgotten his old love; and many think that he is a Christian missionary in disguise. Since Mrs. Besant came under his influence and returned the symbol of her once *Ishta Deva* to her Hindu teacher, she has become suddenly popular with the Christian community; and in her recent tour in England her lectures were fully reported in a widely circulated Christian paper called the *Christian Commonwealth*. No wonder that she is taken in England as a free-lance Christian missionary and her Hindu College as an institution to teach pure Christianity. Nor has she done anything to disabuse the British public of this notion. On the contrary she has been lecturing there on the coming of Christ. This new Theosophical revelation vouchsafed to the gentleman already referred to, is that the Christ will take birth soon, within the life-time of many of us, and that the Theosophical Society is meant to clear the way for him, so that the public may not discard him, as

he was discarded when he last appeared. If a Moslem preaches the near approach of the Mehdi we call him a fanatic, but when Mrs. Besant preaches the coming of Christ there are Hindus who call themselves orthodox, who swallow the stuff with avidity. No wonder if the Hindu College is looked upon with suspicion by all Hindus who are not under the glamour of this divinely gifted orator. We are sincere admirers of Mrs. Besant, but if she goes on preaching the coming of Christ to Hindus, as she has done in England, and in some places in India also, the days of the Theosophical Society in India are numbered, especially among the Hindus. As regards the Hindu College, Benares, it is high time to place it under some truly orthodox Hindu. We have nothing to say against the present Principal. He is very popular with the boys and is an honorary worker. We are all grateful to him, and to devoted workers like him, but a Hindu College is better under a born Hindu who is also orthodox.

A HINDU F. T. S.

Prince Hirobumi Ito.

BORN SEPT. 2, 1841; DIED 26TH OCT., 1909.

Today the world is well aware of the tragedy that happened lately at Harbin, in Manchuria, which robbed the island empire of Japan of its most famous statesman-patriot and nation-builder. Away from his own country and family, the veteran statesman fell a victim to the shot of a Korean, over whose country he had ruled but a short time ago. Surrounded by Russian soldiers who presented arms, while the military band was playing a lively tune, death came to him swift and sudden, where it was most unlikely to come. Such is destiny!

Countless soldiers fell on the fields of battle in the Russo-Japanese war in Manchuria, but who cared to know of them? But the death of this one man has convulsed the whole world and cast a gloom on the land of his birth. Why? Because his life was more valuable than those of hundreds of soldiers; he had been a pillar of the Japanese Empire. What Bismarck was to the German peoples, Ito was to the Japanese. The story of his life is a story of firm determination, unswerving loyalty



(Count Okuma and) PRINCE ITO.

to the cause he represented, and brilliant achievements.

Born in a lowly and obscure family, he, like Napoleon, rose to the highest position of the state by his own exertions. He was in the true sense of the word a self-made man. His public life was unimpeachable. He had been always straightforward and just in his dealings with others. But, sad to say, his private life was not up to the mark. But, as the familiar Sanscrit proverb goes, even sages err.

While young, impelled by his adventurous spirit, he left the shores of Japan with two Japanese notables, disguised as a sailor boy and went to England (1863). He could not, however, stay away long, as he had to come back home hurriedly on learning about the proposed bombardment of Shimonoseki by the squadron of the Allied Powers. On his return he found himself in a difficult and intricate position. The foreigners threatened to destroy the clansmen of

Choshu, who had obstinately opened fire on every foreign ship that passed through the straits of Shimonoseki. Owing to their ignorance the Choshumen were unyielding and incorrigible. However, Kido, the then leader of the Choshu clan, had the good fortune to engage the services of Ito, who was equal to the task.

In the year 1868, on the restoration of the Imperial Regime, he was of great service to the state as a councillor and as an interpreter to the boy Emperor when he just met the foreign representatives. After this his promotion was very rapid, he being in the good graces of the Emperor since then. Of course his great intelligence and aptitude for work had most to do with his wonderful progress.

The first important post he filled was the governorship of a province. In the latter part of 1869, he filled the post of Junior Vice Minister of Finance and also Junior Vice Minister of public works. In the following year he was dispatched by his Government to the United States of America, to investigate the banking system prevalent in that country. His visit resulted in the issuing of Banking Regulations, two years later in 1872. He was made Senior Vice Minister of Public Works in 1871 and was appointed one of the Junior Plenipotentiaries under the late Prince Iwakura, who was sent as special envoy to open negotiations with the Powers for the revision of the old unwholesome treaties. In 1881, the famous proclamation announcing the establishment of the representative government, ten years after that was issued. In the following year, the late Prince left for Europe and America to investigate the methods of working of the constitutions and parliaments of different western countries, being ordered to do so by his government. In 1883, he was present at the coronation of the Czar Alexander III, as a representative of Japan. In 1885, he was despatched to China, and concluded an agreement with her about Korea, the country which has been connected with him in life and death. On the resignation of Prince Sanjo as Premier in 1885, Ito, who had been created a count in the previous year, was installed in the post which he filled four times. In a short time he resigned his post and was made

President of the newly created Privy Council, and in the infant days of his country's Parliament he filled the post of President of the House of Peers. During his second premiership armed hostilities commenced with China. The world at large is aware of the results of that war. After the conclusion of peace with China the late Prince was intensely active in the political field, and we find him forming a "model party." He won his Marquisate in 1895 and afterwards was present at the Diamond Jubilee of the late Queen Victoria with Prince Arisugawa. During the late war he was twice despatched to Korea, ultimately becoming the Resident-General of that country in the latter part of 1905, which post he occupied till a short time before his violent and unnatural death.

He was created a Prince two years ago and was an honorary LL.D. of the Yale University. How far he was successful in the administration of Korea, is hard to judge, considering that outward and surface improvements do not always lead to the material improvement of a people. In the civilized world, the name of the Prince was known more widely than any other Japanese living or dead, and today he is more revered by his fellow-countrymen than ever.

The tragic end of his strenuous life extending over a period of nearly seven decades, every minute of which was engaged in furthering the cause of his country, has naturally drawn him closer to the hearts of his people. To them he is no longer only a great statesman and patriot but a martyr and a hero who lived and died for his country.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI.

Placed between her two powerful neighbours, Russia and Japan, Korea could not possibly have remained independent. Had Korea been conquered by Russia, that would have been a great menace to the safety of the Mikado's empire. So Japan had to annex her in self-defence. But having undertaken the government of that country, she was under no necessity to rule her with a rod of iron and merely for exploitation, as she did. Japan's oppression of Korea has cost Prince Ito his life.

Colebrooke on Warren Hastings.

Those Anglo-Indians of the present generation who are doing their best to whitewash the deeds or misdeeds of Warren Hastings, should read what Colebrooke, the orientalist, who as a scholar possessed the reputation of being scrupulously conscientious in all his statements, wrote in a private letter to his father on the 28th July, 1788.

"It was Mr. Hastings who filled the country with collectors and judges who adopted one pursuit—a fortune. These harpies were no sooner let loose upon the country, than they plundered the inhabitants with or without pretences. * * Justice was dealt out to the highest bidders by the judges, and thieves paid a regular revenue to rob with impunity."

Regarding the administration of Warren Hastings, he wrote:—

"Nor did his crooked politics and shameless breach of faith affect any but the princes and great men; the deposition of Zemindars, the plundering of begums, the extermination of the Rohillas may be forgotten, but the cruelties acted in Goruckpore will for ever be quoted to the dishonor of the British name."

Then he wrote:—

"The system upon which the British dominions have been governed in the East, has affected the happiness of the people. To regulate nations as an article of trade, for the profit which is to be derived, seems a solecism in politics; not to mention monopolies of salt and opium, or the principles upon which the Company's investment has been provided, I may confine myself to the stretching the land-rents to the utmost sum they can produce. A proprietor of an estate under the Mogul government, seldom paid half of the produce of his estate, and in small properties much less; he was further allowed to take credit for a certain sum by way of pension, or held rent-free lands in lieu thereof. Under the Company, a landholder is allowed ten per cent. of the net produce as his share."

No wonder Colebrooke was made to exclaim:—

"The treatment of the people has been such as will make them remember the yoke as the heaviest that ever conquerors put upon the necks of conquered nations."

The Indian Deportees.

The latest news of what is being done for our deportees by the friends of personal liberty in England is contained in the following Reuter's telegram:—

London, 25th November.

In the House of Commons Mr. Asquith, replying to a string of questions regarding the continued detention of deported Indians, referred to his answer given on June 17th. He added that Lord Morley and the

Indian Government were fully alive to all the circumstances and arguments and had the matter under special consideration with a view to their release at the earliest moment the general situation admits.

and in the following paragraph from latest number of *India* to hand:

Notice has been given by Sir Henry Cotton of intention, when the House of Commons reassembles on November 23, to move for a return showing names of the persons in India who are now detained under the provisions of Bengal Regulation III of 1884 and kindred regulations; their caste, race, or nationality; the grounds for their detention; the place and nature of their detention; and the date from which their detention commenced. We understand that India Office are raising no objection to the grant of the return; and, indeed, that they have imposed upon Sir Henry's demand by inserting the clause which shall specify the "grounds" for detention. What does this portend, we wonder?

Blood is thicker than water. And therefore to be expected that we Indians should exert ourselves to get justice done to our brethren, the deportees. But no, we have taken the thing lying down, lying down. There have been exactly four meetings to protest against the deportations,—not even nine, one a piece for each deportee. We must say, our conduct in this connection has been shameful in the extreme. Evidently "rejoicing" so fills hearts on account of the beatific vision of the celestial Reform Scheme that we have no time to think of minor matters. Personal liberty is the primary and principal right of every human being. We do not care a straw for any other fancied or real right so long as personal liberty is secure. Englishmen attach great importance to that right, but they have deprived us all of that right. But we must remember that they won it after a strenuous struggle extending over centuries and at great sacrifice. And we are so ease-loving, lily-livered, so servile, and so accustomed to the deprivation of the right which free men value most highly that we not even meet together and express our resentment at and condemnation of deportations without trial and charge. We again our conduct has been shameful in the extreme.

If the cause of Swadeshi for which either directly or indirectly our brethren have been deported, had received an impulse because of these deportations, that would have been a great consolation. But facts

not go to prove the existence of such an impetus. Nevertheless we do not despair. We are expecting a better state of things.

The Transvaal Indians.

What a contrast meets our gaze when we turn our eyes from the home-keeping Indian to Indians abroad! In the Transvaal the future Indian nation is being hammered into shape by common affliction. Here in India, we Hindus and Mussalmans and Christians and Parsis are fighting like dogs for the dry and fleshless bones of the Reform Scheme, there in the Transvaal all Indian races and creeds are working shoulder to shoulder for the honour of the Indian name and the establishment of the equality of the Asiatic and European races in the eye of the law. And what a glorious fight it is, requiring as it does, heroism of a far higher type than is necessary in the battlefield.

We print below a summary of the British Indian case in the Transvaal as presented by the Indian Deputation to England, July, 1909.

The British Indians in the Transvaal have been suffering for the past two years and six months untold suffering in order to secure

Repeal of a Transvaal law called the Asiatic Registration Act (2 of 1907), which its authors claim to be a measure merely for effecting the identification of the British Indians entitled to remain in the Colony, but which is regarded by the British Indians themselves as most objectionable, because in reality

(1) The Act wounds their religious susceptibilities and degrades them in many ways; and

(2) Repeal of the Act with another law of a later date (called the Immigration Act), it constitutes an impediment to the immigration of Indians, however established on the score of their race and colour.

The system of Government can easily be granted by repeal of the Asiatic Registration Act and slightly amending the Immigration Act, without in any way endangering the colonial policy of preventing an influx of British Indians.

The practical effect of such repeal and amendment would be the removal of the racial insult, and would at the most involve the entry of the few Indian newcomers necessary for the spiritual and intellectual needs of the resident community.

The Indians at present actually residing in the Transvaal number about 5,000.

The population of Indians domiciled in the Transvaal is about 13,000.

The difference means that nearly 8,000 Indians have been driven away, for the time being, from the Colony, being too weak to undergo the physical and mental life of gaol life.

500 British Indians have passed through the Transvaal gaols, all but 150 having been imprisoned for hard labour. Sentences have ranged from four to six months' hard labour. Hundreds of British Indians have been ruined in the struggle.

Several families have been supported from public subscriptions, the wage earners being in the Transvaal gaols. Indians both young and old have suffered and are still suffering imprisonment. Many leaders are at present in the gaols, including the Mohammedan Chairman of the British Indian Association and a Parsee gentleman who is renowned for his philanthropy throughout South Africa. Fathers and sons have been in gaol at the same time. About sixty Indians have been deported to India, where they were penniless and friendless.

A band of noble Europeans in the Transvaal, headed by Mr. Wm. Hosken, M. L. A. of the Transvaal, have formed themselves into a committee for securing justice.

Hindoos and Mohammedans, Parsees and Sikhs are fighting shoulder to shoulder. The struggle to-day is being continued to maintain the honour of the hundreds of millions of their fellow-countrymen, an absolutely selfless. The sufferers have no personal interest to serve.

The Indians contend that General Smuts, the Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, is under promise to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907. If the Act had been repealed, the question of educated Indians would have been automatically adjusted, cause, without it, the Immigration Law, above referred to, would not have prevented the entry of highly educated Indians. General Smuts contends that whilst he discussed the question of repeal of the Act with Mr. Gandhi, he does not remember having made a definite promise. Mr. Gandhi has taken an affidavit swearing that such a promise was made and has produced documentary evidence in support of his contention. General Smuts holds that the Indians' demands are in effect satisfied, in that he wishes to treat the Registration Act as a dead letter and is prepared to admit educated Indians on sufferance on temporary permits, which may be extended from time to time. Indians hold that they are under a solemn obligation to secure the repeal of the Act as mentioned, and that if it is a dead letter, it can be of no use to the Government. They further contend that the admission of educated Indians on sufferance is useless because the struggle is not so much to secure the admission of a few individuals as to secure national honour. *It is the unnecessary legal disability which makes the situation so degrading and affords an abiding source of irritation to the whole Indian nation.* This legislation is the worst of its kind in the history of the colonies. No self-governing colony possesses legislation containing the racial taint, described by Lord Morley as the 'sinister'.

British Indians do not desire an indiscriminate influx of their countrymen into the Transvaal. They submit that by a judicious administration of the Immigration Act, all but a few—say six highly educated Indians per year—may be prevented from entering the Colony. The Cape, Australia and other Colonies have solved the question of Asiatic immigration without resort to racial legislation.

It will be seen from the above that out of a present actual Indian population in the Transvaal of 5,000, more than half have passed through the Transvaal jails, all but 150 having

been imprisoned with hard labor. So more than 50 per cent. (perhaps all the males) have shown that they deserve to be free citizens. Even if we take into account the whole domiciled community numbering 13,000, we find that 20 per cent. (not excluding women) have been Passive Resisters. How we could wish that even 1 per cent. or 1 per mille of our male population had by their uncompromising stand for national honour and free citizenship given indubitable proofs of their right to be free men.

The sufferings of our sisters and brethren in South Africa stir us much less and excite much less active admiration than they ought to. Apparently we do not understand the significance of the fight there. Our sisters and brethren there are already the Indian nation, one in mind, one in endeavour. We are disunited, scattered hither and thither by the gates of official frowns and official favours alike. Meanly moved by most of us are by selfish ambitions and love of selfish ease, how can we appreciate the patriotism and heroic self-sacrifice of these Transvaal Indians, of whom a large number are illiterate hawkers and pedlers and small traders? Verily the most cultured among us are unworthy to unloose the latches of their shoes, or wipe the dust off their bare feet.

We give a cordial greeting to our dearly beloved brother B. S. L. Polak, and hope that his presence will lead us to give our sisters and brethren across the seas the moral and material support which they are entitled to obtain from us.

Universal elementary education.

In season and out of season we must seek to impress upon the minds of our literate countrymen and countrywomen the duty which they owe to their illiterate sisters and brethren. We must educate them; otherwise there is no salvation for either ourselves or them. We should not rest content with merely criticising the British Government for its inactivity in this matter. We are glad to see that the Native States are one by one declaring themselves in favour of universal and free elementary education. The latest to join the ranks of the educators is the State of Travancore. Two years hence there will be in that State universal free primary education for both boys and

girls. In Bengal we find that a knowledge of reading and writing and simple accounts can be imparted to 100 pupils at a cost of only Rs 10 to Rs 15 per mensem. Are there not in every town and big village in our country many men who are individually, or at any rate conjointly able to spend this paltry amount? Come, then, let us join the band of the educators. There is no holier work and no holier name.

"The Leader"

We cordially welcome the appearance of *The Leader*, the United Provinces daily paper. The editorial charge of that organ of public opinion is in competent, vigilant, and diligent hands. We only hope its business arrangements and management will be equally satisfactory, so that it may in no time be placed on a permanent and stable footing. The United Provinces contain more towns and more populous towns than any other equal area in India. This ought to make it comparatively easy for the conductors to arrange for large cash sales in the moffussil towns. Hundreds of copies ought to be sent out to reliable country agents, if only by way of advertisement.

We expect that *The Leader* will give a great rousing to public life in the United Provinces, and will to a great extent, if not entirely, replace the *Pioneer* on Indian reading tables in those provinces. It is a great misfortune for Indians to read only or chiefly Anglo-Indian newspapers.

The Leader styles itself "an organ of Indian opinion". We hope it will justify this appellation in increasing measure, day by day, and kindly sometimes remember at leisure that Bengal really forms part of India.

The Reform Scheme.

By the Indian Councils Act of this year and the Regulations issued in connection with it, educated non-Islamic Indians have been completely outwitted and non-plus by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. As educated as graduates, as members of the professions, as payers of taxes, they are. If accidentally they be landholders standing or members of District Municipalities, they obtain some representation. Politically they are the ablest, most

dent and most influential men in the country, and therefore bureaucratic interests required that they should be kept at arm's length from the enlarged councils as far as practicable.

Mussalman graduates of at least 10 years' standing have been given the vote. But the generality of educated Mussalmans, not having obtained that right, and many of their co-religionists of undoubtedly lower education having got it, there is discontent in the ranks of the educated Muhammadans.

In fact, the British rulers of India dislike nothing so much as the educated Indian, be he Hindu or Mussalman, Christian or Parsi, Sikh or Jain. And were it not for the exigencies of the Divide-and-Rule policy, and the rejuvenescence of Turkey, and to some extent of Persia also, as Islamic powers, and the presence of Afghanistan, too, in close vicinity to India as a self-ruling country, the educated Mussalmans, too, would not have got the slight recognition that they have received.

But it does not much matter who gets the vote or who does not. For though in the new councils there are to be more members and more discussion than before, and though, as new features, there are to be supplementary questions following interpellations and also resolutions, the non-official majorities being shams (as they are not wholly elective and will comprise European members, too), the officials will be quite as powerful as before. And of this we do not in the least complain. He is a fool who asks or expects his opponent to be generous or unselfish. A privileged class of aliens has never parted with an iota of power unless obliged to do so. And what proof is there of our strength to compel the rulers of India to conciliate us?

How will they be justified in self-defence to seek to make us weaker still.

It may indeed be said, what does it matter though some Indian members of council be nominated? If they be patriotic, they will side with the elected members and make the position more honourable. And if they are not patriotic, what fault is it? Certainly yours and

of the Government. A plausible answer, no doubt. But are there not in all countries plenty of men who seek their own interests rather than the interests

of the country at large? England is a free country. But what are the Lords doing there now? Are they not going against the interests of the nation? So however free or patriotic a nation may be you can never obtain a partly elected now-official party of oppositionists quite as powerful and effective as if they were all elected men.

It has been said that the Regulations infringe the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the King-Emperor's Message as regards religious neutrality and impartiality. But when were these terms observed in the spirit or to the letter? In the matter of public appointments, particularly in the military line, and as regards admission to volunteer corps, and in the administration of criminal justice, there has always been discrimination against Indians. The only new departure is that a new favoured class has now been created.

It has been further said that the Regulations are guilty of favouritism. But this sort of criticism shows that we Indians are too simple-minded to be politicians and statesmen. When did the British rulers of India set their hearts upon unifying all Indian races and creeds,—upon building up an Indian nation? It is no easy task to govern a foreign people. Whatever weapon comes handy must be used. Favouritism will be resorted to so long as that is the safest method;—only the favourite of today must make room for the favourite of tomorrow, as is the case with the wives of much-married fellows.

Many have wondered why Mussalmans alone must everywhere have the preference, here because they are in a minority, there because they are "politically important," and therefore unable to take care of themselves, and why Hindus even when in a minority do not require any protection. Well, the blunt truth is the Mussalman is a free citizen in some countries of the world, but will you point out in what country a Hindu is a born citizen? If you do not recognise the citizenship of the Mussalman in India, he may if so inclined, migrate to Persia or Turkey. A helot is a helot and a citizen is a citizen; that is the long and short of it.

Of course, the Regulations might have been made less deliberately insulting. There is no offence necessarily meant in giving

Transvaal
suffering
Over
Transvaal
with hard
days' to
British

Mussalmans separate representation. If the same classes of men of the same standing as regards wealth or education had been given the vote or the right to stand as candidates, irrespective of creed, no one would have thought that there was any intention to insult or humiliate non-Moslems. But we should remember that we have been the sharpest critics of the British rulers of India. Why do we forget that every dog has his turn? If we apply the blister, we should be prepared to receive pin-pricks.

"But why not make the best of it?" Of course, if it be worth while. People do not forsake the Kolar gold-fields and flock to the sandy river-beds where gold may be found in infinitesimal quantities. Men who are or may be otherwise usefully occupied, should not plunge the country into party or personal strife for an empty honor. But those whose time hangs heavy on their hands, or who require some handle to their names to acquire importance, may try the game of canvassing for votes, if they can do so without feeling any loss of self-respect. For we do not say that the enlarged councils are absolutely unmitigated shams.

Our frontispiece.

The subject of our frontispiece is a story related in Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*. Devadatta, Buddha's cousin, shot down a bird. Buddha in deep compassion took it up and tried to save its life. Devadatta claimed it as his own. But Buddha replied that the bird was his by the superior right of pity and mercy. This was in the days of his early youth when he was simply Prince Gautama and had not yet become the Buddha.

Mr. Tagore's Omar Khayyam Picture.

Mr. Tagore's Omar Khayyam picture reproduced on page 584, illustrates the following quatrain from Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam:—

Dreaming when Dawn's Left Hand was in the Sky,
I heard a voice within the Tavern cry,
"Awake, my Little ones, and fill the Cup
Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry."

The Lords and Commons.

What interest have Indians in the contest between the Lords and Commons? As we suffer from the encroachments of a privileged class upon our rights, we should rejoice in the overthrow of privilege in any country in the world. As regards this particular case, should the Commons in any future year agree to give us any rights, the Lords may stand in the way; but if they be taught a lesson now, they may be more amenable to reason ever afterwards.

Exportation of food stuffs.

Prince Peter Kropotkin writes:—

"If Russian wheat, Italian or Indian rice, and Spanish or Hungarian wines abound in the markets of Western Europe, it is not that the countries which export them have a superabundance, or that such a produce grows there of itself, like the dandelion in the meadows. In Russia, for instance, the peasant works sixteen hours a day, and half starves from three to six months every year, in order to export the grain with which he pays the land-lord and the State. Today the Police appears in the Russian village as soon as the harvest is gathered in, and sells the peasant's last horse and last cow for arrears of taxes and rent due to the landlord, unless the victim immolates himself of his own accord by selling the grain to the exporters. Usually, rather than part with his live stock at a disadvantage, he keeps only a nine months' supply of grain and sells the rest. Then in order to sustain life until the next harvest, he mixes birch-bark and tares with his flour for three months, if it has been a good year, and for six if it has been bad, while in London they are eating biscuits made of his wheat.

"But as soon as the Revolution comes the Russian peasant will keep bread enough for himself and his children; the Italian and Hungarian peasants will do the same; and the Hindoos, let us hope, will profit by these good examples; and the farmers of America will hardly be able to cover all the deficit in grain which Europe will experience. So it will not do to count on their contributions of wheat and maize satisfying all the wants.

"Since all our middle-class civilization is based on the exploitation of inferior races and countries with less advanced industrial systems, the Revolution will confer a boon at the very outset, by menacing that 'civilization,' and allowing the so-called inferior races to free themselves." (*The Conquest of Bread*. pp. 97—99).